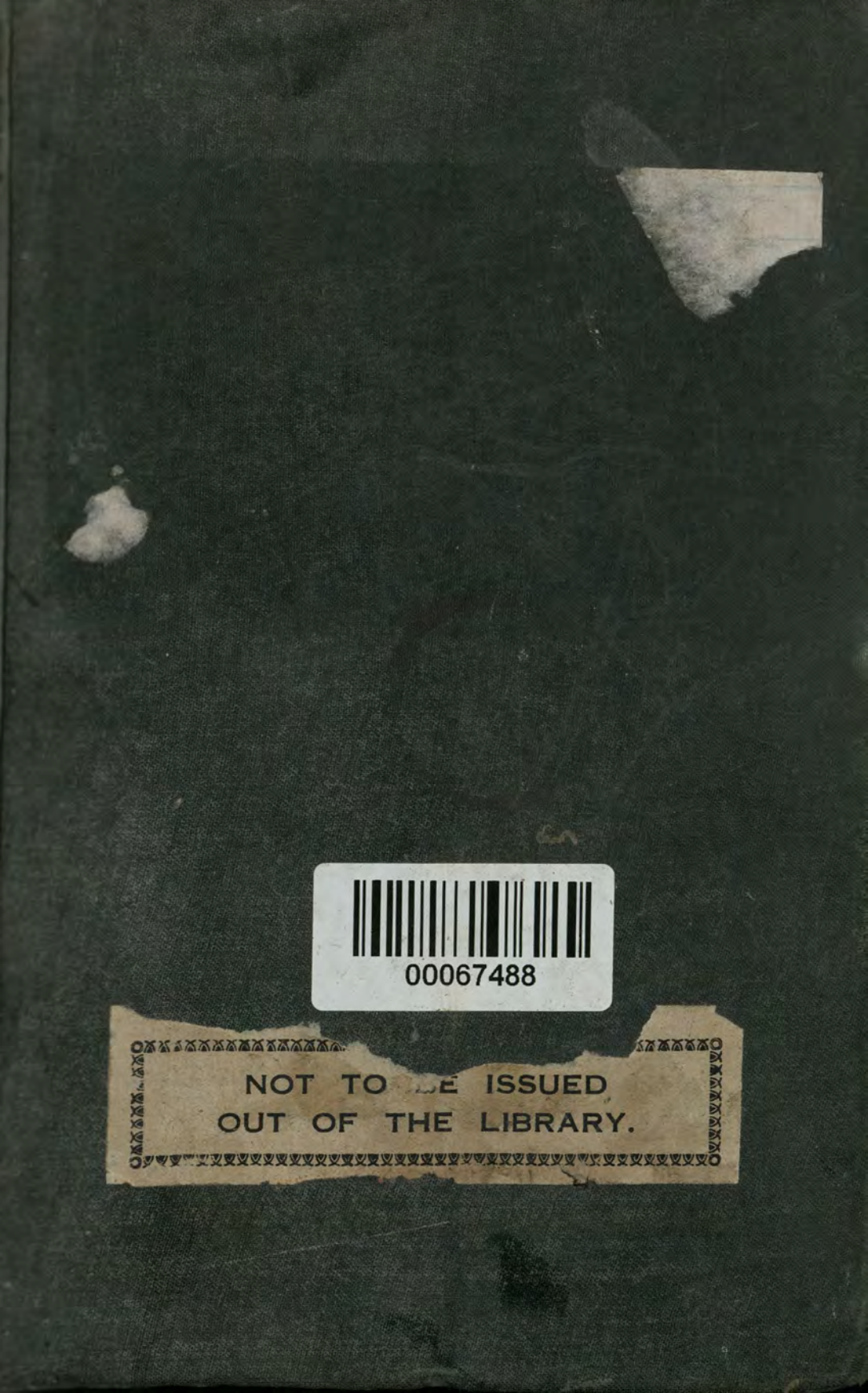
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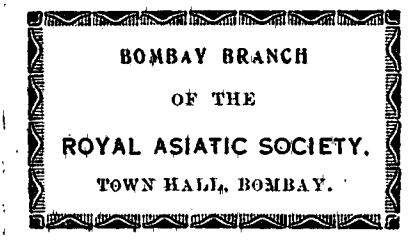

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172, Fleet Street,
June 30, 1837.

The Publishers of the new edition of the Acts and Monuments of John Foxe, feel that they can no longer delay offering their grateful acknowledgments to their friends and the christian public in general, for the liberal support which that work has received. Two of the most distinguished tokens of approbation with which they have been honoured, are given in the subsequent pages; one whereof will be perused, at the present moment, with feelings of melancholy interest. Of the general sale of the work it will be enough to say, that very nearly the whole edition (2000 copies) has been taken up; of the large paper, especially, there being not a single copy remaining. The Publishers, therefore, cannot but feel gratified that their efforts to revive and render permanent this great work, have met with so kind and liberal a reception.

They have, however, another duty to perform, of a less pleasant description. From the whole body of competent and impartial judges before whom the new edition has passed, they have scarcely received one word of censure, and but few of suggested amendment. But from two quarters, neither of which can lay claim to the main qualification of a critic,—*impartiality*,—they have had to bear some unkind observations. These observations they would gladly have received in silence, were it not that a refusal to plead to charges publicly made, might be represented as an admission of the truth of these allegations.

First, then, a correspondent of the *British Magazine* commences a series of verbal criticisms. But, happily, the real motive of his labours is confessed at the very outset. The critic says, "It is due to many most sincere and zealous "Protestants among the subscribers, to ask them whether they have fully con- "sidered what they are doing in supporting the republication of a work, which "is, to say the least, characterized by the strain of bitter invective which runs "through it—whether, supposing that they could hope for success, they would "be satisfied to maintain Protestantism as a mere party question, by declama- "tion and abuse, railing and scoffing, and a species of banter often coarse, and "sometimes profane," &c. &c.

No one, after reading these lines, can doubt the real *animus* of the critic. He wholly dislikes and disapproves of Foxe's work in the mass. But, rather inconsistently, after having thus assailed the book with all these heavy charges, he turns off, instead of supporting those charges, and begins a long series of criticisms on the supposed mis-spelling of many French and German names! And this sort of petty criticism forms the bulk of the article. Not one point the least importance is disputed: not one error of any consequence

A second assailant follows in the track of the fir[illegible] of less note than the British Magazine, adopts [illegible] opposed to the work itself, but obviously wis[illegible] lately announced; it objects to the prese[illegible] existence of eight or ten trifling erro[illegible]

However, to neither of these attacks will the publishers make any answer. They only ask their friends candidly to consider the whole of the facts of the case, and then to say whether such criticisms are any thing else than frivolous. They beg that it may be remembered, that the two volumes already published contain more than sixteen hundred pages of very small and close type, and comprehend a larger mass of matter than *the whole of Hume's History of England.* And they would ask, What is the real value of that criticism, which merely finds, in such an extensive field, a few errors in the spelling of proper names, or in the dates assigned to minor circumstances?

There is also another consideration, which they would entreat their subscribers to keep in view. None can be more sensible than they are, of the value and importance of the minutest *accuracy.* But there were two other points which were strongly urged upon the publishers, when they undertook this work, and which in some degree operate against its absolute perfection,—namely, economy, and speed. They were warned, that it was important to produce the work at a very low rate, and also to produce it without loss of time.

Now, had both these considerations been laid aside, the Publishers would have gladly endeavoured to produce an *immaculate* edition of FOXE; but this would have required at least ten years' preparation, and it would have raised the price to *eight* guineas instead of *four.*

The Publishers were advised to take a different course. They are bringing out the work without delay,—they are bringing it out at a price unprecedentedly low,—and yet the work will be, at the same time, by far the best edition of FOXE,—the most complete, and the most accurate, that has ever been produced. And they trust that this view of the case will be satisfactory to their subscribers; and that they will not be induced by those who dislike FOXE altogether, and who would dislike him quite as much were the edition absolutely faultless,—to think meanly of the present republication, merely because it is found impossible to combine, with great cheapness and rapidity of publication, absolute perfection in all the minor details.

They would gladly adopt any practical proposition for the still greater improvement of the work. It would give them the highest gratification to be able to offer, not only the best edition that has ever yet been produced, but one in which every fact had been re-investigated, every quotation verified, every date examined by the registers, and every name adjusted by the most accurate systems of spelling. But they beg to observe that no plan has yet been suggested, by which all these desiderata can be attained, which does not necessarily involve a delay of several years in the completion of the work. They have preferred, therefore, the production of a good edition at the present moment, to the attempting an immaculate one, at the expense of an

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE RECORD."

"SIR,—Having been concerned in requesting Messrs. Seeley and Burnside to bring out a new edition of FOXE'S ACTS AND MONUMENTS, and they having commenced the undertaking in a manner truly worthy of that admirable work, we feel called upon to state the case to the various friends of the principles of the Reformation, so as to conduce, we trust, to the more extended circulation of this improved edition.

"When we consider the high character of the work for accuracy of detail; its full exhibition of the Gospel in all its holy and triumphant efficacy; the bulwark it has proved to our Protestant faith; its peculiar seasonableness to meet all the fresh dangers from Popery in the present times; and its intrinsic value, as forming a sound standard of Reformation divinity, we feel it an exercise of christian responsibility to call the public attention to it. We might further adduce the imprimatur of our own Church, by her act of convocation appending it to all the ecclesiastical establishments in the land, as giving to Foxe's work an additional claim of regard.

"The merits of this edition may be briefly enumerated. It may be said to present the only complete impression of Foxe's text; having been carefully collated with the best edition, and combining the valuable matter (afterwards suppressed) in the early copies of unique rarity (and which have been kindly lent from public libraries for the express use of the editor), with the latest corrections of the Martyrologist. A Memoir, drawn from the most authentic sources, will be prefixed to the work, together with a dissertation upon the main principles and facts involved, from the pen of Mr. Prebendary Townsend, whose ability to do justice to the subject will not be questioned. The whole work, with the principal engravings beautifully executed, is given at as low a price as possible; such, indeed, as will scarcely, if at all, save the publishers from actual loss, even after the sale of the whole impression.

"One clergyman has stated his determination to take two copies; one for his own use, the other to lend in successive volumes throughout his parish, and ultimately to place in his parochial library. A consideration also of the younger clergy, and of our beloved Irish brethren (for whose use the book is especially suited, and yet whose circumstances too often must preclude them from the purchase), will suggest valuable channels for distribution to the more wealthy Christians. The sound principles of the Protestant Reformation would be effectually disseminated through this medium.

"The list of more than sixteen hundred names, collected within the short space of eight months, affords a satisfactory encouragement to this important undertaking. At the same time, it is highly desirable at once to circulate the whole impression of two thousand copies; and as many of our largest spheres have furnished but a scanty number of subscribers, we hope to stand excused for recommending the matter to the early and cordial support of those who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity. We have the best evidence that the publishers were guided by no selfish motives in undertaking the work, and that they have spared no pains or expense in securing the most able assistance for the prosecution of it. We feel, therefore, that the manner in which they have done their part, as well as the certainty that the book will be the best edition of FOXE ever seen, and one of the cheapest publications ever produced, may be fairly adduced as reasons for recommending the undecided at once to enrol their names in the list of subscribers.

"JOSIAH PRATT,
"EDWARD BICKERSTETH,
"CHARLES BRIDGES."

WINDSOR CASTLE,
April 24th, 1837.

Sir Herbert Taylor begs to acknowledge the receipt of Messrs. R. Seeley and W. Burnside's letter of the 22d inst. which he has had the honour to submit to the King, with the accompanying Volume of Foxe's Acts and Monuments, which will be deposited in the Royal Library here.

His Majesty has ordered Sir Herbert Taylor to thank Messrs. R. Seeley and W. Burnside for it, and to express his satisfaction with the manner in which the Work is edited and executed.

DEDICATED, BY PERMISSION,

TO

HIS MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY.

THE ACTS AND MONUMENTS OF JOHN FOXE.

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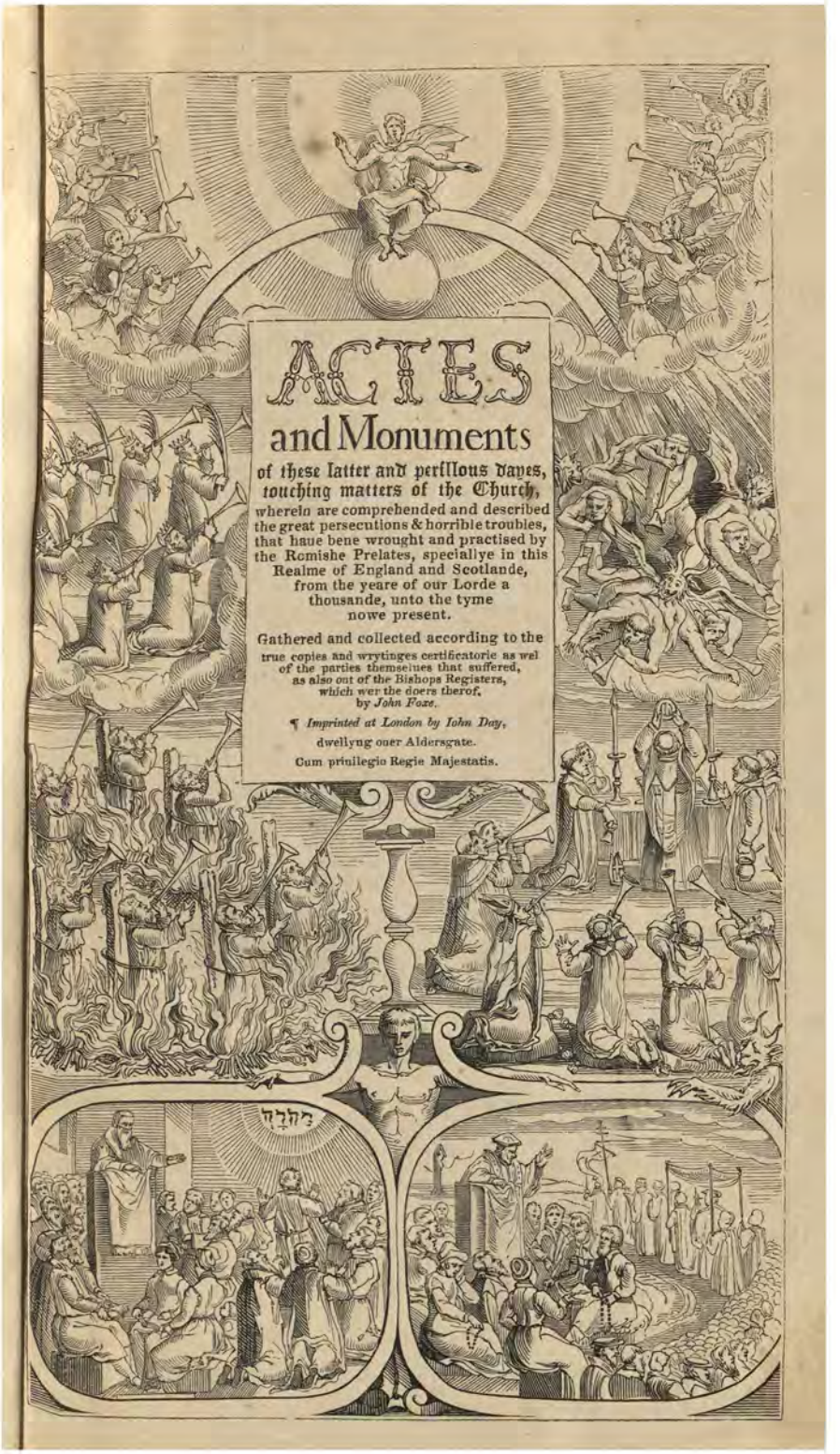
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and Monuments
of these latter and perillous dayes,
touching matters of the Church,
wherein are comprehended and described
the great persecutions & horrible troubles,
that haue bene wrought and practised by
the Romishe Prelates, speciallye in this
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from the yeare of our Lorde a
thousande, unto the tyme
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THE ACTS AND MONUMENTS OF JOHN FOXE:

A NEW AND COMPLETE EDITION:

WITH A PRELIMINARY DISSERTATION,

BY THE

REV. GEORGE TOWNSEND, M.A.
OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,
PREBENDARY OF DURHAM,
AND VICAR OF NORTHALLERTON, YORKSHIRE.

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CONTENTS.

VOL. IV.

CONTINUATION OF BOOK VI.

PERTAINING TO THE LAST THREE HUNDRED YEARS FROM THE LOOSING OUT OF SATAN.

A.D.		PAGE
1485.	HENRY VII.	3
1486.	Maximilian the Emperor	*ibid.*
1490.	The Burning of Joan Boughton, and others	7
1499.	Hieronymus Savanarola, with two Friars, Martyrs	8
	Articles objected against Hierome and the two Friars	9
1499 to 1503.	The Ten Grievances complained of by the Germans, and the Remedy against them	11
	An Advertisement unto the Emperor Maximilian, of the Subtle Practices of the Pope and Popish Prelates	13
	A certain Godly Exhortation unto the Emperor's Majesty	*ibid.*
	The Edict of Maximilian the Emperor	14
	A Letter of Jacobus Selestadiensis to the Emperor Maximilian, in Answer to the Edict	*ibid.*
1503.	The History of the Turks	18
	Ottoman, the First great Emperor of the Turks, A.D. 1300	25
	Orchan, the Second Emperor	*ibid.*
	Amurath, the Third Emperor	26
	Bajazet, the Fourth Emperor	27
	Calephine, the Fifth Emperor	29
	Orchan, Mahomet, and Amurath, the Sixth, Seventh, and Eighth Emperors	30
	Mahomet II., the Ninth Emperor	36
	Bajazet II., the Tenth Emperor	44
	Selim, the Eleventh Emperor	48
	Solyman, the Twelfth Emperor	51
	A Notice touching the Miserable Persecution, Slaughter, and Captivity of the Christians under the Turks, and the Authors of the Turks' Story	79
	The Division of Asia Minor, called Cheronesus	88
	Africa	91

A.D.		PAGE
1503	The Prophecies of the Holy Scriptures considered, touching the Coming up, and final Ruin and Destruction, of this wicked Kingdom of the Turks; with the Revelations and Foreshowings also of other authors concerning the same	93
	A Comparison between the Syrians and the Turks	96
	The Prophecies of Methodius, Hildegarde, and others, concerning the Reign and Ruin of the Turks	109
	Interpretation of Prophecy	112
	A Prayer against the Turks	121
1500	William Tylsworth, Martyr, burned at Amersham	123
to	The cruel handling of Thomas Chase, of Amersham; wickedly	
1506.	strangled and martyred in the Bishop's Prison at Woburn, under William Smith, Bishop of Lincoln	124
	Laurence Ghest, Martyr	126
1508	A notable Story of a faithful Woman, burned in Chipping Sudbury	127
	Verses upon Thomas Wittington, who was slain by a bull	129
1509	John Blomstone, and eight others, persecuted at Coventry	133
	The Names of the Archbishops of Canterbury contained in the Sixth Book	136
	A Brief Note, with a Recapitulation of Ancient Ecclesiastical Laws, by sundry Kings of this realm ordained, for Government of the Church before the Conquest	*ibid.*
	The proud primacy of Popes described; in order of their rising up, by little and little, from faithful Bishops and Martyrs, to become Lords and Governors over Kings and Kingdoms, exalting themselves in the Temple of God, above all that is called God	139
	The First Rising of the Bishops of Rome	140
	The Words of St. Paul expounded	141
	The Exaltation of Popes above Kings and Emperors, out of Histories	142
	The Image of Antichrist exalting himself in the Temple of God, above all that is called God; out of his own decrees, decretals, extravagants, pontificals, &c., word for word, as it is out of the said books here alleged and quoted	145
	An Alphabetical List of the Authorities here alluded to	157
	Casus Papales LI. apud Fratrem Astesanum, sive de Ast. Doctorem solemnem in summa confessionis. Item apud Hostiensem, de offic. legat. reperti et his versibus comprehensi.	161
	Cases Papal to the number of one and fifty; wherein the Pope hath power to dispense, and none else besides	162

BOOK VII.

PERTAINING TO THE LAST THREE HUNDRED YEARS FROM THE LOOSING OUT OF SATAN.

1509.	Henry VIII.	166
	The Tenor of the Pope's Bull, for the Conception of the Virgin to be without Sin	168
1509	The State and Succession of Princes	173
to	The History of divers good Men and Women, persecuted for	
1518.	Religion in the city and diocese of the Bishop of London: briefly extracted out of the Registers of Richard Fitzjames; with their Examinations	*ibid.*
	Joan Baker, and thirty-nine others	175
	The Death and Martyrdom of William Sweeting and John Brewster	180
	John Brown, Martyr	181

A.D.		PAGE
1509 to 1518.	The Story of Richard Hun, Martyr; with the Articles against him	183
	New Articles commenced against him after his death	186
	A solemn process of Fitzjames, Bishop of London, against Hun being dead	188
	The Verdict of the Inquest	190
	The Depositions of Thomas Chicheley, Thomas Simondes, Robert Johnson, John Spalding, Peter Turner, John Enderby, Allen Cresswell, and Richard Horsenail	192
	Copy of the Letter of Richard Fitzjames, the Bishop of London, sent to Cardinal Wolsey	196
	The Words that the Bishop of London spake before the Lords, in the Parliament-house	*ibid.*
	The sentence of the Inquest subscribed by the Coroner	*ibid.*
	Tenor of the King's Letter in behalf of Richard Hun	197
	A Defence of Richard Hun, against Sir Thomas More and Alanus Copus	198
	Elizabeth Stamford, and others	205
	The Names of divers others, who, in the Registers, be specified to abjure	206
	John Southwick	*ibid.*
	John Stilman, and the Articles against him	207
	Thomas Man, Martyr, and his Articles	208
	Robert Cosin, of Buckingham, and William Sweeting, alias Clerke, Martyrs	214
	James Brewster, of Colchester, Martyr	215
	Christopher Shoemaker, of Great Messenden, Martyr	217
	Captious Interrogatories ministered commonly by the Bishop of Lincoln, against certain Examinates	219
1518 to 1521.	A Table describing the grievous Afflictions of good Men, in the Diocese of Lincoln, under John Longland, the Bishop, with the names both of the accusers and of them that were accused; also with the crimes to them objected; out of the Registers of the said Diocese. A.D. 1521	221
	Copy of the King's Letter for the aid of John Longland, Bishop of Lincoln, against the Servants of Christ, falsely then called Heretics	241
	The Names of those who were abjured in the Diocese of Lincoln, with a brief Summary of their Opinions	242
	Copy of the Bishop's Letter to the Abbot of Ensham	244
	Penance enjoined under pain of relapse, by John Longland, Bishop of Lincoln, Dec. 19, 1521	*ibid.*
	The Names of them that were condemned for Relapse, and committed unto the Secular Power	245
	Doctor John Colet, Dean of St. Paul's	246
	The Beginning of the Reformation of the Church of Christ, in the time of Martin Luther	250
	Prophecies, going before Martin Luther, touching the Reformation of the Church	253
	The A. B. C. against the Pride of the Clergy	259
	The History of Doctor Martin Luther, with his Life and Doctrine described	260
	Review of Luther's Conduct and Writings	264
	Substance of the Pope's Charge to his Legate, against Luther.	270
	Protestation of Luther, with his Answer and Propositions before the Cardinal	271
1521.	The Acts and Doings of Martin Luther before the Emperor, at the City of Worms	281
	Luther's Answer to Eckius	284
	The Emperor's Letter against Luther, and the Consultation upon it; Doctor Vœus's Oration, and Luther's Answer, &c.	287
	The usual Prayer of Martin Luther	292

A.D.		PAGE
1521.	Pope Adrian VI. to the renowned Princes of Germany, and to the Peers of the Roman Emperors	295
1522.	Instructions given by Pope Adrian to Charegatus, his Legate, touching his Proceedings in the Diet of Nuremberg, how and by what persuasions the Princes were to be moved against Luther	298
	The Answer of the Noble and Reverend Princes, and of the States of his Sacred Roman Empire, exhibited to the Pope's Ambassador	303
	Certain Grievances or Oppressions of Germany, against the Court of Rome, collected and exhibited by the Princes, at the Council of Nuremberg, to the number of a hundred, whereof certain Specialities follow	308
1523.	An Intimation given by Philip Melancthon to his Auditory at Wittenberg, of the decease of Martin Luther, A.D. 1546	320
	A Prayer after the manner of Luther	321
	Summary of Popish Decrees made at the Council of Ratisbon.	325
	The History of the Helvetians or Switzers; how they first recovered their liberty, and afterwards were joined in league together	*ibid.*
	The Acts and Doings of Uldricus Zuinglius: and the Receiving of the Gospel in Switzerland	327
	Constitutions decreed in the Council of Bern	329
	Answer of the Tigurines, or Men of Zurich, to the five Towns of the Switzers	
	Message from the Council to the City of Strasberg	339
	A Letter of Uldricus Zuinglius to N., his brother in the Lord.	346
	Henry Voes and John Esch, Friars Augustine, burnt at Brussels, A.D. 1523	349
1524.	Henry Sutphen, Monk, a Martyr at Dithmarsch	350
	Letter of Solyman the great Turk, to the Master of the Rhodes.	*ibid.*
	The lamentable Martyrdom of John Clerk, at Meaux, in France	361
1525.	The History of a good Pastor, murdered for preaching of the Gospel: written by John Œcolampadius	365
	The like History of the Death of a certain Minister, named Master Peter Spengler, who was drowned: collected by Œcolampadius	366
	Another History of a certain Man of the Country, wrongfully put to death: collected by John Œcolampadius	369
	The Story and Martyrdom of Wolfgangus Schuch, a German, burned at Lorraine	371
1526.	John Huglein, Martyr, burned at Mersburg	373
1527.	George Carpenter, of Emerich, Martyr, burned in the town of Munich, in Bavaria	374
	The History of Leonard Keyser, Martyr, burned at Schardingham	376
	Wendelmuta, Widow, Martyr; at the Hague	377
	Peter Flisteden and Adolphus Clarebach, put to death at Cologne	378
1524 to 1555.	A Table of the Names and Causes of such Martyrs as gave their lives for the testimony of the Gospel, in Germany, France, Spain, Italy, and other Foreign Countries, since Luther's time: in which table are contained the Persecutions, the Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom:	
	The Martyrs of Germany	379
	Great Persecution in Gaunt, and other parts of Flanders, by the Friars and Priests thereof	383
1525 to 1560.	Another Table of those that suffered in France, for the like witness of his Gospel:	
	The French Martyrs	396

A.D.		PAGE
1540 to 1560.	A Table of certain Martyrs, who, for the cause of Religion, suffered in Spain :	
	The Spanish Martyrs	447
	The Form and Manner of the Execrable Inquisition of Spain.	451
	Thirty Christian Prisoners brought before the Council of the Inquisition	453
1546 to 1560.	A Table of such Martyrs as suffered for the testimony of the Gospel, in Italy :	
	The Italian Martyrs	458
	Eighty-eight Martyrs in one day, with one butcherly knife, slain like sheep. Sixteen hundred others also condemned at Calabria	472
1530 to 1547.	A Notable History of the Persecution and Destruction of the People of Merindol and Cabriers, in the Country of Provence	474
	An Oration of Catiline, that is, the Oration of the Bishop of Aix, seditious and bloody	482
	An Oration of Bassinet in reply to the Bishop of Aix, followed by another	483
	Supplication of the Inhabitants of Cabriers, and the Answer of Cardinal Sadolet	
	The Words of Durand to the Merindolians, with their Answer.	496
	Notes upon the History of Merindol, above recited	505
1555 to 1561.	The History of the Persecutions and Wars against the people called Waldenses or Waldois; in the Valleys of Angrogne, Lucerne, St. Martin, Perouse and others; in the county of Piedmont	507
	Substance of the Articles and Confessions of the Angrognians, exhibited to the President; with their Interrogatories and the Answer to them	510
	The Crafty Message of the Lord of Trinity to the Angrognians, with their Answer	525
	Conditions and Articles proposed to the Waldois	548
	Conclusions and Articles lastly agreed upon between the Right Honourable Lord of Ranconis, on the part of the Duke's Highness, and those of the Valleys of Piedmont, called the Waldois	549
	The Conclusion of the Story of Merindol and Cabriers	553
	The Story of a Christian Jew martyred by the Turks	555
	The Conclusion	*ibid.*

BOOK VIII.

CONTINUING THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH MATTERS APPERTAINING TO BOTH STATES, AS WELL ECCLESIASTICAL AS CIVIL AND TEMPORAL.

1519 to 1527.	The History of Seven Godly Martyrs burnt at Coventry	557
	Robert Silkeb, A. D. 1521	558
	Patrick Hamelton, martyred at St. Andrew's, in Scotland, A. D. 1527	*ibid.*
	Articles and Opinions objected against Master Patrick Hamelton, by James Beton, Bishop of St. Andrew's; followed by his Sentence	559
1527.	The Copy of a Letter congratulatory sent from the Doctors of Louvain to the Archbishop of St. Andrew's and Doctors of Scotland, commending them for the Death of Master Patrick Hamelton	561
1528.	A Brief Treatise of Master Patrick Hamelton, called 'Patrick's Places;' translated into English by John Frith, with the Epistle of the said Frith prefixed before the same; treating of the Doctrine of the Law; the Doctrine of Faith; of Hope; of Charity, etc.	563

A.D.		PAGE
1528.	Certain Brief Notes or Declarations upon the aforesaid places of Master Patrick Hamelton	572
	Henry Forest martyred at St. Andrew's, in Scotland	578
	James Hamelton, Katherine Hamelton; a wife of Leith; David Straton, and Master Norman Gurley; the two last burned	579
1530.	Thomas Harding, an aged Father, dwelling at Chesham in Buckinghamshire. A. D. 1532	580
	Persecution of simple men in the diocese of Lincoln	582
	A Table of all such as were abjured in King Henry's days, after the first beginning of Luther	585
	A Brief Discourse concerning the Story and Life of Thomas Wolsey, late Cardinal of York, by way of digression; wherein is to be seen and noted the express image of the proud, vainglorious Church of Rome, how far it differeth from the true Church of Christ Jesus	587
1527 to 1530.	The Sacking of Rome and Taking of Pope Clement	592
	The Copy of an ambitious Letter written by Thomas Wolsey, Cardinal of York, unto Stephen Gardiner, one of King Henry's Orators in the Court of Rome, for procuring of the papal dignity to the said Cardinal	600
	Instructions sent by the King's Highness to his Trusty Councillors and Servants, Master Stephen Gardiner, Doctor of both Laws; Sir Francis Brian, Sir Gregory de Cassalis, Knights; and Mr. Petre Vanne, the King's Secretary for the Italian tongue; his Ambassadors in the Court of Rome, for the Election of the Cardinal of York to the Papacy, if Pope Clement were dead	
	Grievances objected against the Clergy of England	611
	Articles objected against Cardinal Wolsey	614
1530.	The Trouble of Humphrey Mummuth, Alderman of London	617
	Thomas Hitten, burned at Maidstone	619
	Thomas Bilney; also Thomas Arthur, who abjured at Norwich	*ibid.*
1531.	Articles against Thomas Arthur	623
	Interrogatories objected against Arthur and Bilney	624
	Bilney's Answers to the Interrogatories	625
	A Brief Summary or Collection of certain Depositions, deposed by the several witnesses aforenamed, upon certain interrogatories ministered unto them for the inquiry of Master Bilney's Doctrine and Preaching; with certain other articles	627
	A Dialogue between Friar John Brusierd and Master Thomas Bilney at Ipswich, concerning Worshipping of Images	628
	The Submission of Master Thomas Bilney	631
	A Letter of Master Thomas Bilney to Cuthbert Tonstal, Bishop of London	633
	Another Letter from the same to the same	636
	A Letter of Master Bilney, to Tonstal, Bishop of London, fruitful and necessary for all Ministers to read	639
	Master Stafford, of Cambridge	656
	The Story of Master Simon Fish, author of 'The Supplication of Beggars'	*ibid.*
	A certain Libel or Book entitled 'The Supplication of Beggars,' thrown and scattered at the Procession in Westminster, on Candlemas-day, before King Henry VIII.; for him to read and peruse. Made and compiled by Master Fish	659
	The Names of the Books that were forbidden at this time, together with the New Testament	667
	A compendious old Treatise, showing how we ought to have the Scriptures in English	671
	A Proclamation for the resisting and withstanding of most damnable Heresies, sown within this Realm by the Disciples	

A.D.		PAGE
1531.	of Luther and other Heretics, perverters of Christ's Religion	676
	The Copy of a Letter sent by Bishop Nixe, of Norwich, which was taken out of the Letter subscribed with his own hand	679
	Richard Bayfield, Martyr	680
	Articles laid against Richard Bayfield, and his Answers to them.	682
	The Sentence given against him	684
	The Sentence of Degradation given against blessed Bayfield, with the Proceedings thereon	686
	The Letters of Requiry, directed to the Mayor and Sheriffs of the City of London, that they should be present that day, when the Sentence should be given, to receive the Heretic (as they called him) that was condemned	687
	John Tewkesbury, leatherseller, of London, Martyr	688
	The Examination of John Tewkesbury, before Tonstal, bishop of London	689
	Articles extracted out of the Book of 'The Wicked Mammon.'	690
	Another Examination of John Tewkesbury, on Articles drawn out of 'The Wicked Mammon'	691
	Additional Articles objected against John Tewkesbury	692
	The Sentence against him	693
	John Randall	694
	The Story and Apprehension of Edward Freese, a Painter	*ibid.*
	James Bainham, Lawyer and Martyr	697
	Interrogatories against James Bainham	698
1532.	The Process against James Bainham, in case of Relapse	702
	John Bent, Martyr	706
	One Trapnel, Martyr	*ibid.*
	Robert King, Robert Dedham, and Nicholas Marsh, Martyrs.	*ibid.*

ILLUSTRATIONS IN VOL. IV.

KING HENRY THE EIGHTH IN COUNCIL . . . . . page 165

THE MURDER OF RICHARD HUN 184

SEVEN GODLY MARTYRS BURNT AT COVENTRY 557

THOMAS BILNEY TWICE PLUCKED FROM THE PULPIT 627

ACTS AND MONUMENTS.

VOL. IV.

ACTS AND MONUMENTS.

CONTINUATION OF BOOK VI.

PERTAINING TO

THE LAST THREE HUNDRED YEARS FROM THE LOOSING OUT OF SATAN.[1]

HENRY THE SEVENTH.

Henry VII.

A.D. 1485.

WHEN king Henry, by the providence of God, had obtained this triumphant victory and diadem of the realm, first sending for Edward Plantagenet earl of Warwick, son to George duke of Clarence, and committing him to safe custody within the Tower, from Leicester he removed to London; and not long after, according to his oath and promise made before, espoused to him the young lady Elizabeth, heir of the house of York; whereby both the houses of York and Lancaster were conjoined together, to the no little rejoicing of all English hearts, and no less quiet unto the realm, which was A. D. 1485. This king reigned twenty-three years and eight months, and being a prince of great policy, justice, and temperance, kept his realm in good tolerable rule and order. And here, interrupting a little the course of our English matters, we will now (the Lord willing) enter the story above promised, of Maximilian the emperor, and matters of the empire, especially such as pertain to the church.

The two houses of York and Lancaster joined together.

Maximilian the Emperor.

A.D. 1486.

In the year of our Lord 1486, Frederic waxing aged, and partly also mistrusting the hearts of the Germans, who had complained before of their grievances, and could not be heard; and therefore, misdoubting that his house, after his decease, should have the less favour among them, for that cause in his lifetime did associate his son Maximilian to be joined emperor with him; with whom he reigned the space of seven years, till the death of the said Frederic his father, who departed A. D. 1494, after he had reigned over the empire fifty-three

Reign and death of Frederic, the emperor.

(1) Edition 1563, p. 371. Ed. 1570, p. 864. Ed. 1576, p. 704. Ed. 1583, p. 729. Ed. 1596, p. 670. Ed. 1684, vol. i. p. 828.—ED.

Henry VII. years, lacking but three years of the reign of Augustus Cæsar, under whom was the birth of our Lord and Saviour Christ.

A. D. 1486. This Maximilian, as he was a valiant emperor, prudent and singularly learned, so was his reign entangled in many unquiet and difficult wars; first, in the lower countries of Flanders and Brabant, where the said Maximilian was taken captive, but shortly after rescued and A.D.1487. delivered again by his father, A. D. 1487. It was signified before, how this Maximilian, by the advice of the Burgundians, had to wife Mary, the only daughter of Charles duke of Burgundy afore mentioned,[1] by whom he had two children, Philip and Margaret, A.D. 1477; which Mary not long after, about A.D. 1481, by a fall from her horse, fell into an ague, and departed. Other wars, many more, the same Maximilian also achieved, both in France, in Italy, in Hungary, and divers besides.

The learning of Maximilian. So happy was the education of this emperor in good letters, so expert he was in tongues and sciences, but especially such was his dexterity and promptness in the Latin style, that he, imitating the Writer of his own stories. example of Julius Cæsar, did write and comprehend in Latin histories his own acts and feats done, and that, in such sort, that when he had given a certain taste of his history to one Picamerus, a learned man, asking his judgment how his warlike style of Latin did like him, the said Picamerus did affirm and report of him to John Carion (the witness and writer of this story), that he did never see nor read in any German story, a thing more exactly (and that in such haste) done, as this was of Maximilian. Moreover, as he was learned himself, so First ordainer of the university of Wittenberg. was he a singular patron and advancer of learned students, as may well appear by the erecting and setting up the university of Wittenberg. By this emperor many in those days were excited to the embracing as well of other liberal arts, as also, namely, to the searching out of old antiquities of histories, whereby divers were then by him first occasioned in Germany, to set their minds, and to exercise their diligence, in collecting and explicating matters pertaining to the knowledge of history, as well of ancient as also of later times, as namely Cuspinian, Nauclerus, Conrad, Peutinger, Manlius, and others.

Here now it began right well to appear, what great benefit was broached to the world by the art and faculty of printing, as is before mentioned. Through the means of which printing, the church and commonwealth of Christ began now to be replenished with learned men, as both may appear by this emperor, being so endued himself with such excellent knowledge of good letters, and also by divers Learned men begin to grow in Christendom. other famous and worthy wits, who began now in this age exceedingly to increase and multiply: as Baptista Mantuanus, Augustus Politianus, Hermolaus Barbarus, Picus Mirandula, and Franciscus his cousin, Rodolphus Agricola, Pontanus, Philippus, Beroaldus, Marsilius Ficinus, Volateranus, Georgius Valla, with infinite others.

Among whom is also to be numbered Weselus Groningensis, otherwise named Basilius, who was not long after Johannes de Wesalia above recited; both much about one time, and both great friends together. A.D.1490. This Weselus died A. D. 1490. After that Johannes, doctor of Wesalia aforesaid, was condemned, this Weselus, being familiar with him, thought that the inquisitor would come and examine him also,

(1) This Mary was niece to king Edw. IV.

as he himself, in a certain epistle, doth write. He was so notable and worthy a man, that of the people he was called 'Lux Mundi,' that is, 'The light of the world.' *Henry VII.* A. D. 1490.

Concerning his doctrine, first he reprehended the opinion of the papists, as touching repentance, which they divided into three parts, of the which three parts, satisfaction and confession he did disallow. Likewise purgatory and supererogation of works and pardons he did disprove, both at Rome and at Paris. He spake against the pope's indulgences, by the occasion whereof divers of the pope's court, persuaded by him, began to speak more freely against the same matter than he himself had done.

The abuses of masses, and praying for the dead he disallowed; and likewise the supremacy of the pope he utterly rejected (as appeareth in a book of his, 'De sacramento pœnitentiæ'), denying utterly that any supreme head or governor ought to be in the world over all others; affirming also, and saying many times, that the pope had no authority to do any thing by commandment, but by truth (that is, so far as truth goeth with him, so far his sentence to stand); neither that he ought to prevail by commanding, but only by teaching, so as every true christian bishop may prevail over another.[1] Also, in some place in his writings he denieth not, but that popes and their spiritual prelates, proceeding against Christ's doctrine, be plain antichrists. Such as were infirm, and not able to perform the bond of chastity taken upon them, he said, they might well break their vow. The pope's supremacy written against.

Also the said Weselus witnesseth, that the forefathers who were before Albert and Thomas, did resist and withstand the pope's indulgences, calling them in their writings plain idolatry; mere fraud and error; adding moreover, that unless the severity of some good divines had withstood these pardons and indulgences of the pope, innumerable errors had overflowed the church.

Amongst these works of Weselus, there is a certain epistle of one who had written to him, in which the author of the epistle confesseth, that in his time there was a certain learned man at Paris, called Master Thomas de Curselis, a dean; who, being in the council of Basil, when divers began to advance the power of the pope too far, declared and affirmed, to be said to him of Christ, "Quicquid ligaveris super terram, erit ligatum et in cœlo," &c., and not "quicquid dixeris esse ligatum;" that is, "Whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth, shall be bound in heaven," but not, "whatsoever thou sayest to be bound." As who should say, the pope cannot and doth not bind therefore, because he so saith, except truth and righteousness go also with him: then, he doth so bind indeed.[2] There is a certain book of this man, amongst divers others, which he entitled, 'De subditis et superioribus,' in which he disputeth greatly against the pope and his prelates; affirming that the pope, unless his faith and doctrine be sound, ought not to be obeyed. He affirmeth also that the pope may err, and when he erreth, men ought by all manner of means to resist him. Item, That great and superfluous riches in the clergy do not profit, but hurt the church. That the pope doth wickedly dis- Christ's answer to Tho. de Curselis touching this place, 'Quicquid ligaveris.' Against riches in the church.

(1) Ex lib. D. Weseli. De sacramento pœnitentiæ.
(2) Not whatsoever is said to be loosed on earth, is loosed in heaven; but whatsoever is loosed in very deed in earth, that is also loosed indeed in heaven.

Henry VII. A.D. 1490.

tribute the rents of the church, and the church itself, to unworthy ministers by simony, for his own profit and gain, whereby it may appear, that he neither careth for God, nor for the health of the church. Item, That the precepts and commandments of the pope and prelates be no otherwise but as the counsels and precepts of physicians, binding no further than they are found to be wholesome, and standing with the truth of the word. Item, That the pope can command no man under pain of deadly sin, except God command him before. He saith, that the keys of the pope and of the prelates be not such wherewith they open the kingdom of heaven, but rather shut it, as the Pharisees did. Concerning vows, he disputeth that such as be foolish and impossible ought to be broken; that the hearers ought to discern and judge of the doctrine of their prelates, and not to receive every thing that they say, without due examination.

The precepts of the pope and prelates how they bind.

The pope's keys.

Vows.

Doctrine to be received without examination.

He showeth, moreover, that the sentence of excommunication is of more force, proceeding from a true, godly, honest, simple, and learned man, than from the pope; as in the council of Constance, Bernard was more esteemed than Eugene. Also if the pope with his prelates govern and rule naughtily, that the inferiors, be they ever so base, ought to resist him.

Excommunication.

Writing moreover of two popes, Pius II. and Sixtus IV., he saith, that Pius II. did usurp unto himself all the kingdoms of the whole world, and that Sixtus the pope did dispense with all manner of oaths, in causes temporal, not only with such oaths as have been already, but also with all such as shall be made hereafter: which was nothing else but to give liberty and license for men to forswear themselves, and deceive one another.

A prophecy of Weselus.

This Weselus, being a Phrygian born, and now aged in years, on a certain time when a young man called Master Johannes Ostendorpius[1] came to him, said these words: "Well, my child, thou shalt live to that day, when thou shalt see that the doctrine of these new and contentious divines, as Thomas and Bonaventure, with others of the same sort, shall be utterly rejected and exploded from all true christian divines." And this, which Ostendorpius, then being young, heard Weselus to speak, he reported himself to Noviomagus, who wrote the story, A.D. 1520, and heard it at the mouth of the said Weselus A.D. 1490, March 18.

Rodulphus and Weselus lament the darkness of the church.

Philip Melancthon, writing the life of Rodulphus Agricola, saith, that Josquinus Groningensis, an ancient and a godly man, reported that when he was young, he was oftentimes present at the sermons of Rodulphus and Weselus, wherein they many times lamented the darkness of the church, and reprehended the abuses of the mass, and of the single life of priests.[2] Item, That they disputed oftentimes of the righteousness of faith, why St. Paul so oftentimes did inculcate, that men be justified by faith, and not by works. The same Josquine also reported, that they did openly reject and disprove the opinion of monks, who say that men be justified by their works. Item, Concerning men's traditions their opinion was that all such were deceived, whosoever attributed unto those traditions any opinion

(1) This Ostendorpius was a man well learned, and canon of the minster of Lubeck. Ex Noviomage.

(2) Here it appeareth that this Rodulphus Agricola was of good judgment, though the friars afterwards buried him in a friar's weed.

of God's worship, or that they might not be broken. And thus much for the story of doctors Wesalia and Weselus. *Henry VII.*

By this it may be seen and noted, how, by the grace of God and gift of printing, first came forth learning; by learning came light, to judge and discern the errors of the pope from the truth of God's word; as partly by these above said may appear, partly by others that follow after (by the grace of Christ) shall better be seen. A.D. 1490.

The burning of Joan Boughton, and Others.

About the very same time and season, when the gospel began thus to branch and spring in Germany, the host of Christ's church began also to muster and to multiply likewise here in England, as by these histories here consequent may appear. For not long after the death of this Weselus, A.D. 1494, and in the ninth year of the reign of king Henry VII., the 28th of April, was burned a very old woman named Joan Boughton, widow, and mother to the lady Young, which lady was also suspected to be of that opinion which her mother was. Her mother was fourscore years of age or more, and held eight of Wickliff's opinions (which opinions my author doth not show) for which she was burnt in Smithfield the day abovesaid. My author saith, she was a disciple of Wickliff, whom she accounted for a saint, and held so fast and firmly eight of his ten opinions, that all the doctors of London could not turn her from one of them; and when it was told her that she should be burnt for her obstinacy and false belief, she set nothing by their menacing words, but defied them: for she said, she was so beloved of God, and his holy angels, that she passed not for the fire; and in the midst thereof she cried to God to take her soul into his holy hands. The night following that she was burnt, the most part of her ashes were had away by such as had a love unto the doctrine that she died for. A.D. 1494. Joan Boughton, mother to the lady Young, martyr.

Shortly after the martyrdom of this godly aged mother, A.D. 1497, and the 17th of January, being Sunday, two men, the one called Richard Milderale, and the other James Sturdy, bare faggots before the procession of Paul's, and after stood before the preacher in the time of his sermon. And upon the Sunday following stood other two men at Paul's cross all the sermon time; the one garnished with painted and written papers, the other having a faggot on his neck. After that, in Lent season, upon Passion Sunday, one Hugh Glover bare a faggot before the procession of Paul's, and after, with a faggot, stood before the preacher all the sermon, while at Paul's Cross. And, on the Sunday next following, four men stood, and did their open penance at Paul's, as is aforesaid, in the sermon time, and many of their books were burnt before them, at the cross. A.D. 1497. Richard Milderale. James Sturdy. Hugh Glover. Four others bear faggots.

Furthermore, the next year following, which was A.D. 1498, in the beginning of May, the king then being at Canterbury, there was a priest burnt, who was so strong in his opinion, that all the clerks and doctors then there being, could not remove him from his faith: whereof the king being informed, he caused the said priest to be brought before his presence, who, by his persuasion, caused him to revoke; and so he was burnt immediately. A.D. 1498. A priest burnt.

In the same year (A.D. 1498), after the beheading of Edward Plan-

Henry VII. tagenet, earl of Warwick, and son to the duke of Clarence, the king and queen being removed to Calais, a certain godly man and a constant martyr of Christ, named Babram, in Norfolk, was burnt in the A. D. 1498. month of July, as is in Fabian recorded, after the copy which I have written. Albeit in the Book Fabian printed, his burning is referred to the next year following, which is A.D. 1499.[1]

An old man burned. About which year likewise, or in the year next following, the 20th day of July, was an old man burnt in Smithfield.

Hieronymus Savanarola, with two Friars, Martyrs.

A.D.1499. In the same year also (A. D. 1499), fell the martyrdom and burning of Hieronymus Savanarola, a man no less godly in heart, than constant in his profession; who, being a monk in Italy, and singularly well learned, preached sore against the evil life and living of the spiritualty, and specially of his own order; complaining sore upon them, as the springs and authors of all mischiefs and wickedness. Whereupon, by the help of certain learned men, he began to seek reformation in his own order. Which thing the pope perceiving, and fearing that the said Hierome, who was now in great reputation amongst all men, should diminish or overthrow his authority, he ordained his vicar or provincial to see reformation of these matters; which vicar with great superstition began to reform things, but the said Hierome did always withstand him; whereupon he was complained of to the pope, and, because that contrary unto the pope's commandment he did withstand his vicar, he was accursed. But for all that Hierome left not off preaching, but threatened Italy with the wrath and indignation of God, and prophesied before unto them, that the land should be overthrown for the pride and wickedness of the people, and for the untruth, hypocrisy, and falsehood of the clergy, which God would not leave unrevenged; as afterwards it came to pass, when king Charles came into Italy and to Rome, and so straightly beset pope Alexander, that he was forced to make composition with the king.

Prophecy of Savanarola against Italy.

Pope Alexander besieged by the French king.

Savanarola cited to appear before the pope. His doctrine condemned, because he would not come.

Now, forasmuch as the said Hierome would not leave off preaching, he was commanded to appear before the pope, to give account of his new learning (for so then they called the truth of the gospel); but, by means of the manifold perils, he made his excuse that he could not come. Then was he again forbidden by the pope to preach, and his learning pronounced and condemned as pernicious, false, and seditious.

This Hierome, as a man worldly wise, foreseeing the great perils and dangers that might come unto him, for fear, left off preaching. But when the people, who sore hungered and longed for God's word, were instant upon him that he would preach again, he began again to preach A.D. 1496, in the city of Florence; and albeit that many counselled him that he should not so do without the pope's commandment, yet did he not regard it, but went forward freely of his own good will. When the pope and his shavelings heard news of this, they were grievously incensed and inflamed against him, and now again cursed him, as an obstinate and stiffnecked heretic. But for all that, Hierome proceeded in teaching and instructing the people, saying

(1) Ex Fabianio, et alio scripto codice.

that men ought not to regard such curses, which are against the true doctrine and the common profit, whereby the people should be learned and amended, Christ's kingdom enlarged, and the kingdom of the devil utterly overthrown.

In all his preaching he desired to teach no other thing than the only pure and simple word of God, making often protestation that all men should certify him, if they had heard him teach or preach any thing contrary thereunto; for, upon his own conscience, he knew not that he had taught any thing but the pure word of God. What his doctrine was, all men may easily judge by his books that he hath written.

Hierom, with two other friars, committed to prison. His commentary upon Psalm xxxi.

After this (A.D. 1498) he was taken and brought out of St. Mark's cloister, and two other friars with him, named Dominic and Silvester, who favoured his learning, and was carried into prison, where he wrote a godly meditation upon that most comfortable thirty-first Psalm: "In te Domine speravi, non confundar in æternum, sed in justitia tua libera me;" wherein he doth excellently describe and set forth the continual strife between the flesh and the spirit.

After this the pope's legates came to Florence, and call'd forth these three good men, threatening them marvellously; but they continued still constant. Then came the chief counsellors of the city, with the pope's commissioners, who had gathered out certain articles against these men, whereupon they were condemned to death; the tenor of which articles hereafter ensue.

Articles objected against Hierome and the two Friars.

I. The first article was as touching our free justification through faith in Christ.

II. That the communion ought to be ministered under both kinds.

III. That the indulgences and pardons of the pope were of no effect.

IV. For preaching against the filthy and wicked living of the cardinals and spiritualty.

V. For denying the pope's supremacy.

VI. Also, that he had affirmed that the keys were not given unto Peter alone, but unto the universal church.

VII. Also, that the pope did neither follow the life nor doctrine of Christ; for that he did attribute more to his own pardons and traditions, than to Christ's merits; and therefore he was Antichrist.

VIII. Also, that the pope's excommunications are not to be feared, and that he who doth fear or flee them is excommunicate of God.

IX. Item, that auricular confession is not necessary.

X. Item, that he had moved the citizens to uproar and sedition.

XI. Item, that he had neglected and condemned the pope's citation.

XII. Item, that he had shamefully spoken against, and slandered the pope.

XIII. Item, that he had taken Christ to witness of his naughtiness and heresy.

XIV. Also, that Italy must be cleansed through God's scourge, for the manifold wickedness of the princes and clergy.

These and such other like articles were laid unto them and read before them. Then they demanded of the said Hierome and his companions, whether they would recant and give over their opinions. Whereunto they answered, that through God's help they would steadfastly continue in the manifest truth, and not depart from the

Henry VII. A. D. 1499.

same. Then were they degraded one after another by the bishop of Vasion, and so delivered over to the secular rulers of Florence, with straight commandment to carry them forth, and handle them as obstinate and stiffnecked heretics.

Savanarola, with his two companions, hanged and burnt for the truth of the gospel.

Thus was the worthy witness of Christ, with the other two aforesaid, first hanged up openly in the market-place, and afterward burnt to ashes, and the ashes gathered up, and cast into the river Arno, the 24th of May, A.D. 1499.[1]

Prophecies of Savanarola.

This man foreshowed many things to come, as the destruction of Florence and Rome, and the renewing of the church; which three things have happened in these times within our remembrance. Also he foreshowed that the Turks and Moors, in the latter days, should be converted unto Christ. He also declared that one, like unto Cyrus, should pass the Alps into Italy, who should subvert and destroy all Italy: whereupon Johannes Franciscus Picus, earl of Mirandula, called him a holy prophet, and defended him by his writings against the pope. Many other learned men also defended the innocency of the said Savanarola. Masilius Ficinus also, in a certain epistle, doth attribute unto him the spirit of prophecy, greatly commending and praising him. In like manner Philippus Comineas, a French historiographer, who had conference with him, witnesseth that he was a holy man, and full of the spirit of prophecy, forasmuch as he had foreshowed unto him so many things which in event had proved true.[2]

There were besides these, many others, not to be passed over or forgotten: as Philip Norice, an Irishman, professor at Oxford, who albeit he was not burned, yet (as it is said) he was long time vexed and troubled by the religious rout. But would to God, that such as have occupied themselves in writing of histories, and have so diligently committed unto memory all other things done in foreign commonwealths, had bestowed the like diligence and labour in noting and writing those things which pertain unto the affairs of the church; whereby posterity might have had fuller and more perfect understanding and knowledge of them.

This Savanarola above mentioned, suffered under pope Alexander VI., of which pope more leisure and opportunity shall serve hereafter (Christ willing) to treat, after we shall first make a little digression, to treat of certain cases and complaints of the Germans, incident in the mean time, which, as they are not to be overpast in silence, so can they have no place nor time more convenient to be inferred.

(1) Ex Catal. Testium Illyrici.

(2) The following lines, inserted in some recent editions, have been introduced since Foxe's death: they are also in a Dutch Martyrology, published at Dort, in 1657.—Ed.

"Antonius Flaminius, an Italian, and, for piety and learning, famous in that age, wrote this epigram upon the death of Hieronymus Savanarola:—

Dum fera flamma tuos, Hieronyme! pascitur artus,
Religio, sanctas dilaniata comas,
Flevit, et 'O,' dixit, 'crudeles parcite flammæ,
Parcite, sunt isto viscera nostra rogo.'

Which may be thus Englished.

Whilst flames unjust, blest saint! thy body burn,
Weeping Religion, with dishevell'd hairs,
Cries out and says, 'O spare his sacred urn,
Spare, cruel flames, that fire our soul impairs.'"

Henry VII.

A.D. 1499 to 1503.

Complaint of the Germans against the pope renewed.

What complaints of the Germans were made and moved unto the emperor Frederic against the pope's suppressions and exactions, mention was made before; where also was declared, how the said Germans at that time were twice put back and forsaken of the emperor, whereby they continued in the same yoke and bondage until the time of Luther. Wherefore it cometh now to hand, and we think it also good here briefly to declare, how the said Germans, in the time of Maximilian the emperor, renewing their complaints again, delivered unto the emperor ten principal grievances, whereby the Germans have been long time oppressed; showing also the remedies against the same, with certain advisements unto the emperor's majesty, how he might withstand and resist the pope's subtleties and crafts: the order and tenor whereof here ensueth.

The ten principal Grievances, complained of by the Germans.

I. That the bishops of Rome, successors one unto another, do not think themselves bound to observe and keep the bulls, covenants, privileges, and letters, granted by their predecessors, without all derogation; but by often dispensation, suspension and revocation, even at the instance of every vile person, they do gainsay and withstand the same.

II. That the elections of prelates are oftentimes put back.

III. That the elections of presidentships are withstood, which the chapter-houses of many churches have obtained with great cost and expense, as the churches of Spire and Hasselt do well know; whose bull touching the election of their president, is made frustrate, he being yet alive who granted the same.

IV. That benefices, and the greatest ecclesiastical dignities, are reserved for cardinals and head-notaries.

V. That expectative graces, called vowsons, are granted without number, and many oftentimes unto one man, whereupon continual contentions do arise, and much money is spent, both that which is laid out for the bulls of those vowsons which never take effect, and also that which is consumed in going to law. Whereupon this proverb hath risen, 'Whosoever will get a vowson from Rome, must have one or two hundred pieces of gold laid up in his chest, for the obtaining of the same, which he shall have need of, to prosecute the law withal.'

VI. That Annates, or yearly revenues are exacted without delay or mercy, even of the bishops lately dead, and oftentimes more extorted than ought to be, through new offices and new servants, as by the examples of the churches of Mentz and Strasburg, may be seen.

VII. That the rule of the churches is given at Rome unto those that are not worthy, who were more fit to feed and keep mules, than to have the rule and governance of men.

VIII. That new indulgences and pardons, with the suspension and revocation of the old, are granted to gather and scrape money together.

IX. That tenths are exacted, under pretence of making war against the Turk, when no expedition doth follow thereupon.

X. That the causes which might be determined in Germany, where there are both learned and just judges, are indistinctly[1] carried unto the court of Rome; which thing St. Bernard, writing to pope Eugene, seemeth wonderfully to reprove.

The remedy against the said Grievances.

If it shall seem good unto the emperor's majesty, let it be declared unto the bishop of Rome, how grievous and intolerable a thing it is unto the Germans,

(1) "Indistinctly," without distinction.—Ed.

Henry VII. A. D. 1499 to 1503.

to suffer continually so great charges and grievances, to pay so great annates for the confirmation of the bishops and archbishops, and especially in such bishoprics, where the Annates, by process of time, are enhanced, and in many, as it is said, doubled. For the archbishop's see of Mentz, as it is said, sometime paid only 10,000 florins; which sum, when one who was chosen there refused to give, and so continued even unto his death, he who was afterwards elected, being desirous of confirmation, fearing to withstand the apostolic see, offered the old sum of 10,000 florins: but, notwithstanding he could not get his confirmation, except he would pay the other 10,000, which his predecessor before him had not paid.

The pall of the archbishop of Mentz what it costeth.

By this means he was compelled to pay 20,000 florins; which, being enrolled in the register of the chamber, hath been exacted of every archbishop since, until these our days: and not only 20,000, but also 25,000, for their new offices and new servants. At last, the sum drew to 27,000 florins, which James, the archbishop of Mentz, was compelled to pay, as his commissary did report. So by this means, in a little time there were seven times 25,000 florins paid out of the archbishopric of Mentz unto Rome, for the confirmation of the archbishop.

The pall dearly bought of the pope.

And when the archbishop James had kept this archbishopric scarcely four years, the lord Uriel was elected after him, who was compelled to pay at the least 24,000, or 25,000 florins; whereof a part he borrowed of merchants. But, to satisfy and pay them again, he was forced to exact a subsidy of his poor subjects and husbandmen, whereof some have not yet satisfied and paid the tribute for the bishop's pall, so that by this means our people are not only tormented and brought to extreme poverty, but also are moved unto rebellion, to seek their liberty by what means soever they may, grievously murmuring against the cruelty of the clergy.

The pope also should be admonished, how that, through divers and sundry wars and battles, the lands of Germany lie desolate and waste, and through many mortalities, the number of men is diminished, so that for the scarceness of husbandmen, the fields for the most part lie untilled, the tolls are by divers means diminished, the mines consumed, and the profits daily decay, whereby the archbishops and bishops should pay their annates unto the apostolic see, besides their other necessary and honest charges; insomuch that, not without just cause, James, the archbishop of Mentz, being even at the point of death, said, That he did not so much sorrow for his own death, as for that his poor subjects should be again forced to pay a grievous exaction for the pall. Wherefore let the high bishop, as a godly father and lover of his children, and a faithful and prudent pastor, deal more favourably with his children the Germans, lest that persecution happen to rise against the priests of Christ, and that men, following the example of the Bohemians, do swerve from the church of Rome.

The people polled for the pope's pall.

At least, let him be more favourable, as often as any archbishop or bishop may happen to rule his church but a few years; as it happened to the bishops of Bamberg, whereof three died within a few years. The like also might happen by other bishoprics, whereof, as Æneas Sylvius witnesseth, there are in Germany to the number of fifty, besides abbots, whereof a great number are confirmed at Rome.

About fifty bishoprics in Germany.

And admit that in Germany there were greater profits and revenues arising of the ground, mines, and tolls; notwithstanding the emperor and the other princes should lack treasure and munition of war against their enemies, and especially the infidels, and to preserve Germany in peace and quietness, and to minister justice unto every man: for which purpose the council of the chamber, being most holily instructed, and furnished with great cost and charges, doth chiefly serve. Besides that, the emperor hath need of treasure, to suppress the rebels in the empire, to banish and drive away thieves and murderers, whereof a great number are not ashamed not to spoil churches only, and to rob them of their goods, but also to assail the clergy themselves. Finally, our nation and country of Germany hath need of great riches and treasure, not only for the repairing of churches and monasteries, but also for hospitals for children that are laid out in the streets, for widows, for women with child, for orphans, for marriage of the daughters of poor men, that they be not defiled, for such as have need and necessity, for the old and weak, for

the sick and the sore, whereof (the more is the sorrow) Germany is fully replenished and filled. *Henry VII.*

A.D. 1499 to 1503.

An Advertisement unto the Emperor Maximilian, of the subtle Practices of the Pope and Popish Prelates.

Let the emperor's majesty foresee and provide that the begging friars do not preach against his majesty, who are wont to complain gladly unto the apostolic see, fearing to lose their privileges, which I would to God were as well grounded upon Christ, as they are upon profit. Let the emperor's majesty also beware, that the pope do not give commandment unto the electors, to proceed to the election of a new king of Romans, as he did against Frederic II., when the landgrave of Thuringia, and William earl of Holland, were elected by the commandment of the pope. Let the emperor's majesty also fear and take heed of all the prelates of the churches, and especially of the presidents, who by their oath are bound to advertise the pope. Let the emperor's majesty also fear and beware, that the pope do not take away from his subjects their obedience, and provoke the people bordering upon him, to make invasion into the emperor's dominions and archduchy of Austria; which those men, under colour of showing obedience unto the pope's commandment, be ready to do.

Let the emperor's majesty, also, take heed of the apostolic censures, from which the pope will in no case refrain. Finally, let the emperor's majesty diligently foresee and take heed, that the pope do not persuade the people with most subtle arguments, contrary to the Pragmatical sanction, excusing himself, and getting the good will of the simple, alleging that with great costs and charges, he will repair the church of St. Peter in Rome, and build in certain places against the Turks, and recover again the lands and patrimony pertaining unto the church of St. Peter; as he is bound by his office. Therefore let your majesty diligently foresee and deliberate, how, through your most wise and discreet counsel, if need shall require, you will answer to those subtleties of the pope.

The pope's pretence of building St. Peter's church in Rome.

A certain godly Exhortation unto the Emperor's Majesty.

Your majesty can do nothing better, nothing more acceptable, or more worthy eternal remembrance, than to moderate the great exactions and oppressions of the Germans; to take away all occasion from the laity, to persecute the clergy: also to take away the benefices out of the hands of courtesans, who can neither preach, comfort, nor counsel any man (of which benefices, as Æneas Sylvius writeth, some are equal to the bishoprics of Italy), to increase God's honour and worship; and so to bridle the avarice and ungodliness of those courtesans, whereby your majesty may the better provide for the children of many noble and famous men and citizens in Germany; who, being brought up from their youth in the universities, learning both the Scriptures, and other human letters, may, without unquiet vexations and most sumptuous charges and contentions, aspire to the ecclesiastical promotions; who, by their counsel and prayers, may be helps unto the whole church: for there is no small occasion, why the realm of France should so flourish, having so many notable learned men in it. If the emperor would abolish this impiety, and restore Germany unto her ancient liberty, which is now oppressed with grievous tributes, and would make way for learned and honest men unto ecclesiastical promotions; then might he truly and perpetually be called of all men, and in all places, the restorer of Germany to her ancient liberty, and the father of his country; and should obtain no less glory thereby unto himself, and profit unto Germany, than if he had by force of arms subdued any province unto them. And so shall Germany render no less thanks unto the said Maximilian, than unto all the rest, who, having translated the empire from the Grecians unto Germany, have reigned many years before.

A supplication to Maximilian the emperor for redress of the church.

Hereafter ensueth the copy of a certain letter of the emperor Maximilian, given out in manner of a decree or commandment against certain abuses of the clergy: whereunto we have also annexed the answer of Jacobus Selestadiensis unto the emperor's letters,

Henry VII. whereon he seemeth also to have sought advice for the remedy of the like abuses, which we thought good here not to be omitted.

A. D. 1499 to 1503.

An Edict of Maximilian the Emperor.

We, according to the example of our dearly beloved father, Frederic emperor of Rome, reverencing the chief pastor of the church, and all the clergy, have suffered no small revenues of the ecclesiastical dignities to be carried out of our dominion by the prelates and clergy that are absent, whose faults, committed by human frailty with Constantine our predecessor, we have not disdained to hide and cover. But forasmuch as through our liberality, the decay of God's honour hath arisen, it is our part, (who are elect unto the empire, without any desert) to foresee, that among all other affairs of peace and war, the churches do not decay, religion quail not, nor God's true worship be diminished; which we have manifestly experimented, and daily do perceive by the insatiable covetousness of some, who are never satisfied in getting of benefices, through whose absence (being resident only upon one), God's honour and worship are diminished, houses decay, churches decrease, the ecclesiastical liberty is hurt, learning and monuments are lost and destroyed, hospitality and alms diminished, and, by their insatiable greediness, such of the clergy, as for their learning and virtue, were worthy of benefices, and for their wisdom profitable in commonwealths, are hindered and put back. Wherefore, according to the office and duty of our estate, for the love of the increase of God's honour, we exhort and require, that no man from henceforth, having any canonship or vicarage in one city of our empire, shall occupy or possess a prebend in another church of the same city, except he give over the first within a year's space unto some person fit and profitable for the church; neither that he do, by unjust quarrels, vex or trouble any man in getting of benefices; neither that any man do falsely feign himself to have been of the emperor's household, who hath not been comprehended within the league and agreement made by the princes; neither that any man attempt to take away the patronages from any layman, or aggravate the small prebends of curates of churches, with pensions; neither that they do use in getting of benefices and bulls, any fraud, deceit, false instruments, corrupt witnesses, and cloaked simony; neither that any man presume to obtain any regress, or other thing contrary to the sacred canons, right, honesty, equity, and reason, upon pain of the most grievous offence of treason: the which we will, that not only they (going so contrary to God and all honesty), but also all their favourers, who do help, counsel, harbour, or give them any thing, all their messengers and writers, proctors, sureties, and other their friends, shall incur, and receive condign punishment for so great offence and contempt of our commandment.

No man to have two canonships or prebends at once.

From Oenopont, &c.

Here ensueth the copy of a Letter written unto the emperor Maximilian.

A Letter of Jacobus Selestadiensis, to the Emperor Maximilian, in answer to the Edict.

To our most victorious lord, Maximilian the emperor, Jacobus Selestadiensis, with most humble commendations:

Most victorious emperor! when I had read your majesty's epistle, and received instructions of your secretary, I prepared myself, with all my whole endeavour, to satisfy your majesty's desire. For even from my youth hitherto, I have applied all my care and study, first for the honour of your majesty, and consequently, for the amplifying of the German nation, and sacred Roman empire. Albeit I know myself far unable to satisfy your desire and purpose, and there are many who can fulfil this matter much better, who have greater learning and experience of these common matters. There be also with other princes, and in the senates of commonwealths, many excellent learned men, who can exornate and beautify Germany, and persuade to reduce all the clergy

unto a christian discipline, and to a unity and peace of the universal church: wherein, not only your majesty, but also your predecessors, as Charles the Great, and his son Ludovicus Pius, the Othos, Conrads, Frederics, and Henrys, and last of all, Sigismund, have, with all labour and diligence, travailed; being stirred thereunto undoubtedly through the zeal and charity which they bear unto Almighty God, and thankfulness to Christ for his benefits which he hath bestowed upon mankind, and especially for the benefit of his most bitter passion. For Christ became not poor for us, that we should live in all riot and wantonness upon his patrimony, and show forth our ambition and covetousness; neither did he suffer hunger, that we should glut up ourselves; nor suffered labours, chastity, and grievous torments, that we should live in idleness, wantonness, and all kind of voluptuousness. Neither they who were contributors, and benefactors to churches, enduing the ministers thereof with their temporal riches, had any such respect herein, that the clergy should live only in idleness, having all things at their will, without labour. Surely there was another cause, why they in times past did impoverish themselves and theirs, to endow the church: verily, that they might the better attend unto divine service without care of want of living (which they might easily get and gather out of the fields, woods, meadows, and waters), and to the intent that they should liberally give alms unto the poor Christians, widows, orphans, aged and sick persons. For, in the institutions of the canonical profession, which we suppose were written by the commandment of Ludovicus Pius the emperor, and allowed by the council of the bishops, thus it is read; 'The goods of the church,' as it is alleged by the fathers, and contained in the chapters before, 'are the vows of the faithful, and patrimony of the poor. For the faithful, through the ferventness of their faith and love of Christ, being inflamed, having an earnest desire of that heavenly kingdom, have enriched the holy church with their own goods, that thereby the soldiers of Christ might be nourished, the church adorned, the poor refreshed, and captives, according to the opportunity of time, redeemed.' Wherefore such as have the administration of those goods, ought diligently to be looked upon, that they do not convert them unto their own proper use, but rather, according to their substance and possibility, they do not neglect them, in whom Christ is fed and clothed. Prosper is also of the same mind, affirming that holy men did not challenge the church goods to their own use, as their own proper goods, but as things commended unto the poor, to be divided amongst them: for that is to contemn that which a man possesseth; not to possess a thing for himself, but for others; neither to covet the church goods with covetousness to have them himself, but to take them with a godly zeal to help others. That which the church hath, is common to all those who have nothing, neither ought they to give any thing of that unto them (saith he) who have of their own; for to give unto them who have enough, is but to cast things away.[1]

Henry VII. A. D. 1499 to 1503.

To return now to the order of popes, where we left before, speaking of Innocent VIII. After the said Innocent, next succeeded pope Alexander VI.; in which Alexander, among other horrible things, this is one to be noted: that when Gemes (Peucer nameth him Demes) brother to Bajazet the great Turk, was committed by the Rhodians to the safe custody, first of pope Innocent, then of Alexander VI., for whose keeping, the pope received every year 40,000 crowns; yet, notwithstanding, when pope Alexander afterwards was compelled to send the said Gemes to Charles VIII. the French king, for a pledge, because the French king should not procure the great Turk's favour by sending his brother Gemes to him to be slain, he (pope Alexander), being hired by the Turk, caused the said Gemes to be poisoned, who, in his journey going toward the French king, died at Terracina.[2]

The order of popes.

The pope poisoneth Gemes, the Turk's brother

Moreover, it appeareth, that this Alexander, taking displeasure with the aforesaid Charles, the French king, about the winning or

(1) Ex Illyrico. (2) Ex Paulo Jovio lib. ii. Ex Peucero lib. iv. Ex Hieronym Mario.

Henry VII. Naples, sent to Bajazet, the Turk, to fight against the aforesaid Charles.[1]

A. D 1499 to 1503. Munsterus,[2] declaring the aforesaid history of Gemes something otherwise, first calleth him Zizymus, and saith that he was first committed by the Rhodians to the French king; and when Johannes Huniades, aforementioned, did labour to the French king to have him, thinking by that means to obtain a noble victory against the Turk, as it was not unlike, this Alexander the pope, through his fraudulent flattery, got him of the French king into his own hands, by whose means the said Gemes afterwards was poisoned, as is in manner before expressed.

He setteth the Turk against the French king.

Unto these poisoned acts of the pope, let us also adjoin his malicious wickedness, with like fury, exercised upon Antonius Mancinellus; which Mancinellus, being a man of excellent learning, because he wrote an eloquent oration against his wicked manners and filthy life, with other vices, he therefore commanded both his hands and his tongue to be cut off, playing much like with him, as Antonius the tyrant once did with Marcus Cicero, for writing against his horrible life. At length, as one poison requireth another, this poisoning pope, as he was sitting with his cardinals and other rich senators of Rome at dinner, his servants unawares brought to him a wrong bottle, wherewith he was poisoned, and his cardinals about him.

Mancinellus, writing against the pope, loseth his hands and tongue.

Poison requited with poison.

In the time of this pope Alexander also it happened (which is not to be pretermitted), how that the Angel, which stood in the high top of the pope's church, was beaten down with a terrible thunder; which thing seemed then to declare the ruin and fall of the popedom. After this pope, next succeeded Pius III. about A. D. 1503; after whom came next Julius II., a man so far passing all others in iniquity, that Weselus, and such others of his own friends, writing of him, are compelled to say of him, "Marti illum quam Christo deditiorem fuisse;" that is, That he was more given to war and battle, than to Christ. Concerning the madness of this man, this is most certainly known, that at what time he was going to war, he cast the keys of St. Peter into the river Tibur, saying, that forasmuch as the keys of Peter would not serve him to his purpose, he would take himself to the sword of Paul. Whereupon Philip Melancthon, amongst many others, writing upon the same, maketh this epigram:

The high angel of the palace thrown down.

Order of popes.

"Cum contra Gallos bellum papa Julius esset
Gesturus, sicut fama vetusta docet:
Ingentes Martis turmas contraxit, et urbem
Egressus sævas edidit ore minas.
Iratusque sacras claves in flumina jecit
Tibridis, hic urbi pons ubi junget aquas.
Inde manu strictum vagina diripit ensem,
Exclamansque truci talia voce refert:
'Hic gladius Pauli nos nunc defendet ab hoste,
Quandoquidem clavis nil juvat ista Petri.'"

Whereupon also Gilbert Ducherius maketh this epigram.

"In Gallum, ut fama est, bellum gesturus acerbum,
Armatum educit Julius urbe manum.

(1) Ex Hieronym Mario. (2) Lib. 4. 'Cosmograph.'

Accinctus gladio, claves in Tibridis amnem
Projicit, et sævus talia verba facit:
Quum Petri nihil efficiant ad prælia claves,
Auxilio Pauli forsitan ensis erit."

Henry VII. A. D. 1503.

The sense of these epigrams in English, is this:—

When Julius pope against the French
determined to make war,
As fame reports, he gathered up
great troops of men from far;
And to the bridge of Tibur then,
marching as he were wood;
His holy keys he took and cast
them down into the flood.
And afterward into his hand
he took a naked sword,
And shaking it brake forth into
this fierce and warlike word:
'This Sword of Paul,' quoth he, 'shall now
'defend us from our foe;
'Since that this key of Peter doth
'nothing avail thereto.'

The wars and bloodshed of pope Julius II.

Of this Julius it is certainly reported, that partly with his wars, partly with his cursings,[1] within the space of seven years, as good as 200,000 Christians were destroyed. First, he besieged Ravenna against the Venetians, then Servia, Imola, Faventia, Forolivium,[2] Bononia, and other cities, which he gat out of princes' hands, not without much bloodshed. The chronicles of John Sleiden make mention, that when this Julius was made pope, he took an oath, promising to have a council within two years. But when he had no leisure thereunto, being occupied with his wars in Italy among the Venetians, and with the French king, and in Ferrara, and in other countries, nine of his cardinals, departing from him, came to Milan, and there appointed a council at the city of Pisa; amongst whom, the chief were Bernardus, Cruceius, Gulielmus Prenestinus, Franciscus, Constantinus, with divers others; unto whom also were adjoined the procurators of Maximilian the emperor, and of Charles the French king. So the council was appointed A. D. 1511, to begin in the kalends of September. The cause why they did so call this council, was thus alleged, because the pope had so broken his oath, and all this while he gave no hope to have any council; and also because there were divers other crimes, whereupon they had to accuse him. Their purpose was to remove him out of his seat, the which he had procured through bribes and ambition. Julius, hearing this, giveth out contrary commandment, under great pain, that no man should obey them, and calleth himself another council against the next year, to be begun the nineteenth day of April. The French king, understanding pope Julius to join with the Venetians, and so to take their part against him, convented a council at Turin, in the month of September, in which council these questions were proposed:

A council called to depose him.

The pope perjured.

Whether it was lawful for the pope to move war against any prince without cause.

(1) The pope's law giveth leave to kill all that be accursed of him.
(2) "Forolivium," Forli, in Italy.—Ed.

Henry VII. Whether any prince in defending himself, might invade his adversary, and deny his obedience.

A.D. 1503. Unto which questions it was answered, that the bishop ought not to invade, and also, that it was lawful for the king to defend himself.

The pragmatical sanction established. Moreover, that the pragmatical sanction was to be observed through the realm of France: neither that any unjust excommunications ought to be feared, if they were found to be unjust.

No unjust excommunication to be feared. After this, the king sent to Julius the answer of his council, requiring him either to agree to peace, or to appoint a general council some other where, where this matter might be more fully decided. Julius would neither of these, but forthwith accursed Charles the French king, with all his kingdom. At length at Ravenna, in a great war, he was overcome by the French king; and at last, after much slaughter, and great bloodshed, and mortal war, this pope died A.D. 1513, the twenty-first day of February.

The History of the Turks.

The Turks' doings requisite to be known of Christians. If it were not that I fear to overlay this our volume with heaps of foreign histories, who have professed chiefly to treat of Acts and Monuments here done at home, I would adjoin after these popes above rehearsed, some discourse also of the Turks' story; of their rising and cruel persecution of the saints of God, to the great annoyance and peril of Christendom; yet, notwithstanding, certain causes there be, which necessarily require the knowledge of their order and doings, and of their wicked proceedings, their cruel tyranny and bloody victories, the ruin and subversion of so many christian churches, with the horrible murders and captivity of infinite Christians, to be made plain and manifest, as well to this our country of England, as also to other nations.

First cause. First, For the better explaining of the prophesies of the New Testament, as in St. Paul's Epistle to the Thessalonians, and also in the Revelation of St. John; which scriptures otherwise, without the opening of these histories, cannot so perfectly be understood: of which scriptures, we mind hereafter (Christ granting) orderly, as the course of matter shall lead us, to make rehearsal.

Second cause. Another cause is, that we may learn thereby, either with the public church to lament, with our brethren, such a great defection and decay of christian faith, through these wicked Turks; or else may fear thereby our own danger.

Third cause. The third cause, that we may ponder more deeply with ourselves the scourge of God for our sins, and corrupt doctrine; which, in the sequel hereof, more evidently may appear to our eyes, for our better admonition.

Fourth cause. Fourthly: The consideration of this horrible persecution of the Turks, rising chiefly by our discord and dissension among ourselves, may reduce us again from our domestical wars, in killing and burning one another, to join together in christian patience and concord.

Fifth cause. Fifthly: But chiefly, these great victories of the Turks, and unprosperous speed of our men fighting against them, may admonish and teach us, following the example of the old Israelites, how to seek

for greater strength to encounter with these enemies of Christ, than hitherto we have done. First, we must consider that the whole power of Satan, the prince of this world, goeth with the Turks; which to resist, no strength of man's army is sufficient, but only the name, spirit, and power of our Lord Jesus the Son of God, going with us in our battles; as among the old Israelites the ark of God's covenant and promise went with them also fighting against the enemies of God. For so are we taught in the Scripture, that we christian men have no strength but in Christ only. Whether we war against the devil, or against the Turk, it is true that the Scripture saith, "Sine me nihil potestis facere," that is, "Without me you can do nothing." Otherwise there is no puissance to stand against the devil, or to conquer the world, "nisi fides nostra," that is, "our faith only," to which all the promises of God touching salvation be annexed; beyond which promises we must not go, for the word must be our rule. He that presumeth beyond the promises in the word expressed, goeth not, but wandereth he cannot tell whither: neither must we appoint God how to save the world, but must take that way which he hath appointed. Let us not set our God to school, nor comprehend his Holy Spirit within our skulls. He that made us without our council, did also redeem us as pleased him. If he be merciful, let us be thankful. And if his mercies surmount our capacity, let us therefore not resist but search his Word, and thereunto apply our will; which if we will do, all our contentions will be soon at a point. Let us therefore search the will of our God in his Word, and if he will his salvation to stand free to all nations, why do we make merchandise thereof?[1] If he have graciously offered his waters to us, without money or money-worth, let us not hedge in the plenteous springs of his grace given us.[2] And finally, if God have determined his own Son only to stand alone, let not us presume to admix with his majesty any of our trumpery. He that bringeth St. George or St. Denis, as patrons, to the field, to fight against the Turk, leaveth Christ, no doubt, at home.

Introduction.

Christian faith necessary to be joined with outward force against the Turks.

Now how we have fought these many years against the Turk, though stories keep silence, yet the success declareth. We fight against a persecutor, being no less persecutors ourselves. We wrestle against a bloody tyrant, and our hands be as full of blood as his. He killeth Christ's people with the sword, and we burn them with fire. He, observing the works of the law, seeketh his justice by the same: the like also do we. But neither doth he, nor do we, seek our justification as we should, that is, by faith only in the Son of God.

And what marvel then, our doctrine being as corrupt almost as his, and our conversation worse, if Christ fight not with us, fighting against the Turk? The Turk hath prevailed so mightily, not because Christ is weak, but because Christians be wicked, and their doctrine impure. Our temples with images, our hearts with idolatry are polluted. Our priests stink before God for adultery, being restrained from lawful matrimony. The name of God is in our mouths, but his fear is not in our hearts. We war against the Turk with our works, masses, traditions, and ceremonies: but we fight not against him with Christ, and with the power of his glory; which if we did, the field were won.

Reformation of religion requisite before we fight the Turks.

(1) Gratis venumdati estis, gratis redimimini. Esay lii.
(2) Omnes sitientes venite ad aquas; emite absque argento et commutatione. Esay lv.

Introduction. Wherefore, briefly to conclude, saying my judgment in this behalf, what I suppose. This hope I have, and do believe, that when the church of Christ, with the sacraments thereof, shall be so reformed, that Christ alone shall be received to be our justifier, all other religions, merits, traditions, images, patrons, and advocates set apart, the sword of the Christians, with the strength of Christ, shall soon vanquish the Turks' pride and fury. But of this more largely in the process of this story.

Faith getteth victory.

Sixth cause. The sixth and last cause, why I think the knowledge of the Turks' history requisite to be considered, is this: because that many there be, who, for that they be further from the Turks, and think therefore themselves to be out of danger, take little care and study what happeneth to their other brethren. Wherefore, to the intent to excite their zeal and prayer to Almighty God, in this so lamentable ruin of Christ's church, I thought it requisite, by order of history, to give this our nation also something to understand, what hath been done in other nations by these cruel Turks, and what detriment hath been, and is like more to happen by them to the church of Christ, except we make our earnest invocation to Almighty God, in the name of his Son, to stop the course of the devil by these Turks, and to stay this defection of Christians falling daily unto them, and to reduce them again to his faith, who are fallen from him: which the Lord Jesus of his grace grant with speed! Amen.

Earnest invocation necessary, in the church of Christ.

Before we enter into this story of the Turks and Saracens, first let us call to remembrance the prophecy and forewarning of St. Paul writing to the Thessalonians [2 Thess. ii.], in these words: "Be not moved or troubled in your minds, either by preaching or by writing, or by letter from us, as though the day of the Lord were at hand; for the Lord will not come, except there come a defection first, and the wicked person be revealed," &c. Of this defection, sundry minds there be of sundry expositors; some thinking this defection to mean a falling-away from the empire of Rome: some, from the obedience of the pope. But, as St. Paul little passed upon the outward glory of the Roman empire; so less he passed upon the proud obedience of the pope. What St. Paul meant by this defection, the reading of these Turkish stories, and the miserable falling-away of these churches by him before planted, will soon declare.

The place of St. Paul expounded, speaking of the defection to come.

Another mystery there is in the Revelation [Apocal. xiii.], where the number of the beast is counted six hundred and sixty-six. Whereby may seem, by all evidences, to be signified the first origin and springing of these beastly Saracens, as by the sequel hereof may appear, by the first rising of this devilish sect of Mahomet.

'Et sextus angelus effudit phialam suam,' &c. expounded.

Moreover, another place there is [Apocal. xvi.], where we read, that by pouring out of the vial of God's wrath by the sixth angel, the great flood Euphrates was dried up, to let in the kings of the east; the opening of which prophecy may also more evidently appear, in considering the order and manner of the coming in of these Turks into Europe.

Some also apply to the Turks certain prophecies of Daniel, Ezekiel, and other places of the Old Testament, which here I omit, forasmuch as the prophecies of the Old Testament, if they be taken in their

proper and native sense, after my judgment, do extend no further than to the death of our Saviour, and to the end of the Jews' kingdom. Albeit herein I do not prejudicate to any man's opinion, but that every man may abound in his own sense. *Introduction.*

As touching the year and time when this pestiferous sect of Mahomet first began, histories do not fully consent, some affirming that it began A. D. 621, and in the tenth year of Heraclius, the emperor of Constantinople; in which mind is Johannes Lucidus. As Munsterus counteth, it was A.D. 622. Martin Luther and John Carion refer it to the eighteenth year of the reign of Heraclius, which is A.D. 630, unto which number the computation of the Beast, signified in the Apocalypse, doth not far disagree, which numbereth the name of the beast, with three Greek letters χ, ξ, σ; which Greek letters, after the supputation of the Grecians, make the number of 666. The time of Mahomet, the false prophet, expounded.

In this all writers agree, that this damnable Mahomet was born in the country of Arabia, bordering on the east part of Jewry. His father was a Syrian, or a Persian; his mother was an Ishmaelite, which Ishmaelites, being a people of Arabia, were called then Hagarenes; which term Mahomet afterwards turned to the name of Saracens. Of this wretched Mahomet, mention was made before, where we showed, how he, making himself the highest prophet of all others, yet denieth not Christ to be a holy prophet, and next to him, and Moses also to be another. Moreover, he denieth not Mary, the mother of Christ, to be a virgin, and to have conceived Christ by the Holy Ghost: affirming further, that Christ in his own person was not crucified, but another called Judas for him. He greatly commendeth also John, the son of Zachary, for a virgin, when he himself permitteth a man to have four wives, and as many concubines as he is able to find; and saith, that whereas Christ and other prophets had the gift given them to work miracles, he was sent by force of sword, to compel men to his religion. The prodigious vanities, lies, and blasphemies contained in this law called Alcoran, are rather to be laughed at, than recited. Mahomet, of the stock of the Ishmaelites, of Arabia. Prodigious lies and blasphemies of the Alcoran. Mahomet's Alcoran mingled with divers laws.

It is thought that Sergius, a Nestorian, was a great doer with Mahomet, in contriving of this lying Alcoran; and so it doth well appear by the scope and pretence thereof, which especially tendeth to this end, to take the divinity from the person of Christ, whom he granteth notwithstanding to be a most holy man, and also that he is received up to God, and shall come again to kill Antichrist, &c.

Moreover, this ridiculous Alcoran is so blanched and powdered with such divers mixtures of the Christians, Jews, and the Gentiles' laws, giving such liberty to all wantonness of flesh, setting up circumcision, abstaining from swines' flesh, and judaical lotions, and so much standeth upon father Abraham, that this filthy Alcoran is supposed of some, not to be set out in the days of Mahomet, but that certain Jews had some handling also in this matter, and put it out after his death; and so it seemeth first to take its force about the number of years limited in the Apocalypse, as is aforesaid, where thus it is written: "He that hath intelligence, let him count the number of the beast; for it is the number of a man, and his number is six hundred and sixty-six."

After this devilish Mahomet had thus seduced the people, teaching them that he came not by miracles, but by force of sword to give

Introduction. his law, and that they who will not obey it, must either be put to death, or else pay tribute (for so be the words of the Alcoran); and after that he had gathered strength about him of the Arabians, which Arabians had then occasion to rebel against the emperor, because their stipends were not paid them by the officers of the emperor Heraclius, he began to range with force and violence in the parts of Syria, bordering near unto him, and first subdued Mecca, then Damascus; and further, increasing in power, he entered into Egypt, and subdued the same. From thence he turned his power against the Persians, with whom Cosroes, the king of Persia, encountered with a puissant army, overthrew the Saracens, and put Mahomet to flight. Of these Persians came the Turks, who, afterwards joining with the Saracens, maintained them against the Christians.[1]

Damascus subdued by the Saracens.

Mahomet put to flight by Cosroes, king of the Persians.

After the death of this beast, who, as some say, was poisoned in his house, succeeded Ebocara, or Ebubecer, his father-in-law, or, as Bibliander affirmeth, his son-in-law, who took upon him the government of the Saracens, and got the city Gaza, and besieged also Jerusalem two years. He reigned two years, having for his chief city Damascus.

Jerusalem besieged.

After him followed Omar or Ahumer, who conquered a great part of Syria, and got Egypt.

The fourth king of the Saracens, after Mahomet, was Othman; then followed Hali, and after him Muhania: who, after a siege of seven years, obtained and got the christian city of Cæsarea; also overcame the Persians, with their king Orimasda, and subdued that country to his law.

Kingdom of Persia subdued to the Saracens.

Thus the wicked Saracens, in the space of thirty years, subdued Arabia, got Palestine, Phœnicia, Syria, Egypt, and Persia, which came directly to the 666 years prophesied of in the Revelation of St. John, as is aforesaid. And not long after they proceeded further, and got Africa, and then Asia, as in the process of their story shall appear, the Lord willing.

Not long after Heraclius, emperor of Constantinople, succeeded Constans, his nephew, who, in the thirteenth year of his empire, fighting unluckily against the Saracens in Lycia, was overthrown of Muhanias aforesaid, A. D. 655; which Constans, if he were not prospered by the Lord in his wars, it was no great marvel, considering that he had slain his brother Theodosius before at home; moreover, that he lived in incestuous matrimony: also that, being inclined to certain new sects, he could not abide the contrary teachers, but slew those who admonished him thereof. The said Constans, going afterwards to Italy, was also overcome by the Lombards,[2] &c. The Saracens, after this victory, spoiled also Rhodes.

Constans, the emperor, overcome by them.

Rhodes spoiled by the Saracens.

Although these cursed Saracens, in these their great victories and conquests, were not without domestical sedition and divisions among themselves, yet the princes of the Saracens, being called then sultans, had in their possession the government of Syria, Egypt, Africa, and a great part of Asia, about the term of four hundred years; till at length the Saracen king who ruled in Persia, fighting against the Saracen of Babylon, sought aid of the Turks, to fight with him against the sultan of Babylon: which Turks, by little and little,

Sultans first called.

(1) Ex Munster. (2) Murder commonly prospereth not with the Lord.

surprised upon the sultan of Persia, and, not long after, putting him out of place, usurped the kingdom of Persia; who afterwards went further, as ye shall hear, the Lord willing. And this is the first beginning of the Turks' dominion. *Introduction.*

These Turks, after they had thus overcome many countries and provinces, and made their power large and mighty both in Asia and Europe, began to divide their kingdoms and countries amongst themselves. But when they could not agree, but with deadly war contended for the bounds of those kingdoms and dominions, in the mean time four of the principal families, conquering and subduing all the rest, parted the whole empire amongst themselves. And yet they also, not so contented, fell to such cruel hatred, contention, war, and slaughter (no doubt by the just judgment of God against his blasphemous enemies), that there was no end thereof, until the remnant of the ancient Turks was utterly rooted out. For it is evident that there are few now remaining, who are Turks indeed by birth and blood, and that the state of that great empire is not upholden, but by the strength and power of soldiers, who have been Christians, and now are turned to Mahomet's religion; so that even their own natural language is now out of use amongst them, saving in certain families of their nobility and gentry.

The first rising of the Turks.

The Turks dominions parted into four families.

These four families above-mentioned, with their captains and armies, about A. D. 1330, went raging throughout all Asia and Europe, and every one of them conquered some part of the countries where they passed.

The causes of these great invasions and victories, were the dissension and discord, falsehood, idleness, inconstancy, greedy avarice, lack of truth and fidelity, among christian men of all states and degrees, both high and low. For, by the wilful defection and backsliding of the Christians, the Turkish power did exceedingly increase, in that many, desiring the licentious life and liberty of war, and allured with the prosperous success of things, forsook the church of God, and made themselves bondslaves to Mahomet, and his devilish sect; both because fleshly liberty is delighting to all men, and partly also because as fortune favoureth, so commonly the wills of men incline. And again, such as be profane and without the fear of God (whereof there is an infinite number in the church in all ages), are wont commonly to judge of religion, according to the success of realms and kingdoms. For many, not only for the variety of opinions, but also for the diversity of events and fortune amongst men, have inquired and do inquire, whether there be any church of God distinct from other nations; what it is, and where it is: especially, forasmuch as the greatest part of men, both in the old time (when the four monarchies flourished in order) were ignorant of this doctrine, which is peculiar to the church alone, and now also the barbarity of Mahomet prevaileth and reigneth in the most part of the world. And how standeth this with man's reason, that a small number, both miserable and also enfeebled and broken with many battles, should be regarded and loved of God; and the others, flourishing in all wealth, prosperity, victories, authority, and power, should be rejected and despised of God, seeing there is no power and authority, but by the ordinance of God? Albeit therefore the power of the Turks hath

Dissensions of the Christians make the Turks strong.

Introduction.

been, for these two hundred years, of greater force than any other monarchy of the world besides, yet is there no imperial dignity to be esteemed in that Turkish tyranny, but amongst those nations only, where the heavenly doctrine of the gospel is preached, and other disciplines necessary for the church of God, and the common life of man maintained and regarded; where the laws of God, and other honest and civil ordinances agreeable to the same, do flourish and reign; where lawful judgment is exercised; where virtue is honoured and rewarded; where sin and wickedness is punished; where honest families are maintained and defended.

No imperial country in all the Turkish dominions.

Description of the Turks' inordinate empire.

These things are not regarded amongst the Turks, the enemies of the Son of God, and all lawful empires, because they dissolve and reject all godly societies, honest discipline, good laws, policies, righteous judgment, the ordinance of matrimony, and godly families. For what hath the empire of the Turks been hitherto, but most deadly, cruel, and perpetual war, to work all mischief, destruction, and desolation? to subvert good laws, cities, kingdoms, policies, and to enlarge their cruel power and dominion? the stay and strength whereof is not love and favour, proceeding of virtue and justice, as in lawful and well governed empires; but fear, violence, oppression, swarms and infinite thousands of barbarous and most wicked people, ministers of Satan's malice and fury: which kind of dominion and tyranny hath been condemned by the voice of God many years ago; the testimonies whereof the Lord would have to remain in the church, lest the godly, being moved with the power and success thereof, should fall away and forsake the Son of God.[1]

Christian kingdoms and churches destroyed by the Turks, are a warning for us, whom God hath yet spared.

Wherefore, let us not seek for any imperial state in that barbarity; but let us be thankful, and acknowledge the great benefit of God, for that he hath reserved to us certain remnants of the Roman empire: and let us call upon him daily, with hearty petitions and groans, and with zeal and love to the house of God, that this Turkish power, joined with the malice of Satan against the Son of God, prevail not against the poor congregations and little remnant of his church, as it hath hitherto done against those strong and noble christian kingdoms and churches, where now we see the Turkish tyranny to reign, and Satan to have taken full possession; whose state was once far better than ours is now, and more like to continue without such horrible overthrows and desolation. Oh that we might foresee a little the great danger that hangeth over our heads! For though the Turk seemeth to be far off, yet do we nourish within our breasts at home, that which may soon cause us to feel his cruel hand and worse, if worse may be: to overrun us; to lay our land waste; to scatter us amongst the infidels, the enemies and blasphemers of the Son of God!

The family of Ottoman.

Now, although these four families above-mentioned long continued together in bloody wars and deadly hatred, yet one of them passed the rest in all cruelty and tyranny, and subduing the other three families, took upon him the government alone, and so became the first monarch or emperor that reigned amongst them, called Ottoman; of whom all that reigned after him were called Ottomans: who, succeeding orderly of his line, have occupied the same dominion and

(1) Ezek. xxxix.; Apoc. xx.

seat of the Turks, from the year of our Lord 1300, unto this present time, who have been the number of twelve; of the which twelve, in such order as they lived and reigned, I intend (Christ so permitting) severally and compendiously something to treat, briefly abstracting, out of prolix and tedious writers, such specialties, as for us Christians shall be briefly requisite to be known. *Ottoman and Orchan.*

OTTOMAN, THE FIRST GREAT EMPEROR, OR TYRANT, OF THE TURKS. A. D. 1300.

This Ottoman was at first of poor estate, and obscure amongst the common sort of men, coming of a base progeny, and of rustical parents; but through his valiantness and activity in war, he got him a great name amongst the Turks. For he, being a man of fierce courage, refusing no labour, and delighting in war, and gathering together by great subtlety a multitude of common soldiers, began to make war, and by conquest and victories to advance himself and his family. First, he began to rob and spoil with a great band of rovers, and afterwards he attempted to set upon all men. Neither did he vex and destroy the Christians only, but set upon his own nation also, and sought all occasion to subdue them wholly unto him; for now the princes and captains of the Turks, inflamed with ambition and desire of rule, began to fall out and contend among themselves, insomuch that they fell to domestical and inward war, with all the power they could. *Inward war among the Turks.*

Ottoman, having this occasion very fit and meet to accomplish that which he long had sought for, gathering unto him all such as he thought to be given to robbing and spoiling, and set all upon mischief, in a short time began to grow in authority, and first set upon certain towns, as he saw opportunity to serve him; of which towns some he took by force, some by yielding; others he spoiled and overthrew, to terrify the rest; thus laying the first foundation of his rising. In the mean time, the discord which was amongst the Christians was no small advantage to this Ottoman, by occasion whereof, he, within ten years' space, subdued Bithynia, and all the provinces about Pontus: also Natolia, which comprehendeth all the dominion of the Greeks within Asia; Ancyra, a city in Phrygia; Synope, a city in Galatia; and Sabastia, a city in Cappadocia. And thus still prevailing, he increased in short time to a mighty power, either through the secret judgment of God against that nation, or else because God would have them so far and so cruelly to prevail, for the punishment of the sins of other nations, like as it was prophesied before, that such a kingdom there should be, of Gog and Magog.[1] *The coming up of Ottoman.*

This Ottoman, after he had reigned twenty-eight years, died A.D. 1327, and departed to his Mahomet; leaving behind him three sons, of whom Orchan, being the youngest, killed his two brethren, whilst they were at variance between themselves.

ORCHAN, THE SECOND EMPEROR OF THE TURKS.

Orchan, the youngest of the sons of Ottoman, after he had slain his two brethren, took the regiment of the Turks after his father;

(1) Ezek. xxxviii.

Orchan and Amurath. who, after he had drawn to him the hearts of the multitude, such as had their dispositions set upon the licentious life of war, converted his power further to enlarge his father's dominion, winning and subduing Mysia, Lydia, Lycaonia, Phrygia, and Caria: all which countries, being within the compass of Asia, unto the sea-side of the Hellespont, and the sea Euxine, he added to the Turkish empire. Also he won Prusia, which was the metropolitan city of Bithynia, which then he made the chief seat of the Turks' empire. Besides these, moreover, he conquered Nicea, and got Nicomedia: all which were before, christian cities and regions. And yet all this could not make the christian princes in Greece to cease their civil wars, and to join and accord among themselves: such debate and variance was then between Cantaguzen, on the Greeks' part, and Paleologus, the emperor of Constantinople. By reason of this, the Turks' aid was sent for out of Asia, to help our Christians one to kill another, and at length to get all those parts of Europe from them both; who, if they had, according to their profession, so well joined in brotherly unity, as they did in cruel hostility dissent, neither had Orchan so prevailed in getting Prusia from the Greeks, nor had the Turks so soon presumed into Europe as afterwards they did. Orchan, after these victories, when he had reigned two-and-twenty years, was stricken, some say, with a dart in the shoulder, at the siege of Prusia. The opinion of others is, that he, fighting against the Tartarians, where he lost a great part of his army, was there also slain himself, A.D. 1349.

Kingdoms and cities subdued by the Turks.

Civil war among the Grecians.

By the discord of Christians, the Turks increase.

AMURATH, THE THIRD EMPEROR OF THE TURKS.

The Greek writers do hold that Orchan had two sons, Soliman and Amurath, of which two, first Soliman reigned, albeit not long. After him followed Amurath, who, after that Asia now was subdued by his predecessors, sought by all means and ways how to proceed further, and to invade Europe: to whose ambitious purpose the domestical wars of the Christians gave unprosperous occasion, which occasion is thus declared. Certain discord fell between the princes of Greece (whose captain was Cantaguzen), and Paleologus, emperor of Constantinople: whereupon Paleologus, for that he was not able to make his party good with the Grecians, most unwisely sent for Amurath, to help him, who, being glad to have such an occasion offered, which he so long had sought, sent to aid him 12,000 Turks into Thrace: but first he used all delays he could of crafty policy, to the intent that the Greeks first should waste their strength and power upon themselves, whereby he might be more able afterwards to set upon them, and to accomplish his conceived desire.

Amurath seeketh occasion to invade Europe.

First coming of the Turks into Europe.

The Turks thus being called into Europe by the Christians, whether they, tasting the sweetness of the soil, incensed Amurath, their emperor, to make invasion, or whether Amurath, of his own head, thought good to use the time, in the year of our Lord 1363, he came himself over into Europe with 60,000 Turks, falling upon the Greeks, being wasted and spent with their long wars and battles before. The pretence of the devilish Turk was to aid and assist the emperor Paleologus, whether he would or no, and to subdue such as had fallen from him.

Covetousness of the Christians bringeth over the Turks.

The christian ships of the Ligurians, for money were hired to conduct them over, taking for every soldier a piece of gold.[1]

Thus the Turks' army, being conveyed over by the Grecian sea called the Hellespont, first got Callipolis, with other towns and cities bordering about the sea; and there planting themselves, and preparing ships of their own for transporting their munitions out of Asia, advanced their power further into Thrace, and there won Philipopolis; then got Adrianople, which was not far from Constantinople; and there Amurath made his chief seat. Then began Paleologus, the emperor, at length to bewail his offer and covenant made with Amurath. When the Turks had expugned thus a great part of Thrace, they extended forth their army unto Mysia, which they soon subdued: from thence proceeding and conquering the Bessi and Triballi, they entered into Servia and Bulgaria, where, joining battle with Lazarus Despota, prince of Servia, and with other dukes of Dalmatia and Epyrus, they won of them the field, and put them to the worse; where Lazarus Despota, being taken and committed to prison, ended his life. This Lazarus had a certain faithful client or servant, who, to revenge his master's death, with a bold courage, although seeing death before his eyes, yet ventured his life so far, that he came to the tyrant, and thrust him through with his dagger. This Amurath reigned twenty-three years, and was slain A.D. 1372.

Thrace gotten by the Turks

The Turks enter into Mysia.

Example of a faithful servant

Death of Amurath.

BAJAZET, THE FOURTH EMPEROR OF THE TURKS.

The power of the Turks began to increase in Europe, what time Bajazet, the first of that name, after the death of his father, entered the possession of the Turks' kingdom. This Bajazet had two brethren, Soliman and Sauces; which Sauces had his eyes put out by his father, for striving for the kingdom. Soliman was slain by his brother. Thus Bajazet, beginning his kingdom with the murder of his brother, reduced his imperial seat from Prusia, a city of Bithynia, unto Adrianople, intending with himself to subdue both Asia and Europe to his own power. First he set upon the Servians and Bulgarians, thinking to revenge his father's death; where he gave the overthrow to Marcus Despota, with all the nobility of the Servians and Bulgarians, and put all those parts under his subjection, unto the confines and borders of the Illyrians. All Thrace, moreover, he brought likewise under his yoke, only Constantinople and Pera excepted. That done, he invaded the residue of Greece, prevailing against the countries of Thessalia, Macedonia, Phocis, and Attica, spoiling and burning as he passed without any resistance; and so, returning with innumerable spoil of the Christians unto Adrianople, he laid siege to Constantinople the space of eight years, and had expugned the same, but that Paleologus, being brought to extremity, was driven to crave aid of the Frenchmen, and of Sigismund the emperor, who, being accompanied with a sufficient power of Frenchmen and Germans, came down to Hungary, and toward Servia, against the Turk. Bajazet, hearing of their coming, raised his siege from Constantinople, and with 60,000 horsemen, came to Nicopolis, where he, encountering with them, overthrew all the christian army,

Marcus Despota slain by the Turk.

Other christian countries conquered.

Constantinople besieged eight years.

(1) Ex Peucer et aliis.

Bajazet. and took John, the captain of the French power, prisoner. Sigismund, who before, in the council of Constance, had burned John Huss and Jerome of Prague, hardly escaped by flying. Bajazet, after the victory got, carried away duke John, with five others, in bands, into Prusia, where, before his face, he caused all the other christian prisoners to be cut in pieces. Afterwards the said John, being ransomed with 200,000 crowns, was delivered. Some authors refer this story to the time of Calepine, as followeth hercafter to be seen.

The Christians overthrown of the Turks.

Bajazet, the cruel tyrant, after this victory won, and tyranny showed upon the Christians, returned again to his siege of Constantinople, fully bending himself to conquer and subdue the same; which thing no doubt he had accomplished, but that the providence of God had found such a means, that Tamerlane, king of Parthia, with a hundred thousand horsemen, and swarms of footmen, like a violent flood overrunning Asia, and pressing upon Syria and Sebastia, had taken Orthobules, the son of Bajazet, prisoner, and afterwards slew him, exercising the like cruelty upon his prisoners as Bajazet had done before upon the Christians, insomuch that he spared neither sex nor age of the Turkish multitude; of whom he caused twelve thousand, at one time, to be overridden and trodden down under his horses' feet. By reason of this, Bajazet the tyrant was enforced to raise his siege from Constantinople, and to return his power into Asia; where he, near the hill called Stella, pitched his tents there to encounter with Tamerlane.

Tamerlane stirred up of God to revenge the Christians.

Bajazet raiseth his siege from Constantinople.

The fight between these two was long and great on both sides, which was A.D. 1397, and the second year after the slaughter of our Christians at Nicopolis in Pannonia. But the victory of this battle fell to Tamerlane at length, in which, as Munsterus writeth, were slain 200,000 Turks; among whom Bajazet the tyrant, having his horse slain under him, was taken prisoner, and, to make a spectacle of his wretched fortune, he was bound in golden fetters, and so, being enclosed in an iron grate (whom, before, all Greece could not hold), was led about and showed through all Asia, to be scorned and laughed at; and, moreover, was used instead of a footstool to Tamerlane, or a block, as often as he mounted upon his horse. Some add also, that he was made like a dog to feed under Tamerlane's table. The tyranny of this Bajazet against the Christians, as it was not much unlike to the cruelty of Valerian the Roman emperor above mentioned, so neither was the example of his punishment much discrepant; for, as Sapor, king of the Persians, did then with Valerian, in the time of the eighth persecution of the primitive church, so likewise was Bajazet, this persecutor, worthily handled by Tamerlane, king of the Parthians, as in manner above-said.

Bajazet overcome by Tamerlane, the just hand of God upon a cruel persecutor.

Tamerlane, after this conquest, passed with his army into Mesopotamia, Egypt, and all Syria, where he, victoriously subduing the cities and munitions of the Turks, at length also conquered Damascus. In his sieges his manner was, the first day to go all in white attire, the second day in red, the third day in black, signifying thereby mercy the first day, to them that yielded; the second day the sword; the third day fire and ashes. At last, after great victories, and spoils gotten of the Turks, he returned into his country again, and there died, A.D. 1402.

Great victories of Tamerlane in Asia.

Sebastianus Munsterus, writing of this Tamerlane, recordeth that he had in his army 200,000 men: and that he overcame the Parthians, Scythians, Iberians, Albanians, Persians, Medes, and conquered all Mesopotamia: and after he had also subdued Armenia, passing over the river Euphrates with 600,000 footmen, and 400,000 horsemen, he invaded all Asia Minor, conquering and subduing from the flood Tanais[1] unto the Nile in Egypt, and was called 'terror orbis,' the 'terror of the world.'[2] He left behind him two sons, who, falling in discord for their possessions, lost all again that their father got. *Bajazet. and Calepine.*

In the mean time Bajazet, in the second year of his captivity, died, leaving behind him divers sons, Jesus or Joshua the eldest, Mulsuman, Moses, Celebine or Calepine, Jesus the younger, Mustapha, and Hali, of whom, first Jesus the eldest was overcome and slain of Mulsuman, which Mulsuman afterward was delivered to Moses his brother, and by him was slain likewise; which Moses had also the like end by his brother Calepine, having his neck broken with a bowstring, which was then the usual manner among the Turks in killing their brethren. The same Calepine, sparing only the life of Mustapha his brother, condemned him to perpetual prison. Jesus the younger was baptized, and shortly after departed at Constantinople. In these such discords and divisions among the Turks, what occasions were given to the Christians to have recovered again of the Turks, what they had lost, if they had not been either negligent, or in their own private wars otherwise occupied with themselves! A generation of vipers.

CALEPINE, THE FIFTH EMPEROR OF THE TURKS.

Calepine or Celebine, was the son of Bajazet, and of four brethren the eldest; who being all taken captives by the Parthians, he only escaped and obtained his father's kingdom. This Calepine, encouraged by the sloth and negligence of the princes of Europe, and by the discord of the Greeks among themselves and other nations near about them, long troubled and vexed the Bulgarians, Servians, and Macedonians, even to the time of Sigismund. This Sigismund, seeing now Bajazet to be overcome and taken by Tamerlane, and the power of the Turks weakened in Europe, and having such occasion offered him, as it were from heaven, to destroy and utterly to root out, not only out of Asia, but also all Europe, that barbarous nation, and cruel enemies to the name and religion of Christ: and also to revenge the great slaughter and discomfiture of his army fighting before with Bajazet at Nicopolis, a city in Mysia; with great power made war against Calepine, at Columbatium, a town in Servia, as is also before-mentioned; but as unluckily, and with as little success, as he did before against Bajazet his father: for in that battle were slain of the Christians to the number of twenty thousand, and the rest utterly discomfited, the king himself escaping so hardly, that he entered not again into his kingdom for the space of eighteen months after. Some write that this was done under Bajazet; others refer this battle to Amurath; but, howsoever it was, most pernicious was it to the Christians.[3] He reigned but six years, and died very young, A. D. 1404. Overthrow of Sigismund, fighting against the Turk.

(1) Tanais is the uttermost flood in the north side, and the Nile the uttermost flood on the south side of Asia.
(2) Ex Seb. Munstero Cosmograph., lib. iv.
(3) Some stories record this conflict to be after the time of this Turk.

Orchan II. and Moses. Mahomet and Amurath.

ORCHAN, AND MOSES HIS UNCLE, THE SIXTH AFTER OTTOMAN.

Diversity in histories.

After the captivity of Bajazet above-mentioned, histories diversely do dissent. The Greek writers, making no mention at all of Calepine; only make mention of the sons of Bajazet, and of the contention among them, until the time of Mahomet. The Latin stories, writing of the children of Bajazet, and of their succession, do not therein agree; some affirming, that Bajazet had two sons, Orchan, surnamed Calepine, and Mahomet his brother, who within two years slew the said Calepine, and entered his dominion. Others attribute to Bajazet more sons; as is above-rehearsed. Some again do give to Bajazet only these two sons, Celebine and Mustapha; and hold that Calepine or Celebine had two sons; to wit, Orchan and Mahomet: and add, moreover, that the said Orchan, being somewhat young, was slain by his uncle Moses, who governed but two years: for Mahomet, to revenge his brother's death, slew Moses, and invaded his dominion. The Greek stories make no mention at all of Orchan.

Murder revenged with murder.

MAHOMET, THE SEVENTH EMPEROR OF THE TURKS.

This Mahomet, whether he was the son of Bajazet, or else of Calepine, converted to himself alone the kingdom, or tyranny rather, of the murdering Turks, who afflicted the Christians with sore wars within Europe, especially the country called Wallachia, lying not far from the flood Danube, between Hungary and Thrace. From thence he removed into Asia, where he recovered divers parts in Galatia, Pontus, Cappadocia, and Cilicia, which before Tamerlane had alienated from the Turks. This Mahomet planted his chief imperial seat in Adrianople, not far from Constantinople, within the country of Thrace. In some writers the conflict between Sigismund and the great Turk, wherein the Christians were so discomfited, is referred rather to this Mahomet, than to Calepine; of which conflict mention is above made in the story of Sigismund. This Mahomet reigned, as some say, fourteen years, and died A. D. 1419: others affirm seventeen years.

Wallachia assaulted by Mahomet.

The Turk's seat at Adrianople.

AMURATH, THE EIGHTH EMPEROR OF THE TURKS.

Amurath, as Philelphus saith, was the son of Celebine: as Laonicus Chalcondiles testifieth, of Mahomet. Whose son soever he was, a wretched tyrant he was, and permitted as a scourge of God, to correct the sins of the Christians. In the story of Bajazet mention was made before of Mustapha, his son, who was condemned to perpetual prison by Calepine, his brother. This Mustapha, escaping out of his brother's prison, was conveyed to the Greeks, where he remained long in custody, till at length they, understanding the purpose of Amurath, set him up with sufficient habiliments and furniture of war, to fight against the said Amurath, his nephew. But, in conclusion, he being not able to make his party good, came into the hands of his enemy, and had his neck broke with a bow-string, after the manner of the Turkish execution.

Mustapha murdered by Amurath, his nephew.

Amurath.

The Greeks then terrified with this sinister adversity, required truce of the Turk; but, when that would not be granted, they procured unto them Mustapha, the other brother to Amurath, being of the age of thirteen years; who likewise, being armed of the Greeks, got the city of Nice in Bithynia, from Amurath, his brother. Albeit it was not long but he was circumvented in the same city, and brought to Amurath; who caused him likewise to taste of the same whip, as the other Mustapha had done before. Amurath, being now out of all fear and doubt of brethren and kinsfolk to rise against him, converted all his power against the Greeks: and first ranging throughout Thrace, where divers cities yielded unto him, which before belonged to the emperor of Constantinople, from thence he set forward to the noble and famous city Thessalonica, being then under the league and protection of the Venetians. This Thessalonica is a city in Greece, bordering upon Macedonia, to the citizens whereof St. Paul writeth, foreshowing unto them, in his second epistle, of a defection to come before the coming of the day of the Lord [2 Thess. ii.], of which apostasy or defection what the holy apostle doth mean, this story of the Turks may easily declare. After Thessalonica was subdued, Phocis, with all the country about Athens, Bœotia likewise, Ætolia, Acarnania, with all the region beyond Peloponnesus, unto the coast of Corinth (to which St. Paul also wrote two other epistles), were brought in bondage and slavery unto the Turk.

The Turk murdereth his brothers.

Amurath set against the Greeks.

Thrace subdued to the Turk.

The defection spoken of by St. Paul declared.

In Epyrus, and in that quarter that adjoineth to Macedonia named Albania, reigned then one Johannes Castriotus; who, perceiving himself too weak to match with the Turk's power, made with the Turk this convention, that he should have Croia, a famous city in Greece, and also gave to him his three sons for hostages: to wit, Constantine, Reposius, and George.

Croia given to the Turk.

The three sons of Castriotus, hostages with the Turk.

In this George such towardness of noble courage, such vigour of mind and strength of body singularly did appear, that the Turk caused him more freely to be instructed after the Turkish religion and manner in his own court; where he, being traded up, did so shoot up as well in feats of activity, as in strength of body, that he excelled all his equals; insomuch that he was named 'Scanderbeius,' which soundeth as much as 'Alexander Magnus.'

After this Alexander was grown up to mature ripeness of age, and was well trained up in feats of war, he was sent out by the Turk, to war against Caraman of Cilicia, the Turk's enemy. In that expedition he sped himself most manfully, fighting hand to hand, first with a footman of Scythia, then with a horseman of Persia, being challenged by them both to encounter, first with the one, after with the other; whom he so valiantly overthrew, that he won great renown with the Turk: insomuch that he, trusting to the Turk's favour, when he heard of the decease of his father, durst ask of the Turk the grant of his father's dominion to be given unto him; which request although Amurath the Turk did not deny him, yet notwithstanding, perceiving the matter to be dallied out with fair words, he by subtle means and policy slipped out of the Turk's court, and came to Epyrus his own inheritance, where first by forged letters he recovered Croia. The other cities, of their voluntary mind, yielded themselves unto him; who then, gathering unto him the people of Epyrus and Mace-

Valiant acts of Scanderbeius.

Scanderbeius stealeth away from the Turk, his country.

Amurath. donia (who were not so many in number, as with good willing minds they stuck unto him), so manfully and valiantly behaved himself, that against all the puissance both of Amurath, and also of Mahomet, he maintained his own, repulsed their violence, and put to flight their armies many years together. But, to return again to the course of Amurath's victories: after he had thus prevailed (as is before signified) against the east parts of Europe and Greece, and had conveuted thus for the dominion of Epyrus, he invaded Illyricum (otherwise called now Sclavonia), containing in it Dalmatia, Croatia, Istria, and Liburnia: which countries after he had spoiled and wasted, he continued his course to Albania and Bosnia; of which regions, when he had subdued a great part, and had led away an innumerable multitude of captives, he moved further to Wallachia and Servia, upon hope to conquer all Pannonia.

Amurath's victories.

An ungodly grant of a christian father, to marry his daughter to the Turk.

There reigned at the same time in Servia a certain prince, named Georgius Despota, who made great suit to the Turk for truce and peace, promising to give his daughter to marriage; for by the Turk's law they marry as many wives as they list. It was not long after Amurath had married the daughter of Despota, but he, contrary to his league and promise, made war upon Despota his father-in-law, and expelled him out of his kingdom, taking from him divers cities, as Scopia, Novomonte, Sophia, and all Mysia. George himself fled into Hungary, leaving behind him his son, to defend the town of Sinderonia. Amurath, understanding of the flight of Despota, his father-in-law, compassed the city of Sinderonia with a strong siege, which when he in few days had expugned, he took his wife's brother, the son of Despota, and without all regard of mercy and affinity, after the barbarous tyranny of the Turks, put out his eyes with a bason red hot before them; and, after that, led him about with him in derision, in spite of his cowardly father.[1]

Cruelty of the Turk.

Belgrade besieged by the Turk.

Servia being thus won and gotten, Amurath, thinking to go further into Hungary, besieged the city called Belgrade, and no doubt had also suppressed the same, had not the providence of God found means, that partly through slaughter of his men, partly for lack of victual and other forage, he was compelled to raise his siege and retire.

Johannes Huniades Vaivoda.

In the mean time Johannes Huniades (of whom mention was made before) had got great victories against the Turkish power, and had recovered part of Servia, and all Moldavia; against whom Amurath the Turk, with a mighty army, moved into Pannonia. But Huniades, with the power and aid of Ladislaus, king of Poland (but especially by the power of the Lord), did soon infringe the puissance of the Turk, and gave him the overthrow, recovering unto the Christians the greatest part of Servia and Bulgaria.

Five victories of Huniades in one day. The Bassa or duke of the Turks overthrown.

In this battle, Huniades had five sundry conflicts with the Turks on one day, and with five victories put them to the worse, and toward night did so discomfit and overthrow the great captain of Amurath, called the Bassa, duke of Anatolia (which is otherwise named Asia Minor), that he slew of the Turks that day to the number of thirty thousand. Amurath, although he was not a little thereat discouraged, yet dissembling his fear with stout countenance, sent for Carambeius, his principal stay and captain, with a new power brought out of Asia to

(1) Ex Christoph. Richerio Gallo, et Gasp. Peuc. et aliis.

assist him in his wars. This Carembeius, in the Downs of Transylvania, Ladislaus the aforesaid king of Poland (the Lord so working) through the industry of Johannes Huniades, so received and with such celerity oppressed him unprovided, that all his stout and sturdy army either was slain downright, or else put to flight and disparkled, Carambeius the captain being himself taken prisoner in the same field. *Amurath.* Another victory of Huniades.

These victories of Huniades struck no little terror to Amurath, insomuch that for distress of mind he was ready to destroy himself, as some do write; but, being confirmed by Helibeus Bassa, his counsellor, he kept himself within the straits of mount Rhodope, who then, hearing that Caraman invaded the same time the country of Bithynia, and Pontus in Asia, was glad to take truce with Ladislaus and Huniades upon such conditions as they listed to make themselves: which conditions were these, that Amurath should depart clearly from all the region of Servia, and should remove from thence all his garrisons, which were placed in the castles and forts of the same; also he should restore George Despota (which is to say, prince of Servia), unto his possession, and set his children free, whom he had in captivity, and restore them to their inheritance. Item, that he should make no more claim nor title to the country of Moldavia above mentioned, nor to that part of Bulgaria which he had lost; and that he should desist hereafter from all wrongs and injuries against the Christians. Upon these conditions the Turks being agreed, so was a truce concluded on both parts for ten years, and with solemn oath between them confirmed. The great Turk brought to great distress. He seeketh truce of the Christians. Truce between them for ten years.

This done, Amurath the tyrant addresseth himself toward Asia, to resist the invasion of Caraman aforesaid; at which time pope Eugene, so soon as he heard the Turk to be returned into Asia, sendeth Julianus Cæsarianus, his cardinal (whose story is before touched), unto Ladislaus the aforesaid king, with full dispensation and absolution to break his oath and league with the Turk; promising, moreover, great hope and aid, if he would go in arms stoutly against the tyrant. Amurath returneth into Asia. The pope's dispensation and absolution abused.

Here by the way is to be noted, that as there is no truth of promise in that pestilent see of Rome, neither was there ever any war prospered, which was taken in hand by the pope's council: so was there never any council of the pope that brought with it more detriment to Christianity than this. But the pope belike thought, that as he might lawfully break promise with John Huss, and with other Christians, so also he needed not to observe any league or truce taken with the Turk: but it turned much otherwise than the pope's blind brains imagined, as by the sequel is to be seen.[1] For Ladislaus, being thus excited by the unadvised and sinister instigation of pope Eugene, contrary to the truce established a little before, set out with his army from Seledinus, and so proceeding to Wallachia and Bulgaria, came to Varna, a town of Bulgaria, where he fell sick. His rash counsel pernicious to Christendom. He breaketh truce made between the Christians and the Turk.

It was not long but the Turk, having thereof intelligence, left his wars begun with Caraman in Asia, and with great journeys made

(1) Nothing prospereth that is taken in hand by the pope's setting on.

Amurath. haste into Europe, passing over by the straits near to Callipolis, where all the Italian navy still looking on, and whether of purpose, or whether for cowardliness, would not stir one oar to stop the passage of the Turkish army. When Amurath was come to Adrianople in Thrace, using such celerity as no man looked for, within eight days he was in Bulgaria, and there encamped himself against Ladislaus.

The battle of Varna, between Ladislaus and Amurath. The day of battle being set, the armies joined on both sides. Huniades was himself there present, but all the matter was ruled by Julian the cardinal, and the pope's clergy. The fight continued three days and three nights together, with great courage and much bloodshed on each side; insomuch that the field did stand with lakes of blood. It seemed at first to incline to the Christians, by breaking

The popish prelates, the cause of losing the field. the first ranks of the Turks; but the priests and prelates who were at the field (who had been more fit to have been in the church), seeing the Turks to begin to fly, unskilfully left their array to pursue the enemy, so that they, leaving the other standings of the Christians naked, gave great advantage to the Turks, with their darts and shot to disturb the Christian ranks, by which occasion Amurath, enclosing the Christians with his army round about, obtained the victory; in which field, Ladislaus, the young king of Poland, having his horse first killed under him, was stricken down and slain. The

A just punishment upon them. pope's bishops, flying to save themselves, fell into the marshes, and were there destroyed, sustaining a dirty death, condign to their filthy falsehood and untruth. Julian the cardinal, who with the pope was

Julian the cardinal slain in the war. the chief doer in breaking the league, in the way was found dead, being full of wounds, and spoiled to his naked skin. Of the rest of the army that escaped by flying, part were drowned in the marshes, some perished miserably for hunger, some for cold; watching and

Huniades escapeth. wandering in the woods. Huniades hardly escaped the danger, by the merciful providence of God being reserved to the further profit and commodity of Christendom.

His worthy commendation. This John Huniades, the worthy warrior, was born in Wallachia, being earl of Bistrice, of all captains that ever went against the Turks most famous and singular; prudent in wit, discreet in council, expert and politic in war, prompt of hand, circumspect before he attempted, quick in expedition: in whom wanted almost no good property requisite in a warlike captain. Against two most mighty and fierce tyrants, Amurath and Mahomet, through the Lord's might, he defended all Pannonia, and therefore was called the thunderbolt, and the terror of the Turks. Like as Achilles was unto the Grecians, so was he set up of God to be as a wall or bulwark of all Europe against the cruel Turks and enemies of Christ and of his Christians; neither was there any king or prince that ever achieved such noble victories, either so many in number, or so profitable for the public utility of all Europe, as did he; and that not only in the days of this Amurath, but also of Mahomet his successor, as hereafter remaineth further to be seen. This battle of Amurath against the Christians, at Varna in Bulgaria, was fought A.D. 1404.

Amurath taketh his voyage against the Greeks. Amurath, by reason of this victorious overthrow against the Christians, surprised with no small pride, directed his journey incontinent toward the Grecians, where Castriotus was, otherwise called Scanderbeius. And first, coming to Peloponnesus, and breaking,

down the wall about the straits of Corinth, he encountered with the brother of the emperor of Constantinople, whom with his sudden coming he oppressed, with all the Greeks' army, ere they were provided. Paleologus the emperor, after that, did build up the wall again, but, at the Turks' bidding, he was compelled to undo it again; which wall afterwards the Venetians did repair. After the demolition of the wall, Amurath, entering into Peloponnesus, took divers towns and cities, as Sycio, and Patris; and moreover made all the parts of Thessalia and Achaia tributaries unto them. *Amurath.* Successes of the Turk.

The next year after this battle of Amurath, fought against the Christians at Varna, the Turk, being now about the parts of Greece, purposed to bend all his force and main against the country of Epyrus belonging to Georgius Castriotus Scanderbeius. Of this Scanderbeius mention was made before, how he was brought up in the Turk's court, from whence we declared also how subtilely he conveyed himself, and came to the possession of his own patrimony of Epyrus; which Epyrus,[1] this noble and victorious Scanderbeius (whom the Lord also had raised up the same time with Huniades, to bridle the fury of the Turks) valiantly defended against all the power of Amurath; insomuch that he discomfited and vanquished seven of the most expert bassas or dukes of the Ottoman emperor, one after another, with all their armies of most picked and chosen soldiers, dislodged them from their tents, and expulsed them utterly out of all Epyrus. Also when Amurath himself, with his whole puissance, had environed about the city of Croia with cruel siege and ordnance out of measure, yet, notwithstanding, the said Scanderbeius (through the power and blessing of the Lord) beat him out of the field, and repulsed him from the siege. Memorable acts of Scanderbeius against Amurath. Seven captains of the Turks overcome by Scanderbeius.

After this discomfiture, the saying is, that Amurath, to keep his vow made before, after his victory at Varna, gave himself unto a religious order, living a contemplative life with certain other priests joined unto him, in the forest of Bithynia, renouncing the government of his realm to the hands of Hali, one of the princes; for thou must understand, good reader, that the Turks also be not without their sundry sects of religion, no more than we Christians are without our friars and monks. Amurath renounces his dominion, and maketh himself a Turkish monk.

In the mean time, while Amurath, this Turkish tyrant, was cloistered up in his monkish religion, Johannes Huniades, in the kingdom of Hungary, and Georgius Castriotus, in Greece, kept a great stir against the Turks. By reason whereof, Amurath was taken again from his monkish vow and profession, and brought again into the field: for first Huniades[2] had rescued the whole country of Hungary, and had propulsed moreover all the might of the Turks far from Servia. And although the peevish practice of George, prince of Servia, had oftentimes disclosed his councils unto the Turks, whereby twice he was brought into danger, yet, notwithstanding, through the Lord's gracious protection, he was preserved and delivered by the said George unto the Hungarians again, and, after that, manfully vanquished the Turks; so that they had no resting-place about those parts of Servia and Bulgaria, so long as he lived. Two christian warriors in Europe stirred up of God to vanquish the Turks.

(1) This Epyrus is a country in Grecia, bordering near to the parts of Macedonia.
(2) This John Huniades is reported, of twenty battles with the Turk, to lose but two.

Amurath and Mahomet II.

On the other side, in Greece, Castriotus Scanderbeius so foiled the Turk in defence of his country, Epyrus and Macedonia, and kept Amurath so short, that not only he was not able to win any great town in all Epyrus; but also coming from Epyrus, in the straits he was so entangled by Castriotus, that he was forced to give battle: in which battle he was so vanquished, and most part of his army slain, that, for grief and sorrow conceived, he, falling into a raving sickness, was transported out of his pavilion unto Adrianople, and there in fury and madness died, after he had reigned thirty-four years, which was about A.D. 1450.

Epyrus and Macedonia, defended by Scanderbeius.

Amurath overcome.

Janizaries among the Turks.

This Amurath first ordained the order of the Janizaries, who were the men-children of such Christians as he conquered and took captive; whom he forced to renounce the faith of Christ, wherein they were baptized, and brought them up in Mahomet's law, and exercised them in the same feats of war as he did his own people; and after that they came to man's estate, he named them Janizaries, that is to say, soldiers of a strange country, and made them to guard his person. They wear on their head, instead of a helmet, a white attire made of the grossest sort of wool, and in so many folds about their head, that it cannot be pierced with a sword. It hangeth down on the back with a tail, and before, on the forehead, it is garnished with gold and silver. They were wont to use bows and lances in the field, but now they use dags, as our horsemen do.

At the first institution there were but eight thousand in their garrison, but now there be twice so many. This, of all bondage and servitude that the Christians suffer under the Turks, is most intolerable, and greatly to be of all true Christians lamented. For what can godly minds behold more to their grief, than to see their children pulled from the faith of Christ, wherein they were baptized, and by whose blood they should eternally be saved; and to be instructed and nourished with the blasphemous doctrine of Mahomet, and to be professed enemies of Christ, and his church, to make war against Heaven, and to perish everlastingly? And finally, what a lamentable thing is it, to see and behold our own children, born of our own bodies, to become our mortal and cruel enemies, and to cut our throats with their own hands! This servitude of mind is far greater than death itself; which if our princes would well consider, it would cause them the rather to agree, and bend their whole force and power against this cruel enemy.

Lamentable slavery of christian men's children under the Turk.

MAHOMET THE SECOND, THE NINTH EMPEROR OF THE TURKS.

Mahomet the ninth emperor after Ottoman.

Amurath left behind him three sons, Mahomet, born of the daughter of Despota, prince of Servia, being twenty years of age, the second son called Turcines, the third named Calepine. This Turcines being an infant, and but eighteen months old, was strangled at the commandment of the Turk by his servant Moses, himself being there present, and beholding the horrible murder. And when Moses, the executor of the murder, had desired him not to pollute his hands with the blood of his brother, he answered, that it was the manner of all the Ottoman Turks, that all the other brethren being destroyed, none should be left alive but one, to govern the empire: wherefore Moses

His tyranny in murdering his brethren.

was commanded by the tyrant, there presently, and in his sight, to kill the infant. This horrible fact when the mother of the child understood, she cried out, and almost mad for sorrow, cursed the tyrant to his face. But he, to mitigate the rage of the mother, at her request, being desirous to be revenged upon the executor of her son's death, delivered the said Moses bound into her hands; she then, in the presence of the tyrant, thrust him to the heart with a knife, and opening his side, took out his liver, and threw it to the dogs to be devoured. *Mahomet II.*

The third son, called Calepine, who was but six months old, the aforesaid Amurath, his father, commended to the custody of Hali Bassa, one of his nobles, who, to gratify and please the tyrant, betrayed the infant, and brought him unto him, and thereupon he, at the tyrant's commandment, was strangled. Some affirm, that instead of Calepine, another child was offered unto the tyrant, and that Calepine was conveyed to Constantinople, and after the taking of Constantinople was carried to Venice, and then to Rome to pope Calixtus, where he was baptized, and afterwards came into Germany, to Frederic the emperor, and there was honourably entertained, and kept in Austria during his life: where note how the merciful providence of God, whom he list to save, can fetch out of the devil's mouth. And note, moreover, the aforesaid Hali Bassa, the betrayer of the infant, how he escaped not unrevenged.[1] For Mahomet, understanding him to be a man of great substance and riches, through forging of false crimes, with great torments put him to death to have his riches: for this tyrant was given to insatiable avarice. Thus this bloody Mahomet began his regiment with horrible murder, after the example of other cursed tyrants, his predecessors.

Halibassa a traitor to his master.

Horrible parricide of the abominable Turk.

God's providence to those whom he listeth to save.

Although this Mahomet, notwithstanding that he came of a christian mother, being the daughter of Despota prince of Servia, and by her was brought up and instructed from his childhood in the precepts of christian religion and manners, yet he, soon forgetting all, gave himself to Mahomet's religion; and yet so, that he, being addicted to neither religion, became an atheist, believing and worshipping no God at all, but only the goddess of good fortune, irriding and mocking the minds and judgments of men, who believe that God, by his providence, governeth and regardeth the state of human things on earth.

After this Mahomet had heard of the victories and conquests of others his predecessors, and had understanding how Bajazet lay eight years about Constantinople, and could not win it; he, dispraising Bajazet, and disdaining that so long time should be spent about the siege thereof, and yet no victory gotten, bent all his study and device how to subdue the same. But, first, having a privy hatred against the city of Athens, and having his hands lately imbrued with the blood of his brethren, this murdering Mahomet, first of all, taketh his viage to subvert and destroy the city aforesaid; being a famous school of all good learning and discipline: against which city he did so furiously rage, for the hatred of good letters, that he thought he ought not to suffer the foundation thereof to stand, because that city was a good nurse, and fosterer of good arts and sciences. Wherefore he commanded the city to be rased and utterly subverted; and where-

Mahomet first setteth upon Athens.

His fury against the city and school of Athens.

(1) Note here God's punishment upon the betrayer of innocent blood.

Mahomet II.

soever any monuments or books could be found, he caused them to be cast into dirty sinks, and the filthiest places of the city, or put to the most vile uses that could be devised, for extirpating and abolishing of all good literature: and if he understood any to lament the case and ruin of that noble place, those he grievously punished and put to death.

Siege and taking of Constantinople.

Thus the famous and ancient school of Athens being destroyed and overthrown, he returned his army and power into Thrace, where, in all haste, he, gathering his power together both by sea and land, with a mighty multitude compassed the city of Constantinople about, and began to lay his siege against it, A.D. 1453; and in the four and fiftieth day of the said siege it was taken, sacked, and the emperor Constantine slain. As touching the cruelty and fierceness of the Turks in getting of this city, and what slaughter there was of men, women, and children, what calamity and misery were there to be seen, forasmuch as sufficient relation, with a full description thereof, hath been made before, it shall be superfluous now to repeat the same.[1] This only is not to be omitted, touching three principal causes of the overthrow of this city; whereof the first was the filthy avarice of those citizens, who, hiding their treasures in the ground, would not employ the same to the necessary defence of their city. For so I find it in story expressed, that when the Turk, after the taking of the city, had found not so much treasure as he looked for, suspecting with himself (as the truth was) the treasures and riches to be hidden under the ground, he commanded the earth to be digged up, and the foundations of the houses to be searched: where, when he had found treasures incredible, "What," quoth he, "how could it be that this place could ever lack munition and fortification, which did flow and abound with such great riches as here are, and plenty of all things?"[2] The second cause was the absence of the navy of the Venetians, which, if they had been ready in time, might have been a safeguard against the invasion of the enemies. A third cause also may be gathered upon occasion incident in stories, either for that the city of Constantinople, fifteen years before, did yield to the bishop of Rome, as is before to be seen; or else, because, as in some writers it is evident, the images were there received and maintained in their churches, and by the Turks the same time destroyed.

Three causes in the winning of Constantinople.

An image of the crucifix in Constantinople.

Johannes Ramus, writing of the destruction of this city, amongst other matters maketh relation of the image of the crucifix, being there in the high temple of Sophia; which image the Turk took, and writing this superscription upon the head of it, "Hic est christianorum Deus," i. e. "This is the God of the Christians," gave it to his soldiers to be scorned; and commanding the said image with a trumpet to be carried through all his army, made every man to spit at it most contumeliously. Wherein thou hast, good reader! by the way to note, what occasion of slander and offence we Christians give unto the barbarous infidels by this our ungodly superstition, in having images in our temples, contrary to the express commandment of God in his Word. For if St. Paul, writing to the Corinthians, saith, "We know Christ now no more after the flesh;" how much less then is Christ to be known of us in blind stocks and images set up in our temples,

Offences given to the infidels, by images in churches.

(1 See Vol. iii. p. 722.—Ed. (2) Ex Johanne Ramo, lib. 2. rerum Turcicarum.

serving for no other purpose, but for the infidels to laugh both us and our God to scorn, and to provoke God's vengeance? which by the like example, I fear, may also fall upon other cities, where such images and idolatrous superstition are maintained; whereof God grant Vienna to take heed betimes, which hath been so long, and yet is, in such great danger of the Turk, and polluted with so many images, and plain idolatry! *Mahomet II.* Vienna admonished.

In summa, to make the story short, such was the cruelty of these Turks in winning the city, that when Mahomet had given license to the soldiers three days together, to spoil, to kill, and to do whatsoever they listed, there was no corner in all Constantinople which did not either flow with christian blood, or else was not polluted with abominable abusing of maids, wives, and matrons, without all reverence of nature. Of the citizens, some they murdered; some they roasted upon spits; of some they flayed off their skin, hanging them up to consume with famine; into the wounds of others they put salt, the more terribly to torment them; insomuch that one of them contended with another, who could devise most strange kinds of new torments and punishments, exercising such cruelty upon them, that the place where the city was before, seemed now to be no city, but a slaughter-house or shambles of christian men's bodies. Among the dead bodies, the body also of Constantine the emperor was found; whose head being brought to Mahomet, he commanded it to be carried upon a spear through the whole city, for a public spectacle and derision to all the Turkish army. And because he would diminish the number of the captives, which seemed to him to be very great, he never rose from his table, but he put every day some of the nobles to death, no less to fill his cruel mind with blood, than his body was filled with wine; which he used to do so long as any of the nobles of that city were left alive. And of the other sort also, as the stories do credibly report, there passed no day in which he did not orderly slay more than three hundred persons; the residue he gave to his rascal soldiers to kill, and to do with them what they would: where is to be noted, that as Constantine the son of Helena was the first emperor of Constantinople, so Constantine the son also of Helena was the last emperor thereof. Cruel murder by the Turks in Constantinople. Its lamentable destruction. Bloody cruelty of the Turk against the Christians.

Not far from the said city of Constantinople there was another little city called Pera, and once called Galatia, situated by the sea-side; which, hearing of the miserable destruction of Constantinople, and seeing the city flaming with fire, sent certain of their chief men with speed to Mahomet, declaring unto him, that they neither had sent any help to the city of Constantinople, nor yet wrought any detriment to any of his army: wherefore they desired and prayed him, that as they would gladly yield unto him, so he would be favourable unto them and spare them, and not punish the guiltless with the guilty. Mahomet, although he was not ignorant that for fear, rather than of any good will, they submitted themselves, and that they would rather resist him, if they had been able, yet he received for that time the submission of the messengers: but, sending with them his ambassador into the city, he commanded also his army to follow withal, and to enter with him into the city, which although it was greatly suspected and misliked of the citizens, yet they durst not otherwise The city of Pera yieldeth, for fear.

Mahomet II.

do, but suffer them to enter. This being done, the ambassador gave a sign to the soldiers, every man to do whatsoever he was bidden; of whom some ran to the walls, some to the temples and churches, some to the streets and houses of the city, plucking all things down to the ground, sacking and ranging with no less fury and abominable filthiness, than they had done at Constantinople before, saving only that they abstained from murder: but the same day letters came from Mahomet to the ambassador, that he would spare none, but destroy and murder all that ever were in the city: which message, because it seemed to the ambassador to be too cruel, forasmuch as they had yielded themselves, he stayed his hand a little, until night came. In the mean time, drunken Mahomet, coming something to himself (whom drunkenness had before overcome), sent his second letters to revoke the first. Where again is to be noted the merciful providence of God towards his people in their deserved plagues, by staying the hands, and bridling the fury, many times of their enemies, when otherwise the case seemeth to be past all remedy.

The city spoiled.

Drunken Mahomet false of promise.

The merciful providence of God in saving his people.

Mahomet thus, being in himself not a little advanced and elevated by the winning of Constantinople, where he had now made the imperial seat of the Turkish dominion, the third year next following, to adventure more masteries, set out to the siege of Belgrade, a city of Hungary, lying near to the banks of the Danube, thinking to have the like success there, as he had in the winning of Constantinople, albeit, through the Lord's disposing, it fell out much otherwise. Within the city of Belgrade, the same time of the siege thereof, was Johannes Huniades, the valiant captain, of whom in divers places mention hath been made before; who with a sufficient strength of picked soldiers, albeit in number nothing equal to the Turks' army, valiantly defended the city with great courage, and no less success. In this siege great diligence was bestowed, and many of the Turks slain; among whom also Mahomet himself, being stricken with a pellet under the left arm, was fain to be carried out of the field for half dead, and the rest so put to flight, that of the Turks the same time were destroyed to the number, or not much under the number, of forty thousand, besides the loss of all their ordnance, which the Turks, in haste of their flight, were forced to leave behind them.

Constantinople made the imperial seat of the Turk.

The siege of Belgrade.

Forty thousand Turks slain.

Hieronymus Zieglerus, writing of the siege of this Belgrade, addeth moreover, that when Mahomet was at the siege thereof, seeing the town to be so small and weak of itself, that it could not be won with all his great multitude, he, staring and faring like a madman, commanded all his brazen pieces to be laid, to batter down the walls and towers of the town; so that the Christians within the walls were vehemently distressed, for the siege continued both night and day without intermission.[1] Among the rest of the Christians who defended the town, Hieronymus Zieglerus maketh mention of a certain Bohemian, much worthy of his condign commendation; who, being upon the walls, and seeing a Turk with a banner or ensign of the Turks to be gotten up, by the sight whereof the whole town was in danger to be conquered and taken, runneth unto the Turk, and clasping him about the middle, speaking to John Capistranus, standing below, asked him, whether it were any danger of damnation to

Noble act of a Bohemian in defence of his country.

(1) Ex Hier. Zieglero, in lib. de illustrib. viris Germa. cap. 98.

him, if he, of his voluntary mind, did cast himself with that dog (so he termed him) down headlong from the wall to be slain with him: what should become of his soul, and whether he might be saved, or not? To whom when the other had answered, that he should be saved without doubt, he eftsoons tumbleth himself with the Turk down off the wall; where, by his death, he saved the same time the life of all the city. Mahomet, being so wounded, and in despair of winning the city, was carried (as ye heard) out of the field, who at length coming again to himself, partly for fear, and partly for shame, was ready to kill himself. And thus was the town of Belgrade at that time rescued, through God's providence, by the means of Johannes Huniades and this good Bohemian. *Mahomet II.* Belgrade valiantly defended from the Turk.

This siege of Belgrade began A.D. 1456, and endured six-and-forty days, at which siege were numbered of the Turks two hundred thousand, of whom more than forty thousand (as is aforesaid) were slain; where the victory fell to the Christians, through the prosperous success given of God to Johannes Huniades, and Capistranus. This Huniades, not long after the said victory, through the importune labour and travail in defending of the said town, was taken with a sore sickness, and thereof departed; to whose valiant prowess and singular courage, stories do give great laud and commendation. Decease of Johannes Huniades.

Mahomet the Turk, after this done in Europe, returned into Asia to war with Usumcassan a Persian, one of the Turks' stock, with whom he had three battles. The first was about the river Euphrates, where the Turk lost ten thousand men, and was put to the worse. In the second field, likewise, he was discomfited. The third battle was at Arsenga, where, through the terrible noise of the brazen pieces, the Persian horses disturbed the camp, and so was Usumcassan overcome. The Turks war against Usumcassan.

From thence the Turk reduced again his power against the Christians, and first subdued unto him Synope and all Paphlagonia: also the kingdom of Trebisond, which he, besieging both by land and water, won from the Christians, and sent David the king of the same, with his two sons, and Calus his uncle, unto Constantinople, where they were miserably and cruelly put to death, and all the stock of the Conneni, who were of the king's stock, by the Turk were destroyed. This was about A.D. 1459, at which time this mischievous Mahomet was first saluted emperor. The Turk again returneth against the Christians.

Not long after, he got, from the Greeks, Corinth and Mitylene, not without great slaughter of christian men; insomuch that the whole city of Mitylene was utterly to the ground almost destroyed. The isles also of Lemnos and Lesbos he won from the Venetians; in which island of Lesbos is the city of Mitylene aforesaid. Conquests of the Turk.

Not far from this isle of Lesbos and Mitylene, there is a country in Asia, toward the sea-side bordering next to Europe, called Mysia, or of some called Mœsia, wherein stood the city of Troy. This country Mahomet, coveting to win rather by policy and falsehood, than by doubtful danger of war, secretly sent for the prince thereof, to come to speak with him for certain causes (as he pretended), that would concern the profit and commodity of them both. Which when the king of Mysia either for shame would not, or for fear durst not deny, he came to him, as if to confer upon necessary affairs in Falsehood of the Turk against the prince of Mysia. Also his cruelty.

Mahomet II. common to them appertaining. Mahomet, when he had brought that to pass which he would, caused the king to be apprehended, and cruelly to be slain, or rather torn in pieces; and so, invading the land of Mysia, he exercised the like tyranny upon his kindred and affinity.

The siege of Chalcis in Eubœa. This Mysia by fraud being taken and lost, Mahomet flieth again towards Europe, where he assailed the island of Eubœa, otherwise called Nigroponte, making a bridge of a marvellous frame over the sea Euripus, to convey over his army out of Greece, and there laid his siege to the city Chalcis, which, at length, in thirty days he overcame, not without a great slaughter of his army; who, in the siege thereof, is said to have lost forty thousand of the Turks. But the slaughter of the Christians was greater; for when the city was won, the tyrant commanded, most cruelly, none to be spared within the whole city, but to be put to the sword, whosoever was above the age of twenty years.[1] This cruelty was showed by the barbarous tyrant for anger and fury, because such a number of his Turks were slain at the siege thereof, being reckoned (as is said) to be forty thousand.

Cruel tyranny of the Turk against Chalcis.

Noble stratagem of women, in defending that city. In the fierce siege of this city it is memorable what is in stories recorded, how that the women of that city, seeing the men begin to faint, and the city to lie in present danger, took the matter themselves in hand, and playing the men, went to the walls, and there defended the city with no less trouble to the enemy, than the men had before done; and so for a space continued, as long as any man's strength and diligence could do any good. A great cause of the loss of this city and island, is imputed to the cowardly timidity of the Venetians' navy; who, being there present, and having prosperous wind, yet durst not, or would not adventure upon the Turks' bridge, which if they had done, the island of Eubœa, and Chalcis, had not so soon been overmatched by the Turks.

Christian provinces in Greece subdued by the Turk. Thus all the east parts of Greece being subdued to the Turkish tyrant, with all Achaia, Attica, Acarnania, and Eubœa, shortly after followed also Peloponnesus, brought into like subjection to the Turk. Within Peloponnesus were these provinces contained, Achaia, Messenia, Laconia, Argolica, and Arcadia, &c. The Venetians, in this Peloponnesus, had great possessions, and had made up the wall again towards the sea-side, near to the straits of Corinth before-mentioned, where, for the more speed of the work, they had thirty thousand workmen to the building thereof: which when it came to the knowledge of the Turk, he burst into the country of Peloponnesus with an army of eighty thousand, and first wasted the regions of the Coroneans, and Methoneans, and making a great slaughter of the Venetians, in short time brought the whole dominion of Peloponnesus under his yoke and tribute.

Long it is, and more lamentable to recite all the victories of this Mahomet, gotten against the Christians both by land and sea; who, after he had overcome the isle of Lesbos, above mentioned, and had cruelly slain Nicholas Catalusius the prince thereof, turning his army towards the sea Pontus Euxinus, got the country of Capha from the Genoese. Before was declared how truce was taken between Georgius Scanderbeius and the Turk, for ten years; which truce

Capha taken by the Turk.

(1) Ex Johanne Ramo de rebus Turcicis

being expired, Mahomet leaveth no time unspent, no diligence unsought, but maketh all his power to Epyrus and Albania, which he, after long fatigation of siege, at length overcame and subdued; in the which tract also he won from the Venetians, Scodra, Lysson, and Dinastrum. Notwithstanding, when Scanderbeius, the valiant captain, had done against the Turk what in man's strength did lie, yet, being overmatched with power and multitude, seeing no possibility to make his party good, he was forced to depart his country as an exile, and went to Italy; and there, being sent for by the pope's letters, he openly declared that it was not possible otherwise to resist the furious rage of the barbarous Turks by the strength of any one king or prince, unless all Europe, with one consent, should join their power and force together. And thus Georgius Scanderbeius, a man of puissant courage, being driven out of his country, continued his age in exile; whose courage and vehemency are reported to have been such, that in fighting against the barbarous enemy, for very eagerness of spirit, his blood was seen to burst out of his lips. It is testified also of him that being provoked, he neither denied to fight, nor in his fighting ever turned his back, neither yet was ever wounded, but only once with a light shaft in his foot, neither ever set against the Turk with more than six thousand horsemen, and three thousand footmen; who is said, with his own hand to have slain above 2,000 Turks, whom with such violence he did strike, that many of them he did cleave asunder from the head to the middle.

Mahomet II.

The counsel of Scanderbeius, to fight against the Turk.

A notable example of singular courage.

Neither yet was the insatiable greediness of that Turkish hellhound with all this satisfied, but still he conceived greater things in his mind, thinking to conquer the whole world; and so, passing forward towards Europe, he subdued all Illyria, slaying Stephen, the king of Bosnia, about A.D. 1463. But afterwards Matthias Corvinus, the son of Huniades aforementioned, recovered again the said kingdom of Bosnia, with many other cities near unto Croatia and Dalmatia, and moreover repulsed Mahomet the Turk, in his second siege of Jaitza, taking his tents and munitions left behind him.

Moreover, the said Mahomet, passing unto Wallachia, set upon Dracula, the prince thereof; which Dracula, although he had no greater power of soldiers, yet he so enclosed and environed the Turk, that he had almost lost his whole army, of whom a great part, notwithstanding, was destroyed, and many of his ensigns taken. Into Dalmatia were sent two captains of the Turk, who, fighting against the provinces of the Venetians, made great spoil and waste about the regions of Stiria and Carinthia; where also the Venetian power was discomfited, and Hieronymus Novel, their captain, slain. At length truce was taken between the Turk and the Venetians upon this condition, that Scodra, Tenarus, and Lemnos should be yielded unto him, and that they should pay to him yearly, eight thousand ducats, for the free passage of their merchants.

Stiria and Carinthia taken by the Turk.

After this peace concluded with the Venetians, Mahomet himself saileth over into Asia, sending two of his great captains abroad to sundry places; of whom, Mesithes was sent against Rhodes with a mighty navy: the other, called Acomates Bassa, was sent into Italy to take Rome, and all the west empire. Concerning the viage of which two captains, this was the event, that Masithes, after his great

Rhodes besieged.

Mahomet and Bajazet II.

travail, and bloody siege against the Rhodians, was fain to retire at length, with great shame and loss. The other captain, Acomates (as is said), was sent into Italy with a navy of a hundred ships, and fifteen thousand men, who, by the way in his sailing, got Leucadia (which now they call St. Maure), Cephalonia, and Zacynthus, and, sailing by Favelona, arrived in Apulia; and so, passing along by the sea-side, spoiled and wasted divers parts by the coast, till at length he came to Hydruntum, a city of Calabria in Italy, which, after long siege, he overcame and subdued, and brought such a terror into all Italy, that the pope, forgetting all other things, yet mindful of himself, with all haste fled out of Rome. After the city of Hydruntum was taken, and the Turks placed in the same, which was A.D. 1481, Matthias Corvinus, Huniades' son, was sent for by the Italians, to set upon the said city; unto the rescue whereof, when Acomates was about to make his return with five and twenty thousand Turks, in the mean time news came, that Mahomet, the great Turk, was dead; by reason whereof, the siege brake up, and the city was delivered to the Italians again, and so was Italy delivered at that time out of that present peril and danger. This Mahomet won from the Christians two hundred cities, and twelve kingdoms, and two empires,[1] which he joined both together. He died in the year abovesaid, A.D. 1481.

Conquests of the Turk.

The pope flieth for fear of the Turk.

BAJAZET THE SECOND, THE TENTH EMPEROR OF THE TURKS.

Mahomet aforesaid had three sons; of whom Mustapha the eldest, through voluptuousness and carnal lust, died before his father. The other two were Bajazet and Demes, otherwise called Zizimus; about whom great controversy arose amongst the Turks, which of them should succeed in their father's kingdom: for neither of them was present at Constantinople when Mahomet died; Bajazet being in Cappadocia, and Demes, in Lycaonia. Wherefore, when great dissension was among the nobles for the succession, and great strife and bloodshed for the matter, the Janizaries, who were the Turk's guard, did proclaim Bajazet emperor: others, in the absence of Bajazet the father, did choose Corchuthus his son. Bajazet the father, coming at length from Cappadocia, partly through yielding, partly by corrupting with money, got the wills of the Janizaries, and was made emperor. Demes, the other brother, being in Lycaonia, more near, although he made no less speed in his coming, yet was prevented by Bajazet, and excluded out of Constantinople. Wherefore he, being put back from all hope of his kingdom, incited by some of his friends, moved war against his brother; who, being overcome in three battles by Acomates, Bajazet's captain, who had got Hydruntum before, did fly to the great master of the Rhodes, leaving, in a place called Carræ, his mother and two young children, whom Bajazet slew.

Bajazet slayeth the mother and the two sons of his brother Demes.

This Demes, being with the master of the Rhodes, was desired first of pope Innocent IV., then of Ludovic II. the French king, but especially of Matthias Corvinus, king of Hungary, intending by him to obtain great victory against Bajazet. But, in conclusion, the knights of the Rhodes sent him to the bishop of Rome, where he being kept,

1) Those two empires were Constantinople and Trapezande.

and afterwards sent to Charles VIII., the French king, for a hostage of pope Alexander VI., was poisoned by the way of Terracina, by the said pope Alexander, as is before declared. After his death, Bajazet, to requite the aforesaid Acomates for his good service, put him to the halter, partly misdoubting his power, partly for lucre-sake to have his treasure: whose death redounded to the great profit of the Christians, forasmuch as he was ever an utter enemy to the religion and name of Christ. *Bajazet II.* False treason worthily recompensed.

Bajazet, thus being confirmed in his tyranny, made his first expedition against Wallachia, where he subdued two great forts, one called Lithostomus, the other called Moncastrum. From thence he removed his power, taking his viage into Asia, thinking to be revenged of the sultan of Egypt, who had succoured and entertained before his brother Demes against him: where he lost two great battles, the one fought at Adena, the other at Tarsus; but especially at the field at Tarsus, the army of the Turk took such a wound, that of a hundred thousand brought into the field, scarce the third part remained unslain. But as touching the Rhodians, although they were succourers of Demes aforesaid, yet Bajazet (whether for fear, or for subtlety,) abstained to provoke them with war, but rather entreated with them the league of peace; requiring the master of the Rhodes to keep his brother safe under his custody, promising, for his yearly salary, to be paid unto him every year in the month of August, 45,000 ducats. Christian forts subdued by the Turk. The Turk overthrown at Tarsus.

Thus Bajazet, being overthrown and terrified with evil luck, fighting against the sultan of Egypt, removed from Asia, and directed his army into Europe, where he got Dyrachium near unto Velona, and had a great victory over the christian army in the country of Croatia, where the Illyrians, Pannonians, and Croatians, joining their powers together, encountered with the Turk, and lost the field, about A. D. 1493. Dyrachium taken by the Turk.

From thence the Turk, leading his army against the Venetians, had with them divers and doubtful conflicts, where the Turk, sometimes put to the worse, and sometimes again prevailing, out of Jadra and divers other cities about Dalmatia, carried away great multitudes of Christians into captivity; which was about A. D. 1498. The Turk goes against the Venetians.

Two years after this (A. D. 1500), Bajazet, with 150,000 armed men, entered into Peloponnesus; which although Mahomet had expugned before, yet the Venetians had defended Methone, otherwise called Modon, all this while against the Turks. This Methone, the Turk besieged with three armies, having about the walls five hundred great brazen cannons, whereof twenty-two were most violent and hurtful; wherewith he battered the city both day and night. But the citizens who were within the city, committing themselves to God, defended their city as well as they could, rather choosing to die, than to yield to the Turk's tyranny. But the Turk prevailing, and they not able to withstand the siege, the Christians convented together into a certain house prepared for the purpose, both men, women, and children; where they, setting the house on fire, gave themselves rather to be burned, than to come into the tyrant's hands. Certain women also, with their children, cast themselves headlong into the sea, by that means to avoid the Turkish captivity. Some writers there be, who affirm that the Methoneans, seeing five great ships of Peloponnesus again invaded by the Turk. Methone taken by the Turks and destroyed.

Bajazet II. the Venetians coming with men and victuals toward them, issued down from the walls to the sea-side, to receive them, who were all taken captives, being above the number of a thousand: who all, being tied with long ropes, were brought before the tyrant, and in his sight were cruelly slain, except certain nobles, whom Cherseogles, son-in-law to Bajazet, got to be pardoned, amongst whom was Andreas Gritto.

Conquests of the Turk. The city of Coron, and also Pilus, cities in Greece, being terrified with the example of the Methonians, yielded themselves to the power of the Turks. Crissæum, otherwise called Caput Sancti Galli, was expugned by Cherseogles, by force of guns.

Islands recovered of the Turk by the Venetians. These things thus achieved, although Bajazet went away victor unto Constantinople, yet, notwithstanding, the Venetians, through the help of the kings of France and Spain, had won from the Turk, Cephalonia, an island very commodious for their traffic. Also they had gotten other two islands, Leucas and Nericus, otherwise called Sancta Maura, slaying all the garrison of the Turks. But afterwards, peace being taken between the Venetians and the Turks, by the counsel of Andreas Gritto aforesaid, the Turks so agreed, that Leucas and Nericus, the islands abovesaid, should be rendered unto the Turk, and the Venetians should keep still the possession of Cephalonia.

Truce between them.

War between Sophus and Bajazet. Unto this league the Turk did the rather condescend, for that he had to maintain war against Ismael Sophus in Asia, king of Persia; which Sophus was stirred up, by God's providence, to war with this Bajazet, whereby the christian churches in Europe might have some breathing-time, and freedom from the Turks' cruel tyranny and bloodshed. This Sophus was a valiant Turk, who, with great power and victories, had overrun a great compass of the east parts of Asia; then passing from Assyria into Media, and returning again into Armenia, he made war against the Albanians, Iberians, and Scythians, and from thence, coming into Asia Minor, encountered with Corchuthus, Bajazet's son, and afterward coming to Bithynia, fought with Caragius Bassa, Bajazet's captain, whom he overcame and put to flight, and afterwards took him alive, and his wife, prisoners. Afterwards he was encountered by Hali Bassa, another captain of the Turks, whom Techelles, one of the said Sophus' captains, meeting in the plain of Galatia, did withstand, and so by the way slew Caragius the captain, and hanged him upon a pole in the sight of Hali Bassa; which Hali Bassa shortly after was slain in war, and his army scattered, and put to flight.

The Turk's captain slain.

Thus, through the admirable example of God's justice and providence, were these Turks kept occupied, and so came it to pass, that these barbarians, being blasphemous against the Son of God, should thus horribly run on to the destruction one of another, being worthily punished with mutual slaughter and bloodshed, for their impiety and blasphemy against Christ and his religion, whereby, in the mean time, some rest was given to the Christians.

Bajazet, partly by these victories discouraged, partly diseased and languishing of the gout, and partly also broken with age, finding himself unwieldy to the regiment of that tumultuous kingdom, began to have talk with his nobles about the choosing of one to succeed him. The occasion whereof ministered much matter of inward wars amongst the Turks. This Bajazet had in all six sons, whereof three died

before him, and three yet were left alive: to wit, Acomates, Corchuthus, and Selim. Bajazet himself had most mind to Acomates, but the chiefest of his nobles did favour rather Selim; who, through their traitorous incitation, provoked him to stir war against his father: and, notwithstanding that he was overcome in war, yet, through intercession, he was reconciled again to his father, and afterward proclaimed again emperor against his father's will, through the help and favour of the soldiers, entering the first beginning of his kingdom with the murdering of his own father: the story whereof in some authors is thus declared. *Bajazet II.* Selim made emperor against his father's will.

After the Janizaries had persuaded with Bajazet, for that he himself was unwieldy, therefore he should do well to constitute some successor, and that he had assigned Acomates to succeed him, the Janizaries being offended with the said Acomates, because he would not enlarge their stipends, and bribe them, compassing about the king's palace with their privy swords, which they had under their garments, with a mighty cry required Selim to be appointed for their emperor. Unto whom when Bajazet had answered, that he had assigned Acomates, they refused him, because he was fat, gross, and unable thereunto; but needs would have Selim, who was stout and warlike, to be made emperor: and withal, they drew out their swords, crying 'Selim,' 'Selim.' Then Bajazet, giving place to their fury, showed himself content to give them Selim; whom the Janizaries receiving, brought him unto the palace: unto whom Bajazet his father, giving place, willed him not to be so hasty and furious in his doings, but to be modest, and take heed what he did, and not to follow his fury, but to give place unto time, which revealeth all things, and think himself to be a man subject to dangers and jeopardies as other men are. And thus speaking, he resigned his imperial throne and seat unto him, and went away all heavy, entering into a certain order of their religion. Whereupon followed great exclamations of the people, saluting Selim as emperor: who then, taking the rule upon him, began with great cruelty to govern, destroying many of his nobles, such as had stood against him, some with poison, some by other cruel means; and advancing his own side, with great honours and promotions. Counsel of Bajazet to his son.

Not long after Selim was thus settled in his kingdom, Bajazet his father, intending to see and prove how he behaved himself in his government, first entered into his treasure-house, where he found all his riches to be scattered and gone. Afterwards he came into his armoury, where all the spoils gotten by war were likewise wasted. Then he entered into the jewel-house, where all his plate and gifts sent from kings and princes were kept; which likewise were dispersed and given away. At length he came into the stable, where also he, seeing his principal horses to be lacking, sighing with himself, and crying, 'Vengeance upon him!' prepared himself, with the residue of the treasure which was remaining, to sail over into Natolia, unto his eldest son; and passing by an orchard near to the sea-side, where he had appointed to take ship, in the mean time, whilst the ships were in furnishing, he sat down under a tree, and began to curse his son, and to ask vengeance upon him, for that he had so despised his father, and was become so impious a wretch. Displeasure of Bajazet against him.

Bajazet II. and Selim.

Selim, understanding of his father's departure, came into the orchard where his father was, seeming to be very heavy, and much lamenting that his father would so privily depart and go away, seeing that he desired not the government of the empire, but was contented only with the title thereof. "O father," said he, "do not thus privily depart away: do not procure this shame to your son, who so tenderly loveth you. Let me have but the name only, and be you the emperor indeed. The end of your natural life most patiently I shall expect, which I pray God may long continue." And thus, using many fair and flattering words to his father, he commanded a banquet, with many dainty junkets, to be brought unto him, but tempered and infected with poison: which as soon as Bajazet had begun to taste of, and felt the strength of the poison working in his body, he took his last farewell of his son, and going out of the city, accompanied with a great retinue of men, yelling and crying out in the streets, in the middle of his journey fell down, and miserably died, A.D. 1512. Here mayest thou see, good reader! a cursed brood of this Turkish generation, where the father dieth in cursing the son, and the son reigneth by poisoning his father.

Dissembling words of Selim to his father.

Selim, the son, poisoneth his father.

C

SELIM, THE ELEVENTH EMPEROR OF THE TURKS.

Selim, the eleventh after Ottoman.

After this wretched Selim had exercised his barbarous cruelty upon his father, with like impiety he seeketh the destruction of his brethren and their children, first beginning his murder with the five children his nephews, who were the sons of his three brethren before departed. This done, then remained his other two brethren yet alive, Acomates and Corchuthus, with their children, likewise to be destroyed; of whom the one had three sons, whom their father sent to Selim his brother and their uncle, with fair and gentle words, to entreat him to be good unto their father, offering to him their duty and service in all things, honouring him also as emperor. But cruel Selim commanded forthwith his said nephews to be strangled. The father, hearing of the cruel murder of his sons, leaving house and home, went and hid himself in mountains, where he lived for a space with herbs and wild honey; but, being bewrayed by one of his men, he was brought to Selim, and so was strangled.

Selim strangles his brother and nephews.

Christopher Richer, writing of these matters, seemeth something to differ from other stories, and saith, that Selim, after the death of his brother Corchuthus, came to Bursa, where, under the colour of making a great triumph, he ordained a feast for his friends and kinsfolk, whereunto were called especially his nephews; who, then, at the end of the feast, calling his nephews aside (as under the pretence of conferring with him secretly about his necessary affairs), committed them to his servants to be strangled and put to death. All this while Acomates, his other brother, through the help and instruction of his mother, was kept out of the tyrant's hands, till at length, after great labour and search made how to get him, certain forged letters were cast abroad, wherein was contained, that Acomates, to revenge the great impiety, and subdue the tyranny of Selim his brother, should show himself abroad: which if he would do, he should find friends enough to take his part. Acomates, circumvented with these subtle

Selim warreth against his brother Acomates.

trains, partly for hope of revengement, partly for desire of the empire, showed himself abroad with such power and strength as he had: who, being set upon incontinent by Selim his brother, was overcome in battle, and falling from his horse, being a man corpulent and gross, and his horse falling upon him, was so overpressed and slain. *Selim.*

Touching the death of this Acomates, Munsterus, somewhat differing from this narration, addeth moreover, and saith, that he was not killed with the fall from his horse, but that sitting all dismayed upon a stone, and seeing no other remedy but death, he desired the captain, taking his rings from his fingers, to deliver the same to his brother, desiring him that he might not be put to any extreme cruelty of death, but that he gently would suffer him to be let blood in the bath, and so to die. But Selim, being not ignorant of this, suborneth privy tormentors, who, binding his hands behind him, with their feet cast him down upon the ground, and so, twisting his neck with a cord, did strangle him. This Acomates had two sons, who, hearing of the death of their father, did fly for succour, the one to Sophus, in Persia, and the other to the sultan, in Egypt. The cruelty of Selim against his brother Acomates.

By means hereof, new occasion of war grew unto Selim, whereby he was kept in Asia, at home, to fight against the Persians and Egyptians: so that, through the Lord's providence, Christendom by that means was delivered from great danger and peril of the Turk's tyranny. For otherwise the Turk was wholly minded, with all his force and puissance, to invade the Christians; being in doubt whether first to begin with Rhodes, or whether to assault Pannonia, or else to set upon Italy, being then at great discord within itself: but this cause occupied the Turk's mind otherwise, and kept him at home; such was then the providence of the Lord, for the safeguard of his people. The providence of God, in stirring up occasions for his people.

Wherefore, forasmuch as the affairs and doings of this Turk were spent for the most part in the Turkish and Heathenish countries, it shall not be greatly necessary to trouble our Christian stories therewith, but only shall suffice to contract them in a brief sum, declaring superficially what unquietness was amongst them there, who could never be quiet, but ever working some mischief either abroad or at home. Amurath, the Turk's nephew aforesaid, after he had obtained aid of Sophus the king of the Persians, first invaded Cappadocia; not long after whom followed Ismael Sophus, the Persian king, by reason whereof, a great battle was fought betwixt the Persians and Selim, in the fields of Armenia Major. In that battle, Ismael Sophus, the Persian king, was hurt on the shoulder with a pellet; and so, being carried out of the field, left the victory to Selim, who, albeit he had an army of 150,000 men, yet he in the same field lost about 30,000 of his Turks: which field was fought A.D. 1514. Selim, after this victory, went to Tauris, the imperial city of the Persians, which he, by yielding, subdued. War between Selim and Sophus, the Persian king.

In this mean time it happened that one Aladulus, a king of Armenia the greater, was also a helper to Ismael against the Turk; whereupon Selim the Turk, taking great indignation, the next year following, leaving the Persians, fought against the said Aladulus, and in the end overcame him; and afterwards, being found in a cave in a wood, he was taken out and brought to Selim, and so beheaded: whose War between Selim and Aladulus.

Selim. head, being first carried about Asia for a triumph, was afterwards sent to the senate of Venice for a terror unto them. The eldest son of Aladulus, escaping the hands of his pursuers, fled into Egypt. This battle thus fought and ended, Selim, after he had divided the kingdom of Aladulus into three provinces, went to Lycaonia, and from thence to Europe, there to defend the city of Samandria, against the Christians in Hungary: but the Hungarians, being soon repressed by Juno Bassa the Turk's captain, great preparation began to be made by the Turks, against the confines of Servia bordering upon Hungary, the terror whereof stirred up Maximilian the emperor, and Ladislaus king of Hungary, and Sigismund king of Poland, to consult together, and conjoin their power for defence of Christendom. But, through new incumbrances incident, the Turk, leaving Europe, made haste again into Asia, to renew again his wars against the Persians, who had made a vow not to give over that war before Ismael was overthrown.

Preparation of war between Selim and the Christians.

The Turk called away.

A Turkish vow.

But before he entered that war, first he sent his messengers to the sultan of Egypt, requiring him not to intermeddle in that war: for this sultan before had promised to assist the Persians against the Turk. The name of the sultan who reigned then in Egypt, was Campson, set up by the Mamalukes. These Mamalukes were a certain order amongst the Egyptians, much like the Janizaries about the Turk, who, being the children of christian men, and after denying Christ, were the chiefest doers in the sultan's court, and, being grown into a great multitude, did degenerate into a Turkish barbarity, or rather became worse than Turks. This Campson, unto the messengers of the Turk gave this answer, that unless he would leave off this war against Ismael, and restore the son of Aladulus, he would not lay down his armour.

Campson the sultan or ruler of the Egyptians.

Selim being incensed not a little with this insolent answer of the sultan, leaving all other wars aside, with great celerity advanced his power against the sultan; which sultan, partly through the falsehood of his captain Caierbeius, partly by the suddenness of the Turk's coming, not far from the city of Damascus encountered with the Turk; and there, overthrown from his horse, being a fat and gross body, and falling under his horse, and his horse also falling upon him, was quashed in pieces, and so died, A. D. 1516.

Caierbeius false to his master.

The sultan slain.

The Mamalukes, of whom more than a thousand in this battle were slain, flying from thence to Memphis, set up Tomoumbeius instead of Campson; whose captain Gazelles was overcome at the city of Gaza, and he afterwards himself driven out of Memphis, where a great part of the Mamalukes were destroyed. Then Tomoumbeius, flying over the flood Nile, renewed his army again; but, in the end, he was discomfited and chased into a marsh, where he was found standing in the water up to the chin; and so, being brought to Selim, he was put to the rack and great torments, to make him confess where Campson's treasures were. But, when he would not declare, he was carried about the town with a halter round his neck, and hanged up upon a high gibbet, for a spectacle to all Egypt; which was A. D. 1517. And thus were the two sultans of Egypt destroyed with the Mamalukes, who there had borne the rule in Egypt the space of two hundred and forty-three years; the progeny of which Mamalukes remaining of the

Tomoumbeius made sultan of Egypt.

He is executed.

wars, the Turk commanded, in the prison-gates of Alexandria, to be cut in pieces. Selim from thence triumphing, departed to Constantinople, intending to spend the rest of his time in persecuting the Christians. But in that mean space he was stricken with a cankered sore rotting inward, and died, after he had reigned seven years like a beast, A.D. 1520. *Selim, and Solyman.* The death of Selim.

The reign of this Turk was but short in number of years; but in number of his murders and cruel bloodshed it might seem exceeding long, who lived more like a beast than a man; for he never spared any of his friends or kindred. His father first he poisoned, his brethren and all his cousins he quelled, leaving none of all his kindred alive. Moreover, his chief and principal captains for small occasions he put to death, as Mustapha, Calogere, Chendeme, Bostang his son-in-law, and Juno Bassa. Cruelty of Selim against his kindred.

It is said moreover, that he intended the poisoning of his own son Solyman, sending unto him a shirt infected with poison, because he seemed something freely to speak against the cruel demeanour of his father: but, by the means of his mother, the gift being suspected, was given to another, who was his chamberlain, who, putting on the shirt, was stricken with the poison thereof, and therewithal died.

As touching this Turk Selim, by the way here may be noted, how the secret providence of the Lord kept him occupied with his Turkish wars at home, while the reformation of Christian religion here in Europe, at the same time begun by Martin Luther, might the more quietly take some rooting without disturbance or interruption. For so it appeareth by the computation of time, that in the days of this Selim, Martin Luther first began to write against the pope's indulgences, which was A. D. 1516. A note of God's providence for the reformation of religion.

SOLYMAN, THE TWELFTH EMPEROR OF THE TURKS.

Solyman, the only son of Selim, succeeded after his father's death, who, in the first beginning, seemed to some to be simple and sheepish, and not meet for the Turkish government: wherefore certain of his nobles, consulting how to depose him, intended to set up another emperor; in which conspiracy are especially named Caierbeius and Gazelles. This Caierbeius was he that betrayed before Campson the sultan of Egypt to Selim, as is aforesaid; who now also being in consultation with Gazelles and others about this matter, detected them also unto Solyman. Wherefore the said Gazelles and his fellows, being thus detected, were put to death by Solyman: declaring thereby that he was not so sheepish as he was thought of them to be; and as also by his acts afterwards did more appear. Solyman, the twelfth after Ottoman.

Solyman, after this execution done upon the conspirators, taking his voyage into Europe, first besieged Belgrade, which, being a city in Hungary, was the strongest fort of all the Roman empire, and the chief defence at that time of all Christendom; which also, assaulted before time by Amurath II., was valiantly defended by Johannes Huniades, as is above specified. But here now lacked such a one as Huniades was: for the kingdom of Hungary at that time was under the government of Ludovic, a young king, inexpert and of a simple wit; whom other princes, and especially the covetous churchmen, did Belgrade again besieged by the Turk.

Solyman. so pill and poll, that they left him nothing but only the bare name and title of his kingdom; whereby he, being unfurnished both of men and money, was unable to match with such an enemy.

Discord amongst Christian princes, what mischief it bringeth.

Another advantage also the Turks had in besieging Belgrade, for the Christian princes, at that time, were in civil dissension and variance amongst themselves; and the pope with his churchmen also were so busy in suppressing Luther, and the gospel then newly springing, that they minded nothing else, except it were to maintain the wealth of their own bellies; which pope, if he had set his care (as his duty was) as much in stirring up princes against the common enemy, as he was bent to deface the gospel, and to persecute the true professors thereof, soon might he have brought to pass, not only that Belgrade might have been defended against the Turk, but also that to be recovered again, which was lost before; and, moreover, he might have stopped the great dangers and perils which now are like to fall upon the religion and church of Christ; which the Lord of his great mercy avert and turn away.

The pope so busy against Luther, that he neglecteth the ruin of Christendom.

Certes, whatsoever the pope then did, this had been his duty, setting all other things apart, to have had an earnest compassion of so many miserable and lost captives, who were fallen from their faith and religion, unto the misery and slavery of the Turk, and thraldom of the devil, and to have sought all means possible to have reduced them, as lost sheep, into the fold again; which then might soon have been done, if prelates and princes, joining together in christian concord, had loved as well the public glory of Christ, and souls of Christians, as they tendered their own private, worldly, and frivolous quarrels. And admit that the pope had conceived ever so much malice against Luther, his quarrel also being good; yet the public church, standing in such danger as it then did, by the invasion of the Turk, reason would, nature led, religion taught, time required, that a good prelate, forgetting lighter matters, should rather have laid his shoulder to the excluding of so great a danger, as then was imminent both to himself, and the universal church of Christ. But now, his quarrel being unjust, and the cause of Luther being most just and godly, what is to be said or thought of such a prelate, who, forbearing the Turk, whom in a time so dangerous he ought chiefly to have resisted, persecuted the truth which he should specially have maintained? But Christ, of his mercy, stand for his church, and stir up zealous princes and prelates, if not to recover that which is lost, yet at least to retain that little which is left!

True compassion lacking in the pope.

The city of Belgrade won by the Turk.

Solyman therefore, taking this occasion, and using the commodity of time, while our princes were thus at variance betwixt themselves, without any resistance or interruption brought his army unto Belgrade, A.D. 1521; which city being but slenderly defenced, the Turk, through his underminers, guns, and other engines of war, without great difficulty, and with little loss of his soldiers, soon subdued and overcame.

After this victory, Solyman resting himself a whole year, and casting in his mind how to make all sure behind him, for fear of enemies to come upon his back, thought it expedient for his purpose, if he might obtain the island of Rhodes; for that only remained yet christian, betwixt him and Asia. Wherefore, the next year

following, he brought his navy of four hundred and fifty ships, with three hundred thousand men, to the besieging thereof. This Rhodes was a mighty and strong island, within the Mediterranean sea; the inhabitants whereof, at the first, did manfully resist the Turk, sparing no labour, nor pains for the defence of themselves and all Christendom. But afterwards, being brought to extremity, and pinched with penury, seeing also no aid to come from the Christians, they somewhat began to languish in themselves. The Turks, in the mean time, casting up two great mountains, with strength of hand, two miles off from the city, like rolling trenches carried them before them near unto the city, in the tops whereof they planted their ordnance and artillery, to batter the city. The master of the knights of Rhodes was then one Philippus Villadamus, a Frenchman, in whom no diligence was lacking, that appertained to the defence of the city. The Rhodians, likewise, so valiantly behaved themselves upon the walls, that with their shot all the ditches about the city were filled with the carcases of dead Turks. Besides this, such a disease of the bloody flux reigned in the Turks' camp, that thirty thousand of them died thereof; and yet for all this Solyman would not cease from his siege begun: who, at length, by underminers casting down the vaumures and uttermost parts of the city, won ground still more and more upon the Rhodians, and with mortar-pieces so battered the houses, that there was no free place almost standing in all the city. And thus continued the siege for the space of five or six months, and yet all this while came no help unto them from the Christians. Wherefore they, being out of all hope, through the advice of Villadamus, yielded themselves unto the Turk, upon condition that he would spare them with life and goods: which convention the Turk kept with them faithfully and truly.

Solyman.

Rhodes besieged.

Thus Solyman, with his great glory, and utter shame to all christian princes, and also ruin of all Christendom, got the noble isle of Rhodes; although not without great loss and detriment of his army, insomuch that at one assault twenty thousand Turks about the walls were slain with fire, sword, stones, and other engines: whereby it may be conjectured what these Rhodians might, or would have done, if succour had come to them from other christian princes, as they looked for. This city was won upon Christmas-day, A.D. 1522.

Christian princes negligent in helping their fellows.

This conquest of Rhodes obtained, Solyman, the fourth year after, bringeth back his army again into Hungary, where he found none to resist him but only Ludovic the young king, who, being accompanied with a small army, and nothing able to match with the Turk, yet, of a hasty rashness and vain hope of victory, would needs set upon him; who, if he had staid but a little, had prospered the better, for Johannes Vaivoda, being a captain well exercised in Turkish wars before, was not far off, coming with a sufficient power of able soldiers. But Paul, the archbishop of Colosse, a Franciscan friar, a man more bold than wise, with his temerity and rashness troubled all their doings; for the whole sum of the army of the Hungarians contained in all but only four and twenty thousand horsemen and footmen, who, at length coming unto the battle, and being compassed about with a great multitude of the Turk's army, were brought into great distress. The Turks twice shot off their pieces against the christian

Christian wars against the Turk never sped well under the guiding of popish prelates.

Solyman. army; yet scarce was any Christian touched with the stroke thereof: which was thought to be done on purpose, because they were Christians who had the ordering of the guns (for then the special gunners of the Turks were Christians), whom for the same cause they spared. Then the Turks' horsemen, coming upon the back of the christian army, compassed them about, and by reason of their multitude overcharged their horsemen; amongst whom was slain, at the same time, the archbishop friar abovesaid, with the bishops of Striegau and Waradein, and many other nobles beside. Also the king himself, being destitute of his necessary aid and succour, was compelled to fly into a marsh, where he, falling from his horse, being heavy laden with his harness, was not able to rise again, but there miserably perished.

Christians were the special gunners to the Turk.

The rash archbishop friar slain.

King Ludovic perisheth.

Solyman the Turk marvelled at the foolishness of Ludovic the king, who, with so small an army, would presume to encounter with such a great host of two hundred thousand. This battle in Hungary was fought A.D. 1526.

Ferdinand of Hungary.

After the decease of Ludovic, Ferdinand succeeded in the kingdom, being duke of Austria and king of Hungary. Then Solyman, setting contention betwixt Johannes Vaivoda and Ferdinand, for the kingdom of Hungary, sped his voyage to the city of Buda, which also, in short time, he made to be yielded unto him upon condition that they should escape with their lives and goods: which condition some say he kept, and some say he did not. Besides Buda, divers places and munitions the said Turk, contrary to his league made before, did spoil and waste; as Waradein, Fünfkirchen, and other forts and munitions more, bordering about the coasts of Hungary.

Conquests of the Turk.

Contention between Ferdinand and Vaivoda.

In the year of our Lord, 1529, Ferdinand, king of Hungary aforesaid, recovered divers holds gotten of the Turk before, and also warring against Johannes Vaivoda, his enemy, with whom he had variance (as ye heard before), expulsed him out of his kingdom; whereupon Vaivoda, flying to the Turk, desired his aid. The Turk, glad to take that occasion, with great preparation addressed himself to return into Hungary, where he, recovering again the city of Buda, which Ferdinand had gotten from him a little before, removed his army into Austria, spoiling and destroying by the way all that came to his hands; showing many examples of great cruelty and tyranny most lamentable to hear and understand. For of some he put out their eyes, of some he cut off their hands, of some their ears and noses; and their children he shamefully mutilated. The maidens he corrupted, the matrons had their breasts cut off, and such as were with child were ripped, and their children cast into the fire. And these examples of horrible and barbarous tyranny this wretched Turk perpetrated by the way coming toward Vienna, a noble city in Austria; besides the captives which he took by the way and led into servitude most miserable, amounting to the number of thirty thousand.

Vaivoda flieth to the Turks.

Horrible examples of the Turk's cruelty.

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Among other holds by the way the Turk came, there was a castle called Altenburg, strongly by nature situated, and by art defenced; which castle the Turk, intending not to overpass, because he would make all things sure behind him, began to make his assault, and lay

his ordnance against it. The warders and keepers of the castle, so soon as the Turk began to lay siege against them, making no resistance, of a womanly cowardliness sent their messengers to the Turk, to yield themselves ready to do his commandment, and further him with their victual; amongst whom were three hundred Bohemians, who were commanded to follow the host, that the Turk by them might learn what strength was in the city of Vienna; also where the king was, and what was to be done for the winning thereof. *Soliman.* Castle of Altenburch yielded to the Turk.

Of whom when the Turk had understanding how all things stood, and how that there were but twenty thousand men in Vienna able to bear armour, and that other cities of Austria would soon yield if that were gotten, and that Vienna was victualled but for two months, and that the king was of late in Bohemia; thus, the Turk of all things being certified, having no doubt in his mind of victory, made speed toward Vienna; and first coming to Neapolis, a city but eight miles distant from Vienna, he required them to yield themselves; who, notwithstanding, withstood them, and repulsed them valiantly. Then the Turks assigned a place for the pitching of their tents, which, because it seemed something too little for such a great multitude, they took in more ground, to the compass of seven miles circuit. The multitude of his army, which he there planted, is accounted of some to extend to two hundred and fifty thousand soldiers. The Turks thus being planted, made daily excurses over all the country of Austria, especially about the city of Vienna, wasting and spoiling, with great cruelty and murder, amongst the poor Christians. Neapolis besieged by the Turk. The Turk's army of two hundred and fifty thousand soldiers. Preparations for the siege of Vienna by the Turk.

Moreover, to make all things more sure towards the preparation of the siege, scouts were sent abroad, and ambushments were laid about the side of the river Danube, to provide that no aid nor victual should be brought to Vienna. So it pleased the providence of the Lord (who disposeth all things), that three days before the coming of the Turk, Frederic the earl Palatine, who was then assigned by the empire to take the charge of Vienna, was come down by the river Danube with 14,000 men, and with a certain troop of horsemen well appointed and picked for the purpose. After the coming of this Frederic, provision also of victual was appointed to follow shortly after by the said river Danube. Frederic, earl Palatine, captain in Vienna.

In the mean time, they who had the carriage and transporting thereof, hearing how the ways were laid, and all the passages ten miles about Vienna stopped by the Turks, although they knew the city to stand in great need of victual, yet seeing there was no other remedy, rather than it should come to the enemy's hand, thought it best to sink their boats with their carriage; and so they did: whereby albeit the Christians wanted their relief, yet were the Turks disappointed of their prey and purpose. The captains who had the keeping of the city, who were chiefly Frederic the earl Palatine, William Rogendorff, and Nicholas earl of Salm, seeing themselves so straitened contrary to their expectation, although they had great causes to be discouraged, yet calling their courage unto them, they consulted together for the best way to be taken: and seeing that the little city Neapolis, above mentioned, being eight miles distant from them, so valiantly withstood the Turks, that in one day they sustained seven grievous assaults against all the main force of the Turkish Captains who had the keeping of Vienna.

Solyman. army; by their example and manful standing being the more animated and encouraged, they thought to abide the uttermost before they would give over; and first, plucking down all the suburbs and buildings without the walls, whereby the enemy might have any succour, they willed all the farmers and inhabitants about the city to save themselves, and to bring in their goods within the walls. Such places as were weak within the walls, they made strong. About the towers and munition of the walls they provided rampiers and bulwarks, distant eighty foot one from another, to keep off the shot; and every man had his place and standing awarded to him upon the wall, and his office appointed what to do. But especially that side of the city which lieth to the river Danube, they fortified after the best wise: for that way only now remained for victual to be transported from the Bohemians unto them. Wherefore eight ensigns were assigned to the keeping of the bridge; and in the plain, which was like an island enclosed within the river, a sufficient garrison of horsemen were placed, lying within gunshot of the city; to the intent that if any grain or victual were sent from the Bohemians, they might provide the same safely to be brought into the city.

Preparation within the city against the Turk.

Provision made for victualling the city.

These things thus being disposed and set in order, lord William Rogendorff, to assay the strength of the Turks, made divers roads out with his horsemen, albeit much against the minds of the Austrians; who, knowing the manner of the Turks, thought it better to suffer them, while either with time they might be overwearied, or for lack of victuals consumed. Among many and sundry skirmishes which the Christians had with the Turks, one especially was to our men unprosperous; in which certain of the horsemen, espying a small troop of the Turks scattering abroad from their company, made out after them; who suddenly and guilefully were enclosed and circumvented by the Turks, before they could recover the gates of the city, and so were all taken alive: of them three were sent by the Turks into the city, to declare to the Viennians what strength they had seen in the camp of their adversaries, and to solicit them to yield their city for fear of punishment which would follow. The residue they reserved to torments and punishment, whom, in the sight of the whole army, and of the Christians (who should tell the same to the citizens), they caused, every man, with four horses, to be drawn to pieces, and so to be dismembered and plucked asunder.

Good counsel and experience refused.

Wretched cruelty of the Turks against the Christian captives.

After this done, the barbarous Turk immediately sent his herald to talk with the captains of the city, whether they would yield the city upon honest conditions, or else would abide the arbitrement of war. If they would gently submit themselves, they should have all gentleness to them showed. If they would be stubborn, and stand to their defence, he would also stand to his siege begun, so that he would spare neither man, woman, nor child. To this the captains answered again, That they were contented that Solyman should stand to his siege begun, and do his utmost, what he would, or what he could. As for them, they were at a point to defend themselves and their city as long as they might: that the event and fall of victory was doubtful, and many times so happeneth, that they who begin the war are wearied, sooner than they who be provoked: neither that they were so unmindful either of themselves, or of their

Message of the Turk to the Viennians.

Answer of the Viennians.

country, but that they did remember well what they are, and what they be called; named to be Germans, who use always first to assay the adversary, what he is able to do, and not rashly to commit themselves into their enemies' hands. *Solyman.*

Solyman approacheth Vienna with three great armies.

Solyman, not a little disdaining at this answer, first burning and consuming all the villages, houses, and places round about the city; infecting also the springs and fountains which gave water into the city; and so stopping all passages, that no relief should have way unto them, began with angry mood to approach more near to the city, with three great camps, sending them word in scorn and contumely by one of his captives, That if they stood in need of help of soldiers, he would send unto them the three hundred Bohemians (mentioned a little before), to aid them in their defence. To whom the Palatine directed answer again, That they had more soldiers in the city than they needed. As for the Bohemians who had yielded themselves, he might do with them what he would, for Vienna stood in no great need of them.

A messenger sent from Ferdinand to Vienna.

In the mean time a messenger coming from Ferdinand was privily let in by night into the city, who brought word that they should play the men in keeping out the enemy awhile: for it would not be long, but both Ferdinand and Charles, his brother, with the strength of all Germany, would be ready to rescue them. At this message the hearts of the soldiers began somewhat to be cheered, and to contemn the huge multitude of the adversaries, being so great as they never did behold, nor did ever almost hear of before; the largeness of whose army extended to no less in compass (as is abovesaid) than of seven miles round about the city walls.

The siege of Vienna beginneth.

Long it were to recite the whole order of this terrible siege, with all the parts and circumstances thereof. Briefly to touch so much as shall suffice for this history, with fewer words than were stripes given at the siege thereof; this is to be judged and confessed, whosoever beholdeth the number and fierceness of the Turks, the absence of king Ferdinand, the lack of provision and victual within the city, the noise of the guns, the violence of the shot, the terror of the sight, and yet no succour sent unto them; that the custody of that city was no man's doing, but the arm only of the Lord God of Hosts, according to the true saying of the Psalm, "Unless the Lord do keep the city, the watchmen watch in vain, which watch to save it: unless the Lord do build the house, the builder striveth in vain which taketh upon him to build it;" experience whereof, in keeping this city, may well appear.

The Lord's power and providence in keeping the city.

First Solyman, bending his shot and ordnance against the city, beat down to the ground the vaumures, with all the uttermost suburbs of the city; and that in such a short moment of time, that the hearts of the Viennians, a little before refreshed, were now as much appalled again with fear, misdoubting with themselves, lest the Turk, with the same celerity and violence, would have prevailed against the inward walls, as he did in beating down the outward vaumures. And no doubt the same time the Turk had put the city in great hazard, had not night, coming on, broken off the siege for that day.

In the mean time the citizens laboured all night in repairing and refreshing the walls, to make all things sure against the next assault.

Solyman. The next day, early in the morning, the Turks, approaching the city again with a new assault, thinking to scale the walls, were so repulsed and manfully resisted by the Germans, that scarcely any ditches about the walls could be seen, for the bodies of the dead Turks, wherewith they were replenished; so that the Turks were fain to fight standing upon the bodies of them that were slain: by which calamity, the force of the enemy was not a little abated.

Slaughter of the Turks about the ways of Vienna.

It happened the same time, that a company of the Turks being spied out of the city wandering out of order, the captain Rogendorff, with two legions of horsemen issuing out of the city gate called Salmaria, and so passing closely under the hill's side, did so set upon them, that they slew a great number of them, the rest being driven to take the river; whom with stones and shot likewise they destroyed, and so retired back into the city again. By this victory the captain Rogendorff began to be terrible to the Turks: for in the same skirmish, as after was known, were slain of them so many, that of five thousand three hundred horsemen and footmen, scarce one hundred and forty escaped alive.

Manliness of Rogendorff against the Turks.

Solyman, disdaining at this repulse, thought to prove another way, and so bringing his power toward the gate called the King's Gate, there making his trenches and bulwarks, planted his ordnance; with the violence whereof the walls were so battered and shaken, that no man was able there to stand. Wherefore the Turk, seeing two great breaches made in the wall, commanded his soldiers covertly, in the dark smoke of the gunpowder, to press into the city. The like also was done at the Scottish tower, whereby the city was invaded in two sundry places at one time. The Viennians, at first, freshly began to withstand them, new soldiers still coming in the place of them that were slain and hurt; and so this assault continuing more than six hours together, our men began at length to languish and faint not only in strength, but also in courage, whereby the city had been in great danger of losing, had not the two aforesaid captains, Rogendorff in the one place, and the earl of Salm in the other place, manfully encouraged the soldiers to abide the brunt, and to bear out awhile the violence of the Turks; promising that immediately they should have aid from Ferdinand.

Another assault of the Turks against Vienna.

In the mean time the Turks came so thick, for greediness of the victory, scaling, climbing, and fighting upon the walls, that had it not been for the press and throng of the great multitude of the Turks, coming so thick that one of them could not fight for another, Vienna that same day had been taken and utterly lost. But, by the policy of the captains giving a sign within the city, as though new soldiers were called for, our men began to be encouraged, and the Turks' hearts to be discomfited.

Another repulse of the Turks.

When Solyman saw his army the second time repulsed, he began to attempt a new way, purposing, by undermining, to overthrow the city; in which work specially he used the help of the Illyrians, of whom he had a great number in his camp, expert in that kind of feat. These Illyrians, beginning to break the earth at the gate Carinthia, and coming near to the foundations of the tower, which they by strength of hand attempted to break, could not work so closely under the ground, but they were perceived by certain men above, who were

Vienna undermined.

skilful and expert in that kind of matter; who, contrariwise, undermining against them, and filling their trenches as they went with gunpowder, so conveyed their train, that when fire should be set unto it, the violence thereof should burst out by the trenches of the enemies: which done, suddenly the ground beneath made a great shaking, so that the tower did cleave asunder, and all the underminers of the Turks, working in their trenches, were smothered and destroyed, which came to the number (as it was supposed afterwards) of eight thousand persons; insomuch that yet till this day a great number of dead men's sculls are found in the ground. *Solyman.*

When Solyman saw that this way also would not serve, and had privy intelligence that the walls about the gates of Stubarium were negligently kept, and that he might have there more easy entrance; secretly he conveyeth about ten garrisons of fresh soldiers, in such sort as the townsmen should not perceive them; who came so suddenly upon them, that they had filled their ditches, and were upon the top of the fortresses and munitions, before our men were aware of them, or could make themselves ready to resist them. For, although there was no lack of soldiers within the city, yet, forasmuch as the whole brunt of the siege did lie especially at the two gates aforesaid, from whence the soldiers who were there warding, could not be well removed; for a shift, the rescuers (who within the city were ready for all sudden adventures) were sent to the walls; by whose coming, those few who kept the enemies off before, being sore hurt and wounded, were succoured and sent to surgery; and thus the said assault continued terrible and doubtful, until (the dark night coming upon them) they could not well know the one from the other. In this bickering were counted of the Turks to be slain more than five thousand. Another assault of the Turks.

Then the captain Rogendorff, commending the valiant standing of his soldiers, misdoubting with himself (as it happened indeed) that the Turks would not so give over, but would set upon him the next day with a fresh assault, providing with all diligence for the purpose, made up the breaches of the walls, and prepared all things necessary for resistance. The next morning following, which was something dark and misty, the Turks, thinking to prevent our men with their sudden coming, began again busily to bicker upon the top of the walls.

It would require a long tractation here to describe the great distress and danger that the city, those three days following, was in; during all which time there was no rest, no intermission, nor diligence lacking, either in the enemies, fighting against the city, or in our men in defending the same. For the Turks, besides the multitude of the great ordnance, wherewith (as with a great tempest of gun-shot) they never ceased still battering the walls, and beating the munitions of the city, sent also such heaps and multitudes of the Turks to the scaling and climbing of the walls, that scarcely with all the ordnance and shot of the city, either their violence could be broken, or the number of them diminished; till at last, the soldiers of the Turks, perceiving themselves able by no means to prevail, but only to run in danger of life, and to do no good, began to wrangle among themselves, grudging and repining against their dukes and captains, imputing the whole cause only to them, that the city was yet untaken, seeing there was in them neither diligence nor goodwill lacking: and so ceased the siege for that time. The Turks at variance among themselves.

Solyman. After this, when Solyman had purposed in himself, with his last and strongest siege, to try against the city the uttermost that he was able to do, and had encouraged his soldiers to prepare themselves in most forcible wise thereunto, the soldiers showed themselves much unwilling to return again, from whence they were so often repulsed before; by reason whereof great commotion began to arise in the Turk's camp. The rumour whereof when it came to Solyman's ears, he sendeth his grand captain to keep all the soldiers in order and obedience; or, if they would be stubborn, to compel them, whether they would or not, to accomplish his commandment: who, coming to the soldiers, showed to them the great Turk's message; and, to animate and encourage them, declared that the opportunity of the time present was not to be neglected, neither could they now, without great shame, give over, after so many assaults attempted; who, if they would sustain but one brunt more, the victory were in their own hands. The townsmen, he said, were wasted, and their victuals spent; and the more to enflame their minds, he promised them not only great thanks and reward of their emperor, but also the whole spoil of the city, in recompense of their travail.

The Turk and his soldie cannot agree.

Compulsion of men serveth not where the Lord defendeth.

But when all this could not stir up the sturdy stomachs of the tired Turks, using compulsion where persuasion would not serve, he appointed a number of horsemen to be set at their backs, whereby to enforce them either to go forward, or, if they be denied, with guns and spears to destroy them. The Turks seeing themselves in such a strait, that whether they went or tarried it was to them like peril, yet would they not set forward, except the captain would take the venture before them; who, warding forward in his array, thus spake unto his fellows, saying: "Do you forsake your faith and allegiance, and betray the emperor of Constantinople unto the Christians, if you will, but I will discharge my duty towards the commonwealth, and my emperor;" and with that word advanced his ensign, making toward the city walls. Whom when others followed, and still more and more pressed after, so it came to pass that whole routs of them were overthrown and slain by our men upon the walls, before it was known what they meant. Others, terrified by their example, gave back and left their array, and winding themselves by by-ways, and under covert of hills, returned again into their tents; and so came it to pass, that the strength of the enemies daily more and more decreasing, they had less and less hope every day than the other, of obtaining the city. For besides the innumerable slaughter of Turks upon the walls, the townsmen also, watching the foragers and purveyors of the Turks, as they ranged about for victual for the camp, ever as occasion served them did compass them about, and so encountered with them by the way, that of a whole legion scarcely the tenth part returned again to their fellows alive; by means whereof the courage of the enemies began greatly to faint. Whereby such a marvellous alteration happened, that as our men began to receive more hope and courage, so the Turks began still more to droop and to languish with despair; so that at length scarce durst they appear without the bounds where they were intrenched, but only in light skirmishes, when they were provoked by our men to come out and to show themselves.

Slaughter of the Turks at Vienna.

Solyman, perceiving his soldiers thus daily to go to wrack, of whom

he had lost already more than eighty thousand, and that with long tarrying he could do no good, being also in lack of forage, for that the country about him was wasted, beginneth to consult with his captains and councillors, what remained best to be done; of whom the most part advised him to raise his siege, and betimes to provide for himself: which to do, many causes there were that moved him. First, the loss of his men, who daily were cut from him by great numbers, besides those who lay in his camp wounded, or sick, or famished. Secondly, lack of purveyance. Thirdly, the near approach of winter. But the chiefest cause was, for that he heard Frederic Palatine abovementioned, was coming with a great army at Ratisbone, towards Vienna, and there had done great molestation to a great number of the Turkish foragers, whom by the way he prevented, and so inclosed in the woods, that he slew them: whereof when Solyman had intelligence, thinking it not best to abide the coming of the Palatine, he made haste with bag and baggage to remove his camp, and to retire; and first sending away his carriage before him, he made speed himself with his army to follow shortly after.

Solyman.

The Turk beginneth to take counsel to retire.

Solyman removeth from Vienna.

The Viennians, when they heard of the removing away of the Turks, although at first they scarcely believed it to be true, being afterwards certified out of doubt both of their removing, and also of the order thereof, how it was in the manner of a flight or chase, were greatly desirous to make out of the city after them. Wherein, albeit the presence of the Palatine with his army, if he had been there present, might have stood them in great stead, yet, notwithstanding, they took the opportunity of the time present, and issuing out of the city, in most speedy wise set after them with their horsemen: and first overpassing the tents (where the Turks had pitched their stations or pavilions) for haste of the way, they made such pursuit after them, that within little time they overtook the rear-ward or latter end of the army, whereof they made such havoc and destruction, that (as the author reporteth) there was never a shot of the pursuers, nor weapon drawn, nor stroke stricken, which lighted in vain; which was no hard thing for our men to do, for, as the Turks in their flight went scattered out of order and array, neither would they in the fore-rank (being so far off from jeopardy) return back to help their fellows, it was easy for our men, without resistance, to come upon their backs as they would. Yet, notwithstanding, in long pursuit, when our men could not see the carriage of the Turks, which was wont in armies to come away behind after the host, and suspecting (as truth was) some ambush to be left in privy wait behind them, to come betwixt them and home, they called themselves to retreat, and consulted upon the matter, thinking good, first to send out certain scouts, to espy and bring them word where the enemies lay, and what was the number of them. Whereof when intelligence was given them that the remnant of the Turk's army was remaining in the tents behind, word was sent to their fellows in Vienna to issue out, and to join also with them against the tail of the Turks, who had entrenched themselves within the camp. Others were appointed to follow the chase, lest peradventure the Turks, seeing our men to recule back, might return again upon them and help their fellows. Which things being thus ordered and appointed, in the mean time,

The Turk's camp pursued in their flight.

The privy purpose of the Turks prevented.

Solyman. while part of the Viennians were hovering after the main army, the rest encountered with them that were left in the camp, who, seeing themselves overmatched, first defenced their camp with a deep ditch and bulwark, to delay the time, until some help might come to them from the army: secondly, they directed messengers to the Christians, to treat for peace: thirdly, they conveyed their privy letters unto Solyman, for speedy aid and rescue; but all the ways and passages being stopped by the Christians, their letters were intercepted. And so the miserable Turks, being destitute of all hope and succour, seeing no other remedy, made out of their camp, to hazard and prove the uttermost for their defence; but, in conclusion, in their desperate venture they were inclosed about by our men on every side, and there put to the sword and slain, a few only excepted, who, escaping out very hardly by secret passages, shifted after the rest of their fellows, as well as they could. Their carriage, and other furniture left behind them in their tents, was distributed amongst the soldiers; only such things reserved as might serve for the public use and commodity of the city.

The rest of the Turks slain in the camp.

Merciful protection of God over Christendom.

Thus, through the merciful protection and benefit of Almighty God, Austria was delivered from the fierce and barbarous hostility of the cruel Turks, notwithstanding that neither Ferdinand the king, nor the emperor his brother, was there present; but only the power of God, through the valiantness of the worthy Germans, defended that city, in defence whereof consisted the safety and deliverance, no doubt, of all these west parts of Christendom: for which, immortal praise and thanks be unto our immortal God in Christ our Lord, according as he hath of us most graciously and worthily deserved. Wherein, by the way, take this for a note, gentle reader! how and after what manner God's blessing goeth with the true reformers of his religion; and so much the more is it to be noted, for that the Turks in so many battles and sieges heretofore, were never so repulsed and foiled, as at this present time in encountering with the protestants, and defenders of sincere religion. This city of Vienna was besieged and delivered, A. D. 1529. The assaults of the Turk against the city are numbered to be twenty, and his repulses as many. The number of his army which he first brought, was 250,000, whereof were reckoned to be slain eighty thousand and above. During the time of his siege he led away, out of the country about, many captives; virgins and matrons he quelled, and cast them out naked; the children he stuck upon stakes.

God's blessing goeth with the maintainers of his true worship and religion.

Solyman, thus put from the hope of the victory of Vienna, after he had breathed himself a while at home, the second year after, which was A. D. 1531, repairing his host, returned again into Hungary, with no less multitude than before; where first he got the town called Guns, being but slenderly kept with a small garrison, by reason whereof the townsmen and soldiers, yielding themselves unto the Turks, were constrained to agree upon unreasonable conditions.[1]

Melchior Soiterus, in his second book, writing 'De bello Pannonico,' touching the aforesaid town of Guns or Gunzium, differeth herein something from Ramus, declaring how this Guns, being a small town in Hungary, and having in it but only a hundred soldiers

(1) Ex Johanne Ramo.

(or, as Wolfgangus Drechslerus in his Chronicle reporteth, at the most but two hundred soldiers), under the valiant captain Nicholas Jureschitz defended themselves so manfully and wonderfully, through the notable power of God, against the whole puissance of two hundred thousand Turks, that they, notwithstanding being distressed with lack and penury of purveyance, and suddenly of the Turks invaded, yet with pure courage and promptness of heart sustained the uttermost force and violence of thirteen assaults of that great multitude, for the space of twenty-five days together. *Solyman.* Nicholas Jureschitz a valiant captain.

Although the narration of the author may seem to some incredible, yet thus he writeth, That what time the great ordnance and battering pieces of the Turks were planted upon two mountains much higher than the town, whereby they within the town were oppressed both before and behind, insomuch that eight ensigns of the Turks were already within the town; yet by reason of women and children, and other impotent persons, who in the middle of the town were congregated in a house together, such a noise and clamour went up to heaven, praying and crying to God for help, that the Turks within the walls, supposing a new army of fresh soldiers to be sent into the town, for sudden fear voided the town, and leaped down from the walls again (which before they had got), whom no man either pursued or resisted; for never a soldier almost was left on the walls, who was not either slain or else wounded with the Turks' ordnance. At that time, through the Lord's providence, it so happened, that one Ibrahim Bassa, near about the Turk, seeing both the town to be small, and the great destruction of the Turks in the siege thereof, and that the captain in no case would yield, persuaded so the Turk, declaring how the town, being so little, was not worth the loss of so many men, in the winning whereof there was no glory, and if he were repulsed, great dishonour might follow; whereby the Turk, being persuaded, did follow his counsel, which was this: That Nicholas, the christian captain, being called unto him under pledges and safe-conduct, should receive the town as of his hand and gift, with condition that he should do no violence to his soldiers left behind and wounded, but should procure such means as he could for the re-curing of them. And so he, raising his siege, departed. Miraculous example of the Lord's protection and providence. The Turk raiseth his siege from Guns.

Another cause also, which moved him so suddenly to raise his siege, might be for that he heard the Palatine not to be far off in pursuing after him; and therefore, taking his flight by the mountains of the Noricians, he returned with much spoil of christian men's goods unto Constantinople.[1] For so it was provided the same time in Germany, after the council of Augsburg and Ratisbone (at what time the controversy of religion between the protestants and the papists was deferred and set off to the next general council), that Charles V., and Ferdinand his brother, having understanding of the Turk thus ranging in Hungary, should collect of the Germans, Hungarians, Spaniards, and others, an able army of eighty thousand footmen, and thirty thousand horsemen, to repulse the invasions of the Turk. But Solyman, having intelligence of this preparation of the christian power coming toward him, whether for fear, or whether to espy further opportunity of time for his more advantage and our The emperor Charles and Ferdinand begin to stir against the Turk.

(1) Ex Melchiore Soit. lib. ii. de bello Pannonico.

Solyman. detriment, refused at that time to tarry their coming; and so, speeding his return unto Constantinople, retired with much spoil and prey sent before him, as is above premised: which was A.D. 1532.

The Turk warreth against the king of Tunis.

Not long after, being the year of our salvation, 1534, Solyman, intending two wars at once, first sent Conradine Barbarossa, the admiral of his navies, into Africa, to war against the king of Tunis; whom then Barbarossa also dispossessed and deprived of his kingdom: but Charles the emperor, the next year following (A.D. 1535), restored the said king again into his kingdom, and delivered in the same voyage twenty thousand captives out of servitude.

The same time the Turk also sent another captain into Hungary, to war against Vaivoda, while he himself, taking his course to Persia, planted his siege against the city Tauris, which he in short space subdued and expugned. Albeit he long enjoyed not the same; for Tahames king of the Persians, suddenly coming upon the Turks unprepared, slew of them twenty thousand, and took his concubines, to the great foil and reproach of the Turk.

Tauris taken by the Turk. Twenty thousand of them slain.

Corcyra wasted and spoiled.

Two years after this, which was A.D. 1537, Solyman, who could not be quiet at home, nor rest in peace, returning again out of Asia into Europe with two hundred and seventy ships, great and little, set upon Corcyra, another island belonging to the Venetians, which he besieged ten days, wasting and burning the towns and fields as he went, beside the destruction of much people therein, whom partly he slew, partly he led away captives. From thence he sailed to Zacynthus, and to Cythara, another island not far from Corcyra, bordering near to the coasts of Epyrus and Greece, where he, suddenly by night invading the husbandmen in villages and fields, sleeping and mistrusting no harm, drew them out of their houses and possessions, men and women, besides children, to the number of nine hundred, whom he made his bondslaves; burning moreover their houses, and carrying away all the goods and cattle being without the said city of Zacynthus and Cythara.[1]

Zacinthus and Cythara spoiled.

Captives of the Christians.

War between the Eginets and the Turks.

From thence these hellhounds turned their course to the siege and spoil of Egina, a rich and populous island, lying between Greece and Asia, where first the Eginians did manfully in battle resist them, and were like to have prevailed; but being wearied at length, and oppressed with innumerable thousands of fresh Turks, who still were sent in, to rescue the others who were overcome before, they were compelled to fly into the city of Egina. That city the cruel Turks (or rather devils on earth), with much labour, and violence of their great ordnance fetched out of their ships, subdued and cast down to the ground; the citizens and inhabitants whereof, the Turk, after he had burned their houses, and ransacked their goods, commanded to be slain and killed every one. The women, both noble and unnoble, with their infants, were given to the mariners to be abused, and from thence being shipped unto Constantinople, were led away to perpetual misery and slavery; which was A.D. 1537.

Egina taken.

Islands subdued by the Turks.

In the same journey Solyman also took the isle in the said sea of Ægeum, called Paros; also the isle adjoining to the same, named Naxia, and made them to him tributaries; the duke whereof was he

(1) Ex Johan. Crispo.

who wrote the story both of these islands aforesaid, and also of the other islands, called Cyclades; and other dukes.[1] *Solyman.*

This done, Solyman directed his navy unto Apulia, where he set on land ten thousand footmen, and two thousand horsemen, who spoiled, likewise, and wasted those parts, while the emperor, the pope, and the Venetians, were together in war and dissension.[2] Furthermore, the next year following (A.D. 1538), great attempts began in Stiria; but, by the resistance of the inhabitants, the force of the barbarous Turks was repulsed, notwithstanding great spoils of men and cattle were carried from thence, and the country miserably spoiled. In that year also, the Turk, turning into Hungary, gave battle unto the Christians in Savia; where, through the fraudulent falsehood of the captain Cassianerus (Wolfgangus nameth him Calcianus), being (as they say) corrupted with money, our men were put to the worse, A.D. 1538.

Falsehood of the Turk with the Venetians.

After the Turks had invaded the island of Corcyra abovesaid, the Venetians, with Solyman the Turk, had joined truce for a certain time, for which they gave the Turk three hundred thousand crowns, with the city of Neapolis, and Maluasia, in the borders of Macedonia. But within four or five years, the Turk, to get a new stipend of the Venetians, brake his league, and invaded their dominions, whereby they were enforced to enter new conditions again with him.

Novum Castellum overthrown by the Turk.

In the year of our Lord 1540, the restless Turk, making his return toward Hungary, by the way passing by Dalmatia, lay against the town called Novum Castellum, being defended by the Spaniards; in which town, because they refused to yield themselves, all the inhabitants and soldiers were put to the sword, and slain every one. This Novum Castellum, or New Castle, was a strong fort of the Christians, which being now in the Turk's power, he had great advantage over all those quarters of Dalmatia, Stiria, Carinthia, and Hungary. From thence he proceeded further, keeping his course into Hungary, where he planted his power against the city of Buda. This Buda was a principal city in Hungary, about which great contention had been (as ye have heard before) between Johannes Vaivoda and Ferdinand; by reason whereof the Turk, occasioned by Vaivoda, came into Hungary, and delivered the city to Vaivoda. This Vaivoda, living not long after, left behind him a son, whom, being an infant, he committed to the government of one Georgius Monachus, who, being left tutor unto the infant, reduced all Transylvania, Buda, Pest, with other parts of Hungary, which belonged to Vaivoda before, to the subjection of the child. Ferdinand, hearing thereof, in a great haste and anger levied an army to recover his lands in Hungary, and so laid siege to Buda. Monachus, seeing his party weak, first sent his legate to Ferdinand, desiring him to talk and confer with him upon matters, as he pretended, pertaining to the behoof of them both: whereupon, both the parties being agreed, the place and manner of their convention was appointed, and also the day and time assigned. Thus the parties, according to the agreement, conventing together with their

Contention in Hungary between Ferdinand and Vaivoda and his successors.

(1) Ex Johanne Crispo, Duce Naxi, &c.
(2) Note what hurt cometh by the dissension of christian princes.
(3) Stiria is a country or province nearly adjoining to Austria.

Solyman. armies, withdrawing a little aside, as they were entered in communication, suddenly among Ferdinand's men happened a dag to be heard, which, by the heat of the day, as is thought, loosing of its own accord, gave a crack; the sound whereof coming to the ears of Monachus, he, supposing the same to have been discharged against him, in great anger drew out his sword, bidding Ferdinand avaunt with his doubling dissimulation, saying, that he would never any more trust the promises of Christians. And immediately upon the same, he sent to Solyman the Turk for aid against the Christians, promising that he would surrender to him free possession of Hungary, if he would come and vanquish the army of Ferdinand lying about the siege of Buda. The Turk maketh no long tarrying, but taketh the occasion, and with a mighty power flieth into Hungary, and eftsoons discharging the host of Ferdinand, and putting them off from the siege of Buda, getteth the city into his own hands, commanding the son of Vaivoda, with his mother, to follow after his camp.

Communication between Monachus and Ferdinand.

What hurt may come of rash suspicion.

The Turk called again into Hungary.

In the history of Johannes Ramus it followeth, that when Solyman the Turk had thus prevailed against the city of Buda aforesaid, and against other parts besides of Hungary, by the assent of the empire, one Joachim, duke of Brandenburg, prince elector, was assigned with a puissant army of chosen soldiers of all nations collected, to recover the city of Buda from the Turk, and to deliver the other parts of Christendom from the fear of the Turk [A.D. 1542]; which Joachim, at his first setting forth, appeared so courageous and valiant, as though he would have conquered the whole world. But this great heat was so slacked in short time by the Turk, that before any great jeopardy was offered unto him, he was glad to be discharged of the viage, and with shame enough returned home again. And would God he had left behind him in the fields no more but his own shame! for the enemies having intelligence before of his cowardly departure, thinking to work some point of mastery or victory before his going, did set upon the right wing of his army (which chiefly consisted of Dutchmen of Low Germany), out of which they took away with them above five hundred strong and valiant soldiers, not killing them, but carrying them away alive: for whom it had been much better to have stood to their weapon, and to have died manfully upon the Turks, than by yielding themselves, to be disgarnished of weapon and armour, and so to be left to the cursed courtesy of the foul Turks. To whom what courtesy was showed, by the sequel did appear. For, after the Turks had led them out of Hungary into their own dominions, after a most horrible and beastly sort they disfigured and mangled them; and so sent them abroad through all Greece, to be witnesses of the Turk's victory. Their kind of punishment was thus: first, they had their right arm thrust through with an iron red hot, whereby they should be unable and unmeet to all labour and warfare: secondly, their heads were shaven to the very sculls, after the manner of our friars and monks, when they are newly shaven: thirdly, they were all most dreadfully mutilated; which wound was so grievous unto them, that the greatest part of them died thereupon: the few that recovered the torment thereof, led a life more bitter and more miserable than death itself. And this kind of cruelty was executed in order upon them all. In much like sort did cruel Pharaoh exercise his tyranny against the

Cowardly voyage of Joachim, duke of Brandenburg, against the Turk.

A number of christian soldiers taken by the Turks.

Horrible punishments practised by the Turks.

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people of God in Egypt; who, to destroy the generation of them, caused all the male children to be drowned in the river. Whereby it is the more to be hoped, that seeing the tyranny of this Turkish Pharaoh is come to such an extremity, the merciful goodness of God will the more shortly send some Moses or other, unto us, for our speedy deliverance. This was by the cruel Turks done, A.D. 1542, witnessed by Johannes Ramus, who not only writeth the story, but by the testimony also of his own eyes recordeth the same to be true, beholding with his eyes one of the same number in the city of Vienna, who, having wife and children in Brussels, either for shame or sorrow, had no mind to return home to his own house.[1] *Solyman.*

But to return again to the city of Buda, from whence we have digressed; here is not to be pretermitted what falsehood and what cruelty the Turks used toward the Christians there after their victory. For, after that Solyman the Turk, upon the yielding and submission of the men of Buda, had given to them his promise of safety and life, within a short time the said Turk, picking a quarrel with them for selling oxen unto the Christians, and for bargaining with them, slew all the magistrates of the said city of Buda: like as in all other cities, wheresoever the Christians yielded unto him, he never, or very rarely, kept his promise with them, neither did ever any Christians speed better with the Turk, than they who most constantly did resist him. Falseness of the Turks in keeping no promise with the Christians.

And as his promise with the magistrates of Buda was false and wretched, so his cruelty with the soldiers thereof, was much more notorious and abominable. For in the expugnation of Buda, amongst the rest who were slain, two cohorts or bands of christian soldiers came alive to his hands. To whom, when he seemed at the first to grant pardon of life, he commanded to put on their armour again, and to dispose themselves in order and battle array, after the warlike manner of the Christians; which when they had accomplished readily, according to his commandment, and he, riding about the ranks of them, had diligently viewed and beholden them a certain space, at length he commanded them to put off their armour again. This done, certain of the tallest and strongest of them he picked out; the residue he commanded, by his soldiers coming behind them with swords, to be cut in pieces and slain. Of the others, whom he had elected and chosen, some he set for marks and butts to be shot at; some he appointed to his two sons, for them to slash with their swords and try their strength, which of them could give the deeper wound, and (as they termed it) the fairer blow, whereby the most blood might follow out of their christian bodies.[2] Horrible example of the cruelty of the Turks.

After the winning of Buda, the Turk, purposing not so to cease before he had subdued and brought under his obedience all Hungary; proceeding further with his army, first, brought under a strong hold of the Christians, named Pestum or Pest, where a great number of christian soldiers partly were slain, partly were led away to more cruel affliction.

Then he came to another castle called Walpo, situate in the confines of Bosnia, Croatia, and Hungary, which fort or castle he besieged three months, while no rescue or aid was sent unto them, The castle of Walpo won.

(1) Ex Johanne Ramo de Rebus Turcicis, lib. ii.
(2) Ex Epist. Mart. Stellæ de Successibus Turcarum, &c.

Solyman. neither from Ferdinand king of Hungary, nor from any other christian prince or princes: whereupon, at length, the fort was given up to the Turk, but more through the false treachery, or cowardly heart of the soldiers, than of the captain. Wherein is to be noted an example not unworthy of memory; for when the cowardly soldiers, either for fear or flattery, would needs surrender themselves and the place unto the Turk, contrary to the mind of the captain, who in no case would agree to their yielding, they, thinking to find favour with the Turk, apprehended their captain and gave him to Solyman. But see how the justice of God, sometimes by the hand of the enemy, disposeth the end of things to the rewarding of virtue and punishing of vice. For where they thought to save themselves by the danger of the faithful captain, the event turned clean contrary; so that the Turk was to the captain bountiful and very liberal, and the soldiers, notwithstanding that they had all yielded themselves, yet were all put to death, and commanded piteously to be slain.[1]

A notable example of God's judgments lighting upon those who mean falsehood toward the innocent.

The city of the five churches yielded to the Turks.

There is in Hungary another town, bearing the name of the Five Churches, called Quinque Ecclesiæ, which being partly spoiled before, as is above-mentioned, but now, through the loss of Walpo, and by the hugeness of the Turk's army (containing in it two hundred and twenty thousand fighting men) so discouraged, and put out of hope and heart, that the bishop and chief nobles of the town, fled before the jeopardy: the rest of the commons, who were partly prevented by the sudden coming of the Turks, partly for poverty, could not avoid, sent their messengers to the Turk, to yield and surrender the town, upon promise of life, into his hands; whose promise how firm it stood, the story leaveth it uncertain. This is affirmed, that three days after the yielding of this Quinque Ecclesiæ, never a Turk durst enter the city. A. D. 1543.[2]

The bishop leaveth his flock in the briers.

Soclosia, a town in Hungary, subdued.

The next fort or hold gotten by the Turks in Hungary, was Soclosia. The town, at the first invasion of the Turks, was won, sacked, and fired. The castle within the town did something hold out for a time; and first requiring truce for fourteen days, to see what aid should be sent unto them; and to deliberate upon the conditions that should be proposed unto them, after the fourteen days expired, they, trusting to the situation and munition of the place, which was very strong, began, for a certain space, stoutly to put back the enemy. But afterwards, seeing their walls to be battered, their foundations to shake (for the Turk had set twelve thousand underminers under the ditches of the castle), and their strength to diminish, and misdoubting themselves not to be able long to hold out, agreed in like manner to yield themselves, upon condition to escape with life and goods: which condition of saving their goods was the losing of their lives, especially of the richer sort; for the Turks perceiving by that condition that they were of wealth and substance, omitting the inferior or baser sort, fell upon the wealthy men for their riches, and slew them every one. A. D. 1543.[3] In the which his history, this is also to be noted, that during the time the castle of Soclosia was besieged, the villages and pages round about the same, came of their own accord, submitting and yielding themselves unto the Turk, bringing in, as they were commanded, all kind of victual and forage into the

Covetousness of worldly goods is the destruction of many.

The Turk keepeth no promise.

(1) Ex Johan. Martino Stella de Turcarum in Hungaria successibus, &c.
(2) Ibid. et aliis. (3) Ibid.

Turk's camp: which done, Solyman the Turk commanded all the headmen of the pages to appear before him, who humbly obeyed and came. Then the Turk warned them to return again the next day after, every one bringing with him his inferior retinue and household servants; which when they had with like diligence also, according to his commandment, accomplished, the Turk immediately commanded them every one, in the face of his whole army to be slain: and so was this their reward: which reward, the more it declareth the bloody cruelty of the Turk, the more encouragement it may minister to our men the more constantly to withstand him.[1]

Solyman.

Example what cometh by Christian men's yielding to the Turk.

Another strong town there is in Hungary, named Striegau, distant from Buda abovesaid the space of five Dutch miles, against which the Turks made great preparation of ordnance, and all other instruments of artillery necessary for the siege thereof; which city, in like manner, began also to be compassed and inclosed by the Turks, before it could be sufficiently prepared and garnished by our men, but only that the archbishop of Striegau privily conveyed unto them two hundred oxen; such was then the negligence of Ferdinand, king of Hungary, who so slenderly looked unto the necessary defence of his towns and cities. Moreover, such was the discord then of christian kings and princes, who in their civil dissension and wars were so occupied and hot in needless quarrels, that they had neither leisure nor remembrance to help in time, there, where true need required: which slender care and cold zeal of the christian rulers, in not tendering the public cause, while they contended in private trifles, hath caused the Turk to come so far as he hath; and yet further is like, unless the mercy of the Lord do help, more than our diligence. One of the chief captains within the city was Martinus Lascanus, a Spaniard.

Strigonium, or Striegau, besieged by the Turk.

Negligence of christian princes in public defence.

The Turks, in the beginning of the siege, began first to tempt the citizens, with fair words and accustomed promises, to yield and gently to submit themselves; but they, not ignorant of the Turk's promises, wisely refused, and manfully stood so long as they could to the defence of their city; now and then skirmishing with them in out-corners, and killing certain numbers of them; sometimes with their shot disturbing their munitions, and breaking the wheels of their guns, &c.

Three special means the Turks use in winning great forts and cities: great multitude of soldiers; great ordnance and mortar pieces; the third is by undermining: all which here, in the siege of this city, lacked not. This siege continued vehement a certain space; in which the Striegaunians had borne out four strong assaults, and slain many thousands of the Turks; till at length the Turks either departing away, or else seeming to depart unto Buda, the people at last being so persuaded and made to believe of some chief rulers of the city (peradventure not the truest men), the citizens, being erected with hope and comfort, and singing Te Deum, as though the city had been free from all danger, suddenly (by whose counsel it is unknown) conveyed themselves all out of the city: three hundred horsemen also passed over the river and departed. The Italians, who were under Franciscus Salamanca, a Spanish captain, hardly could be persuaded by him to abide, who were in all scarce six hundred.

Three special helps of the Turks.

The citizens of Striegau fly the city

Within three days after, three hundred German soldiers, with two

(1) Ex Martino Stella.

Solyman. ships laden with shot, powder, and artillery, were privily let into the
The town destroyed. town, so that of our men in all there were scarce one thousand three hundred soldiers; who, seeing the small quantity of their number, burning and casting down the town and suburbs, took them to the castle; from whence they beat off the Turks valiantly with their ordnance a good space, and with wildfire destroyed great companies of them, till at last, seeing their walls to fail them, and the whole castle to shake by undermining, but especially by the working of a certain Italian surnamed Presbyter, they gave over. This Italian, whether for fear or falsehood, secretly, unknown to the rest of the soldiers, accompanied by two others, conveyed himself down from the walls, and being brought into the tents of the next captain or bassa of the Turks, there, in the name of all his fellows, convented with the
An Italian feat in yielding the castle of Striegau to the Turk. Turks, to give up to them the castle: whereupon the Turks were bid to cease the shooting. This Italian, shortly after, with two other Turks, was sent back to Salamanca, his captain, with the Turk's message. The going out of this Italian being privy to the residue of his fellows, contrary to the laws and discipline of war, although it seemed to come of his own head, yet, forasmuch as the other soldiers were not sure, but rather suspected lest the other Italians, his countrymen, had been in some part of consent therein, and would take his part, they neither durst offer him any harm for that his doing, nor yet could well advise with themselves what was best to do, for fear of privy confederacy, within themselves.

A Turkish truce taken with the Christians, they not knowing thereof. Thus, while Lascanus the chief captain of the Christians aforesaid, with his fellow-soldiers, were in a maze what to do, or not to do; in the mean time came one running, who giving a sign both to the Christians and the Turks to hold their hands and weapons, for that it was against all law of war to fight after peace and truce taken, our men, as they were commanded, went into the inward tower. The Turks, in the mean time, had got into the castle, and occupied all the outer parts. Then was Salamanca, by the consent of the rest, sent out to the Turk, who, being stayed there that night, the next morrow the Turk's bull or warrant was sent into the castle, permitting free liberty
The false Turks never true in promise. to the Christians to depart with bag and baggage; who now being ready to depart, first were commanded by the Turks, compassing them round about, to cast from them their dags, lances, and battleaxes, into the trench. Then coming to the gate to go out, their swords were taken from them, looking then for nothing but present death.

At last, when they were come a little further, others were sent to them to discharge them of their helmets, their targets, cuirasses, and
Miserable affliction of our christian soldiers taken at Striegau. whatsoever piece of harness was about them: whereupon great fear came upon them, lest some great cruelty should be showed upon them. Solyman, after he had long deliberated with himself, whether to kill them or not, at last, contrary to all expectation, granted their lives: but, before they should be dismissed, he first caused them, in derision of Christianity, to be baited with scorns and mocks throughout all the Turkish army; and so the next day commanded them, being stript out of their coats and apparel, to be reduced again into the castle by companies, setting over them certain Turks with cudgels and bats to lay upon their backs and sides, causing them to bury the dead carcases, and to gather up the rubbish broken down from the castle-walls,

and to scour the ditches. This done, the next day following he demanded of them, by an interpreter, whether they would enter wages with him, and take horse and armour to serve him in his wars; which condition, divers for fear were contented to take, seeing no other remedy to avoid present death. Some, neither by menacing words, nor for any fear of death, could be compelled thereunto; of whom certain, who stood stoutly in refusing thereof, were presently slain, whom I may worthily recite in the number and catalogue of holy martyrs. *Solyman.*

Holy soldiers and martyrs slain by the Turks for their faithful religion.

Of the aforesaid Christians, part were carried over the river Danube, not without great villany, and contumely most despiteful. For some had their wives taken from them, and carried away; some had their wives abused before their face; and such as made or showed any resistance thereat, had their wives before them cast into the river and drowned; also their infants and young children, being appointed by the Turks to the abominable order of the Janizaries, mentioned before, their parents, not consenting thereunto, were precipitated and thrown into the river, and drowned. All these things are testified by John Martin Stella, in his epistles in print extant, written to his two brethren, William and Michael; which Martin Stella, moreover, addeth and affirmeth this: that he himself, being the same time at Vienna, did see one of the aforesaid wives, who, being held fast by the hair of the head, yet notwithstanding, having her hair plucked off, cast herself into the river Danube, for the singular love to her husband, and so swam to the ship where he was. And thus this miserable company of Germans, Spaniards, and Italians mixed together, macerated with labours, with hunger pined, with watchings, dolors, and sorrow consumed, came at length to Schinda.

When the tidings thereof were noised at Vienna, partly with fear and dread, partly with indignation, all men's hearts were moved and vexed diversely. Some thought them not worthy to be received into their city, showing themselves so dastardly and cowardly. Others thought again, that mercy was to be showed unto them, and commended their fact, for that they, being so few, and unfurnished with aid, neither able to match by any means with such an innumerable multitude of the Turks, kept themselves till better time might serve them. But howsoever the matter was to be thought of, the captains brought the poor remnant of that rueful company unto Possidonium, where the said captains were laid fast, and there kept in durance, to render account of the whole matter, how it was wrought and handled. And thus have ye the lamentable story of Striegau.

Divers opinions of the Viennians touching these miserable afflicted soldiers.

The Turk proceeding in his victories, conducted his army next unto Tata, and to the parts lying near about Comaron. This Tata was also a stronghold in Hungary, wherein were placed certain garrisons, partly of the Germans, partly of the Italians. The chieftain of the Italians was one Annibal Tasso, constituted by Philippus Tornelius. This Tasso was a man well expert in prowess of war, but of a filthy corrupt life, and also a foul swearer, and horrible blasphemer of God and his saints. To make the story short, this fort of Tata, before any siege was laid unto it, was yielded and given up to the Turks; upon what conditions, or by whose means, the author showeth not. Thus much he showeth, that the said Annibal, shortly upon the same,

Tata subdued by the Turks.

Victory hath never success under a wicked captain, and swearer.

Soŷman. returning into Italy, was commanded by Tornelius aforesaid, to be apprehended and beheaded.

Alba Regalis besieged. After the Turks had subverted and destroyed the fort of Tata, they turned their power against Alba, surnamed Regalis, for that the kings of Hungary have been always wont there to be crowned and buried. This Alba is a little well-compacted city in Hungary, having on the one side a marsh somewhat foggish or fenny, which made the town less assaultable. But, near to the same was a wood, from which the Turks every day, with six hundred carts, brought such matter of wood, and trees, felled for the purpose, into the marsh, that, within less than twelve days, they made it apt and hard to their feet; which the townsmen thought never could be gone upon, but only in the hard frosts of winter. At the first beginning of the siege, there stood, a little without the munitions, in the front of the city, a certain church or monastery, into which the citizens, pretending to maintain and keep against the Turks, had privily conveyed light matter easily to take flame, with powder in secret places thereof, and had hid also fire withal: which done, they (as against their wills being driven back) withdrew themselves within the munitions, waiting the occasion when this fire would take. Thus the Turks having the possession of the church, suddenly the fire coming to the powder, raised up the church, and made a great scatter and slaughter among the barbarous Turks. This was not so soon espied of them within the town, but they issued out upon them in this disturbance, and slew of them a great number. Among whom, divers of their nobles also the same time were slain, and one bassa, a eunuch, who was of great estimation with the Turks. Moreover, in the same skirmish was take none of those gunners, which the French king is said to have sent to the Turk a little before: which if it be true, let the christian reader judge what is to be thought of those christian princes, who, not only forsaking the common cause of Christ's church, joined league with the Turk, but also sent him gunners to set forward his wars to the destruction of Christ's people, and to the shedding of their blood; for whom they know the blood of Christ to be shed. If this be not true, I show mine author;[1] if it be, then let the pope see and mark well, how this title of 'Christianissimus' can well agree with such doings.

The Turks' device in filling up the marsh.

Stratagem of the Christians against the Turks.

A note touching the French king that then was.

But to let this matter sleep, although the Turks, (as ye heard) had won the fen, with their policy and industry, against the city of Alba, yet all this while the Albanes were nothing inferior to their enemies, through the valiant help and courageous endeavour of Octavianus Scruzatus, a captain of Milan, by whose prudent counsel and constant standing, the busy enterprises of the Turks did little prevail a long time; till at length, suddenly arose a thick fog or mist upon the city, whereas, round about besides, the sun did shine bright. Some said it came by art magical, but rather it may appear to rise out of the fen or marsh, being so pressed down with men's feet, and other matter laid upon it.

The outward walls got by the Turks. The Turks using the occasion of this misty darkness, in secret wise approaching the walls, had got up to a certain fortress where the Germans were, before our men could well perceive them; where they pressed in so thick, and in such number, that albeit the christian

(1) Ex Epist. Johan. Marti. Stellæ ad fratres de Turcar. in Hungaria successibus.

soldiers, standing strongly to the defence of their lives, did what valiant men in cases of such extremity were able to do; yet, being overmatched by the multitude of the Turks, and the suddenness of their coming, they gave back, seeking to retire unto the inward walls, which when their other fellows did see to recule, then was there flying of all hands, every man striving to get into the city. There was between the outward walls or vaumures, and inward gate of the city, a strait or narrow passage, cast up in the manner of a bank or causeway, ditched on both sides, which passage or ingress happened at the same time to be barred and stopped; by reason whereof the poor soldiers were forced to cast themselves into the ditch, thinking to swim as well as they could into the city, where many of them, sticking in the mud, were drowned, one pressing upon another: many were slain of their enemies coming behind them, they having neither heart nor power to resist. A few, who could swim out, were received into the city; but the chief captains and warders of the town were there slain. *Solyman.* Miserable slaughter of christian soldiers.

The citizens, being destitute of their principal captains and warriors, were in great perplexity and doubt among themselves what to do, some thinking good to yield, some counselling the contrary. Thus, while the minds of the citizens were distracted in divers and doubtful sentences, the magistrates, minding to stand to the Turk's gentleness,[1] sent out one of their heads unto the Turk, who, in the name of them all, should surrender to him the city, and become unto him tributaries, upon condition they might enjoy liberty of life and goods. This being to them granted, after the Turkish faith and assurance; first, the soldiers who were left within the city, putting off their armour, were discharged and sent away; who, being but only three hundred left of four ensigns of Italians, and of one thousand Germans, by the way were laid for by the Tartarians for hope of their spoil; so that they, scattering asunder one one way, and another another, to save themselves as well as they could, fled every one what way he thought best; of whom, some wandering in woods and marshes fainted for famine; some were taken and slain by the Hungarians: a few, with bare, empty, and withered bodies, more like ghosts than men, escaped, and came to Vienna. And this befell upon the soldiers.

Now understand what happened to the yielding citizens. So in the story it followeth, that when the Turk had entered the town, and had visited the sepulchre of the kings, for three or four days he pretended much clemency toward the citizens, as though he came not to oppress them, but to be revenged of Ferdinand their king, and to deliver them from the servitude of the Germans. On the fourth day, all the chief and head men of the city were commanded to appear before the Turk, in a plain not far from the city, where the condemned persons before were wont to be executed, as though they should come to swear unto the Turk. At this commandment of the Turk, when the citizens in great number, and in their best attire were assembled, the Turk, contrary to his faith and promise, commanded suddenly a general slaughter to be made of them all. And this was the end of the citizens of Alba. What it is to yield to the Turk, and to stick to his promise.

(1) Let good Christians never stand to the Turk's gentleness.

Solyman.

Half a young child found in the satchel of a captive coming from the Turks.

In the mean time, during the siege of Alba, the Hungarians, meeting sometimes with the horsemen of the Tartarians, who were sent out to stop their victuals from the city, slew of them, at one bickering, three thousand Turks: in which story is also reported and mentioned of mine author, a horrible sight and example of misery, concerning a certain captain (a Christian belike), who, coming unto Vienna, was found to have in his scrip or satchel the half of a young child of two years old, which remained yet uneaten, the other half being eaten before. A.D. 1543.[1]

Next after this, was expugned the castle of Papa by the Turks. Let the castle of 'Papa' now take heed, lest one day it follow after!

Visegrade surprised by the Turks.

The like fidelity the Turks also kept with the fort of Visegrade, and the soldiers thereof. This Visegrade is situate in the mid-way between Buda and Striegau; of which fort or castle, the highest tower so mounteth upon the hill, that unless it be for famine or lack of water, they have not to dread any enemy. Notwithstanding so it happened, that the lower piece being won, they in the higher tower abiding four days without drink, were compelled, with liberty granted of life and goods, to yield themselves. But the devilish Turks, keeping no faith nor promise, slew them every one: only Petrus Amandus, the captain of the piece, excepted; who privily was conveyed by the captain of the Turks, out of the slaughter. A.D. 1544.

The false dealing of the Turks against the Christians.

Novum Castellum, in Dalmatia won by the Turks.

To these, moreover, may be added the winning of Novum Castellum, in Dalmatia, where he slew all that were within, both soldiers and others, for that they did not yield themselves in time. Thus the Turk, whether they yielded to him or not, never spared the people and flock of Christ.

As the false and cruel Turk was thus raging in Hungary, and intended further to rage without all mercy and pity of the Christians, and might easily then have prevailed and gone whither he would, for that Charles the emperor, and Francis the French king, were at the same time in war and hostility, and also other christian princes; as Henry, duke of Brunswick, against John Frederic, duke of Saxony; also princes and rulers were contending among themselves: behold the gracious providence of our Lord and God toward us, who, seeing the misery, and having pity of his poor Christians, suddenly, as with a snaffle, reined this raging beast, and brought him out of Europe into his own country again, by occasion of the Persians, who were then in great preparation of war against the Turks, and had invaded his dominion; by reason whereof the Turks were kept there occupied, fighting with the Persians a long continuance. Which wars at length being achieved and finished (wherein the said Turk lost great victories, with slaughter of many thousands of his Turks), he was not only provoked by the instigation of certain evil disposed Hungarians, but also occasioned by the discord of christian princes, to return again into Europe, in hope to subdue all the parts thereof unto his dominion. Whereunto when he had levied an army incredible of such a multitude of Turks, as the like hath not lightly been heard of, see again the merciful providence and protection of our God toward his people. As the Turk was thus intending to set forward with his innumerable multitude against the Christians, the hand of the Lord

Discord of christian princes.

The providence of God for his Christians.

The Turk occasioned to return out of Europe into Asia.

(1) Ex Epist. Marti. Stellæ ad fratres de Turcar. in Hungaria successibus.

sent such a pestilence through all the Turk's army and dominion, reaching from Bithynia, and from Thrace to Macedonia, and also to Hungary, that all the Turk's possession seemed almost nothing else, but as a heap of dead corpses, whereby his voyage for that time was stopped, and he almost compelled to seek a new army. *Solyman.*

Besides this plague of the Turks aforesaid, which was worse to them than any war, other lets also and domestic calamities, through God's providence, happened unto Solyman, the great rover and robber of the world, which stayed him at home from vexing the Christians; especially touching his eldest son, Mustapha. Another example of God's providence

This Mustapha being hated, and partly feared of Rustan, the chief councillor about the Turk, and of Rosa, the Turk's concubine and afterwards his wife, was divers times complained of to his father, accused, and at length so brought into suspicion and displeasure of the Turk, by them aforesaid, that, in conclusion, his father caused him to be sent for to his pavilion, where six Turks with visors were appointed to put him to death: who, coming upon him, put, after their manner, a small cord or bow-string full of knots about his neck, and so, throwing him down upon the ground, not suffering him to speak one word to his father, with the twitch thereof throttled and strangled him to death, his father standing in a secret corner by, and beholding the same. Which fact being perpetrated, afterwards, when the Turk would have given to another son of his and of Rosa, called Gianger, the treasures, horse, armour, ornaments, and the province of Mustapha his brother, Gianger, crying out for sorrow of his brother's death: "Fye of thee!" saith he to his father, "thou impious and wretched dog, traitor, murderer; I cannot call thee father. Take the treasures, the horse, and the armour of Mustapha to thyself;" and with that, taking out his dagger, thrust it through his own body. And thus was Solyman murderer and parricide of his own sons: which was in A.D. 1552. Solyman murdereth Mustapha, his own son.

Herein, notwithstanding, is to be noted the singular providence and love of the Lord toward his afflicted Christians. For this Mustapha, as he was courageous and greatly expert and exercised in all practice of war, so had he a cruel heart, maliciously set to shed the blood of Christians: wherefore great cause have we to congratulate, and to give thanks to God, for the happy taking away of this Mustapha. And no less hope also and good comfort we may conceive of our loving Lord hereby ministered unto us, to think that our merciful God, after these sore afflictions of his Christians under these twelve Turks afore recited, now, after this Solyman, intendeth some gracious good work to Christendom, to reduce and release us out of this so long and miserable Turkish captivity, as may be hoped now, by taking away these young imps of this impious generation, before they should come to work their conceived malice against us: the Lord therefore be glorified and praised. Amen! The loving providence of our Lord for his Christians. Good hope at God's hand to be conceived of the Christians.

Moreover, as I was writing hereof, opportunely came to my hands a certain writing out of Germany, certifying us of such news and victory of late achieved against the Turk, as may not a little increase our hope, and comfort us, touching the decay and ruin of the Turk's power and tyranny against us; which news are these: That after the Turkish tyrant had besieged, with an army of 30,000 men, the famous Good news of the Turks lately repulsed by the Christians.

Solyman. and strong town and castle of Gyula, in Hungary, lying forty Dutch miles beyond the river Danube, which city had by the space of six weeks sustained many grievous assaults, God, through his great mercy and goodness, so comforted the said town of Gyula, and the poor Christians therein, at their earnest prayers, that the Turk, with all his host, was driven back by the hands of the general, called Karetshim Laslaw, and his valiant company; who not only defended the said town, but also constrained the Turks to retire, to their great shame and confusion, with a great slaughter of the Turkish rabble; for which the everlasting God be praised for ever.

Eight thousand Turks slain.

The manner of the overthrow was this: As the aforesaid general did see his advantage, with captain George and other horsemen of the Silesians and Hungarians, they set on the rearward of the Turks, and killed about eight thousand of them, and took also some of their artillery, and followed them so fast, that the Turks were constrained to flee into a marshy ground, and to break the wheels of the rest of their artillery to save themselves; and therewith they got a very rich booty, rescuing besides, and taking from the Turks, a great number of christian prisoners. Like thanks are also to be given to God, for the prosperous success given to Magotschy, the valiant captain of Erlan, who, making toward the Turks and encountering with the Tartarians, slew of them about eight hundred.

Christians rescued and taken from the Turks.

A great captain of the Turks slain, and his treasure taken.

Not long after this it happened, through the like providence of our God, that a Turkish captain called Begen, accompanied with a thousand fresh horsemen, came newly out of Turkey, to go toward the city named Quinque Ecclesiæ, or Fünfkirchen, with whom the earl of Serin, by the way, did encounter, and in the night, setting upon him, killed the captain, and took eight camels, and eight mules laden with treasure, and also got two red guidons,[1] with a whole great piece of rich cloth of gold, and with another fair and strange jewel. The horse of this aforesaid Turkish captain was betrapped and decked most richly; the saddle whereof had the pommel and back part covered over with plate of fine Arabic gold, and the rest of the saddle, besides the sitting place, was plated with silver very fair gilded. The seat of the saddle was covered with purple velvet; the trappings and bridle beset with little turquoises and rubies: which horse was sent to Vienna, unto the emperor Maximilian, for a present.

Although the earl would very fain have saved the captain, not knowing what he was, yet the Janizaries, labouring to carry away their captain, so stiffly defended themselves, that the earl, with his company, was constrained to kill both them and their captain. From whom the said earl of Serin, the same time, got fifteen thousand Turkish and Hungarian ducats; which money was brought for the payment of the Turkish soldiers in the aforesaid town of Fünfkirchen. All which be good beginnings of greater goodness to be hoped for hereafter, through the grace of Christ our Lord; especially if our christian rulers and potentates, first, the churchmen and prelates for their parts, then, the civil powers and princes for their parts, withholding their affections a little, will turn their brawls and variance into brotherly concord and agreement; which the Lord of Peace put in their minds to do. Amen! Or otherwise, if it will so

(1) "Guidons," standards.—Ed

please the Lord that the Turk come further upon us, so as he hath begun for our punishment and castigation, his grace then give to the flock of his poor Christians, constancy of faith, patience in suffering, and amendment of life. For so I understand by public fame, although uncertainly rumoured by the voice of some, that the Turks' power of late, this present year of our Lord, 1566, hath pierced the parts of Apulia within Italy, wasting and burning the space of a hundred miles toward Naples: which if it be certain, it is to be feared, that the Turk having thus set in his foot, and feeling the sweetness of Italy, will not so cease before he get in both head and shoulders also, so far into Italy, that he will display his banners within the walls of Rome, and do with old Rome the like as Mahomet, his great grandfather, did with new Rome, the city of Constantinople, and as the Persians did with Babylon.

Solyman.

The Turks piercing into Italy.

The causes why we have so to judge, be divers: first, that the see of Rome hath been defended hitherto and maintained, with much blood; and therefore it may seem not incredible, but that it will not long continue, but be lost with blood again, according to the verdict of the gospel: "He that striketh with the sword, shall perish with the sword," &c. Another cause is, the fulfilling of Apocalypse xviii., where it is written, "That great Babylon shall fall, and be made an habitation of devils, and a den of unclean spirits, and a cage of filthy and unclean birds:" the fall whereof shall be like a mill-stone in the sea, that is, which shall not rise again. And that this is to come before the day of judgment, the text of the said chapter doth apertly declare; where the words do follow, showing, That the kings of the earth, and the merchants, which had to do with the whorish city, standing afar off for fear of the heat, and beholding the smoke of the said city flaming and burning with fire, shall bewail and rue her destruction and desolation, &c. What city this is, called Great Babylon, which, like a mill-stone, shall fall and burn, and be made a habitation of unclean spirits and beasts, let the reader construe. This is certain and plain, by these her kings and merchants standing afar off for fear, and beholding her burning, that the destruction of this city (what city soever it be) shall be seen here on earth before the coming of the Lord's judgment, as may easily be gathered by these three circumstances; that is, by the standing, the beholding, and the bewailing of her merchants; by which merchants and kings of the earth, peradventure, may be signified the pope, the rich cardinals, the great prelates, and the fat doctors, and other obedientiaries of the Romish see, who, at the coming of the Turks, will not adventure their lives for their church, but will flee the city, no doubt, and stand afar off from danger. And when they shall see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, the city of Rome to be set on fire and consumed by the cruel Turks, the sight thereof shall seem to them piteous and lamentable, to behold the great and fair city of Rome, the tall castle of St. Angelo, the pope's mighty see (where they were wont to fish out such riches, dignities, treasures, and pleasure), so to burn before their eyes, and to come to such utter desolation, which shall never be re-edified again, but shall be made a habitation of devils and unclean spirits; that is, of Turks and heathen sultans, and barbarous Saracens, &c. This, I say, peradventure, may be the

Conjectures why it is to be feared, that the Turk will get Rome.

The prophecy of Apocalypse xviii. expounded.

Solyman. meaning of that prophetical place of the Apocalpse; not that I have here any thing to pronounce, but only give my guess, what may probably be conjectured. But the end at length will make this, and all other things, more plain and manifest; for mystical prophecies lightly are never so well understood, as when the event of them is past and accomplished.

Third cause. Another cause, concurring with the causes aforesaid, may be collected out of Paulus Jovius, who, writing of the subversion of Rhodes, which was, as ye heard A. D. 1522, upon Christmas day, saith, that it chanced suddenly, the same day, in Rome, that as pope Adrian VI. was entering into the church to his service, suddenly over his head the upper frontier or top of the chapel door, which was of marble, immediately as the pope was entering, fell down, and slew certain of his guard waiting upon him. Whereby peradventure may be meant, that the ruin of Rome was not long after to follow the loss of Rhodes.

Fourth cause. The fourth cause I borrow out of Johannes Aventinus, who, in his third book, alleging the names, but not the words of Hildegard, A prophecy. Briget, and other prophetical persons, hath these words; "Si vera sint carmina et vaticinia, D. Hildegardæ, et Brigittæ, Sybillarum Germaniæ, et Bardorum fatidicorum, qui ea quæ nostro ævo completa vidimus longo ante, tempore nobis cecinerunt; Agrippinensis Colonia, nolimus, velimus, Turcarum capui erit," &c.; that is, "If the sayings and prophecies of Hildegard, of Briget, and other prophetical persons, be true, which, being foretold long before, we have seen now in these our days accomplished; the town of Cologne, will we, nill we, must needs be the head city of the Turks."[1]

And this I write, not as one pronouncing against the city of Rome what will happen, but as one fearing what may fall: which if it come to pass (as I pray God it may not), then shall the pope well understand, whither his wrong understanding of the Scriptures, and his false flattering glossers upon the same, have brought him.

A caveat to the bishop of Rome, if he be wise. Wherefore my counsel to the pope, and all his popish maintainers and upholders is, to humble themselves, and to agree with their brethren betimes, letting all contention fall: lest that while the bishop of Rome shall strive to be the highest of all other bishops, it so fall out shortly, that the bishop of Rome shall be found the lowest of all other bishops, or, peradventure, no bishop at all.

Whereupon also another cause may be added, taken out of Hieronymus Savanarola, who prophesieth, that one like unto Cyrus shall come over the Alps, and destroy Italy: whereof see more before.

This Solyman, if he be yet alive, hath now reigned forty-six years, who began the same year in which the emperor Charles V. was crowned, which was A. D. 1520, and so hath continued, by God's permission, for a scourge to the Christians, unto this year now present, 1566. This Solyman, by one of his concubines, had his eldest son, called Mustapha. By another concubine called Rosa, he had four sons, Mahomet, Bajazet, Selim, and Gianger: of which sons, Mustapha and Gianger were slain (as ye heard before) by means of their

(1) Annal. lib. 3, fol. 30.

own father. And thus much concerning the wretched tyranny of the Turks, out of the authors hereunder written.[1] *Solyman.*

A NOTICE TOUCHING THE MISERABLE PERSECUTION, SLAUGHTER, AND CAPTIVITY, OF THE CHRISTIANS UNDER THE TURKS.

Hitherto thou hast heard, christian reader! the lamentable persecutions of these latter days, wrought by the Turks against the people and servants of Christ. In the reading whereof, such as sit quietly at home, and be far from jeopardy, may see what misery there is abroad; the knowledge and reading whereof shall not be unprofitable for all Christians earnestly to weigh and consider, for that many there be, who, falsely deceiving themselves, imagine that Christianity is a quiet and restful state of life, full of pleasure and solace in this present world; when indeed it is nothing less, as testified by the mouth of our Saviour himself, who, rightly defining his kingdom, teacheth us, that his kingdom is not of this world; premonishing us also before, that in this world we must look for affliction, but in him we shall have peace. Examples hereof in all parts of this history, through all ages, are plenteous and evident to be seen, whether we turn our eyes to the first ten persecutions in the primitive church, during the first three hundred years after Christ; or whether we consider the latter three hundred years in this last age of the church, wherein the poor flock of Christ hath been so afflicted, oppressed, and devoured, that it is hard to say, whether have been more cruel against the Christians, the infidel emperors of Rome, in the primitive age of the church, or else these barbarous Turks, in these our later times of the church now present. *Persecution under the Turk.* *Comparison between the persecutions of the primitive, and the latter church.*

Thus, from time to time, the church of Christ hath had little or no rest in this earth: what for the heathen emperors on the one side; what for the proud pope on the other side; on the third side, what for the barbarous Turk: for these are, and have been from the beginning, the three principal and capital enemies of the church of Christ, signified in the Apocalypse by "the beast, the false lamb, and the false prophet, from whom went out three foul spirits, like frogs, to gather together all the kings of the earth to the battle of the day of the Lord God Almighty." [Apoc. xvi.] The cruelty and malice of these three enemies against Christ's people hath been such, that to judge which of them did most exceed in cruelty of persecution, it is hard to say; but, that it may be thought that the bloody and beastly tyranny of the Turks especially, above the rest, incomparably surmounteth all the afflictions and cruel slaughters that ever were seen in any age, or read of in any story: insomuch that there is neither history so perfect, nor writer so diligent, who, writing of the miserable *Three special enemies of Christ's church.* *The cruelty of the furious Turks described.*

(1) *The Authors of the Turks' Stories.*

Leonicus Chalcondyla.
Nicolaus Eboicus Episc. Sagun-tinus.
Johannes Ramus.
Andræas a Lucana.
Wolfgangus Drechslerus.
Johannes Crispus.
Johannes Faber.
Ludovicus Vives.
Bernardus de Breydenbach.
Sabellicus.
Mityleneus Archiepisc.
Isiodorus Rutherus.
Marinus Barletus.
Henricus Penia, de bello Rhodio.
Melchior Soiterus.
Paulus Jovius.
Johan. Martinus Stella.
Gaspar Peucerus, &c.
Nicolaus a Moffen Burgundus.
Sebast. Munsterus.
Baptista Egnatius.
Barthol. Peregrinus.

Solyman. tyranny of the Turks, is able to express or comprehend the horrible examples of their unspeakable cruelty and slaughter, exercised by these twelve Turkish tyrants upon poor christian men's bodies, within the compass of these latter three hundred years. Whereof although no sufficient relation can be made, nor number expressed; yet, to give to the reader some general guess or view thereof, let us first perpend and consider what dominions and empires, how many countries, kingdoms, provinces, cities, towns, strongholds, and forts, these Turks have surprised and won from the Christians; in all which victories, being so many, this is secondly to be noted, that there is almost no place which the Turks ever came to and subdued, where they did not either slay all the inhabitants thereof, or led away the most part thereof into such captivity and slavery, that they continued not long after alive, or else so lived, that death, almost, had been to them more tolerable.

Two things to be noted in the Turk..

Like as in the time of the first persecutions of the Roman emperors, the saying was, that no man could step with his feet in all Rome, but should tread upon a martyr; so here may be said, that almost there is not a town, city, or village, in all Asia and Greece, also in a great part of Europe and Africa, whose streets have not flowed with the blood of the Christians, whom the cruel Turks have murdered: of whom are to be seen in histories, heaps of soldiers slain, of men and women cut in pieces, of children sticked upon poles and stakes, whom these detestable Turks most spitefully, and that in the sight of their parents, use to gore to death. Some they drag at their horse's tails, and famish to death; some they tear in pieces, tying their arms and legs to four horses; others they make marks to shoot at: upon some they try their swords, how deep they can cut and slash, as before ye have read. The aged and feeble they tread under their horses; women with child they spare not, but mangle their bodies, and cast the infants into the fire, or otherwise destroy them. Whether the Christians yield to them, or yield not, all is a matter. As in their promises there is no truth, so in their victories there is no sense of manhood or mercy in them, but they make havoc of all.[1]

So the citizens of Croia, after they had yielded and were all promised their lives, were all destroyed, and that horribly. In Mysia, after the king had given himself to the Turk's hand, having promise of life, Mahomet the Turk slew him with his own hands. The princes of Rasia had both their eyes put out, with basons red hot set before them. Theodosia, otherwise called Capha, was also surrendered to the Turk, having the like assurance of life and safety; and yet, contrary to the league, the citizens were put to the sword and slain. At the winning and yielding of Lesbos, what a number of young men and children were put upon sharp stakes and poles, and so thrust through! At the winning of the city of Buda, what tyranny was showed and exercised against the poor Christians who had yielded themselves, and against the two dukes, Christopher Bisserer, and Johan Tranbinger, contrary to the promise and hand-writing of the Turk, is to be seen in the story of Melchior Soiterus, 'De bello Pannonico.'[2] The like also is to be read in the story of Bernardus de

(1) Ex Marino Barletio de Scod. expugnat. lib. ii. (2) Lib. i. fol. 515.

Breydenbach,[1] who, writing of the taking of Hydruntum, a city in Apulia, testifieth of the miserable slaughter of the young men there slain, of old men trodden under the horses' feet, of matrons and virgins abused, of women with child cut and rent in pieces, of the priests in the churches slain, and of the archbishop of that city, who, being an aged man, and holding the cross in his hands, was cut asunder with a wooden saw, &c. The same Bernard, also, writing of the overthrow of Nigropont, otherwise called Chalcides, A.D. 1471, describeth the like terrible slaughter which there was exercised, where the Turk, after his promise given before to the contrary, most cruelly caused all the youth of Italy to be pricked upon sharp stakes; some to be dashed against the hard stones, some to be cut in sunder in the midst, and others with other kinds of torments to be put to death: insomuch, that all the streets and ways of Chalcides did flow with the blood of those who were there slain. In that history the aforesaid writer recordeth one memorable example of maidenly chastity, worthy of all Christians to be noted and commended. The story is told of the prætor's daughter of that city, who, being the only daughter of her father, and noted to be of an exceeding singular beauty, was saved out of the slaughter, and brought to Mahomet the Turk, to be his concubine. But she, denying to consent to his Turkish appetite and filthiness, was commanded therewith to be slain and murdered, and so died she a martyr, keeping both her faith and her body undefiled unto Christ Jesus her spouse.

Solymus.

The superstitious use of the material cross.

A notable example of maidenly chastity.

The like cruelty also was showed upon those who kept the castle, and afterwards, yielding themselves upon hope of the Turk's promise, were slain every one. What should I speak of the miserable slaughter of Modon, and the citizens thereof, dwelling in Peloponnesus? who, seeing no other remedy but needs to come into the Turk's hands, set the barn on fire where they were gathered together, men, women, and children; some women also with child, voluntarily cast themselves into the sea, rather than they would sustain the Turk's captivity.

Miserable spilling of christian men's blood.

Miserable it is to behold, long to recite, incredible to believe, all the cruel parts, and horrible slaughters, wrought by these miscreants against the Christians through all places almost of the world, both in Asia, in Africa, but especially in Europe. Who is able to recite the innumerable societies and companies of the Greeks martyred by the Turk's sword in Achaia, Attica, Thessalia, Macedonia, Epyrus, and all Peloponnesus? besides the island of Rhodes, and other islands and cyclades adjacent in the sea about, numbered to two and fifty; of which, also, Patmos was one, where St. John, being banished, wrote his Revelations. Where did ever the Turks set any foot, but the blood of Christians there, without pity or measure, went to wrack? and what place or province is there almost throughout the world, where the Turks either have not pierced, or are not likely shortly to enter? In Thrace, and through all the coasts of the Danube, in Bulgaria, Dalmatia, in Servia, Transylvania, Bosnia, in Hungary, also in Austria, what havoc hath been made by them of christian men's bodies, it will rue any christian heart to remember. At the siege of Moldavia, at the winning of Buda, of Pest, of Alba, of Walpo,

Brief recital of christian towns and forts won by the Turk in Europe.

(1) Ex Bernardo de Breydenbach. Decan. Eccl. Magnus.

Solyman. Striegau, Soclosia, Tata, Vissegrade, Novum Castellum in Dalmatia, Belgrade, Waradein, Quinque Ecclesiæ: also at the battle of Varna, where Ladislaus, king of Poland, with almost all his army, through the rashness of the pope's cardinal, were slain. At the winning, moreover, of Xabiacchus, Lyssus, Dynastrum: at the siege of Guns, and of the faithful town Scorad, where the number of the shot against their walls, at the siege thereof, was reckoned to be two thousand five hundred and thirty-nine. Likewise at the siege of Vienna, where all the christian captives were brought before the whole army and slain, and divers drawn in pieces with horses: but especially at the winning of Constantinople, above mentioned. Also at Croia and Modon, what beastly cruelty was showed, it is unspeakable. For as in Constantinople, Mahomet, the drunken Turk, never rose from dinner, but he caused every day, for his disport, three hundred christian captives of the nobles of that city to be slain before his face: so, in Modon, after that his captain Omar had sent unto him at Constantinople, five hundred prisoners of the Christians, the cruel tyrant commanded them all to be cut and divided asunder by the middle, and so, being slain, to be thrown out into the fields.[1]

Cruelty of the Turk against the citizens of Vienna.

His cruelty against the prisoners of Modon.

A strange and prodigious wonder of a brute beast toward a dead christian body.

Leonicus Chalcondyla, writing of the same story, addeth, moreover, a prodigious narration, if it be true, of a brute ox, which, being in the fields, and seeing the carcases of the dead bodies so cut in two, made there a loud noise after the lowing of his kind and nature: and afterwards, coming to the quarters of one of the dead bodies lying in the field, first took up the one half, and then coming again, took up likewise the other half, and so, as he could, joined them both together. Which being espied by those who saw the doing of the brute ox, and marvelling thereat, and word being brought thereof to Mahomet, he commanded the quarters again to be brought where they were before, to prove whether the beast would come again; who failed not (as the author recordeth), but, in like sort as before, taking the fragments of the dead corpse, laid them again together. It followeth more in the author, how that Mahomet, being astonied at the strange wonder of the ox, commanded the quarters of the christian man's body to be interred, and the ox to be brought to his house, and much made of. Some said it was the body of a Venetian; some affirmed, that he was an Illyrian; but, whatsoever he was, certain it is, that the Turk himself was much more bestial than was the brute ox; which, being a beast, showed more sense of humanity to a dead man, than one man did to another.[2]

The bishop, with the citizens of Modon slain.

To this cruelty add, moreover, that besides these five hundred Modonians thus destroyed at Constantinople, in the said city of Modon, all the townsmen, also, were slain by the aforesaid captain Omar, and, among them, their bishop likewise was put to death.[3]

John Faber, in his oration made before king Henry VIII., at the appointment of king Ferdinand, and declaring therein the miserable cruelty of the Turks toward all Christians, as also toward the bishops and ministers of the church, testifieth, how that in Mitylene, in

(1) Ex Leonico Chalcondula de rebus. Turcicis. lib. x. (2) Ex Leonic. Chalcondyla.
(3) Ex Andr. de Lacuna, et ex Wolfg. et aliis.

Constantinople, and in Trapezunda, what bishops and archbishops, or other ecclesiastical and religious persons the Turks could find, they brought them out of the cities into the fields, there to be slain like oxen and calves.[1] The same Faber also, writing of the battle of Solyman in Hungary, where Ludovic, the king of Hungary, was overthrown, declareth, that eight bishops in the same field were slain. And moreover, when the archbishop of Striegau, and Paul, the archbishop of Colosse, were found dead, Solyman caused them to be taken up, and to be beheaded and chopped in small pieces. A. D. 1526. *Solyman.*

What christian heart will not pity the incredible slaughter done by the Turks in Eubœa, where the said Faber testifieth, that innumerable people were stuck and gored upon stakes, divers were thrust through with a hot iron, children and infants not yet weaned from the mother, were dashed against the stones, and many cut asunder in the midst![2] Cruelty of the Turk in Eubœa.

But never did country taste and feel more the bitter and deadly tyranny of the Turks, than did Rascia, called Mysia Inferior, and now Servia, where (as writeth Wolfgangus Dreschlerus) the prince of the same country, being sent for under fair pretence of words and promises to come and speak with the Turk, after he was come of his own gentleness, thinking no harm, was apprehended, and wretchedly and falsely put to death, and his skin flayed off, his brother and sister brought to Constantinople for a triumph, and all the nobles of his country (as Faber addeth) had their eyes put out, &c. The prince of Servia slain, and slain of the Turk. Let never christian prince trust the Turk.

Briefly to conclude: By the vehement and furious rage of these cursed caitiffs, it may seem that Satan, the old dragon, for the great hatred he beareth to Christ, hath stirred them up to be the butchers of all christian people, inflaming their beastly hearts with such malice and cruelty against the name and religion of Christ, that they, degenerating from the nature of men to devils, neither by reason will be ruled, nor by any blood or slaughter satisfied. Like as in the primitive age of the church, and in the time of Dioclesian and Maximilian, when the devil saw that he could not prevail against the person of Christ, who was risen again, he turned all his fury upon his simple servants, thinking by the Roman emperors utterly to extinguish the name and profession of Christ out from the earth: So in this latter age of the world, Satan, being let loose again, rageth by the Turks, thinking to make no end of murdering and killing, till he have brought, as he intendeth, the whole church of Christ, with all the professors thereof, under foot. But the Lord, I trust, will once send a Constantine, to vanquish proud Maxentius; a Moses, to drown indurate Pharaoh; a Cyrus, to subdue the stout Babylonian. The Turks stirred up of the devil, to fight against Christ. The Turks are butchers of the Christians.

And thus much hitherto touching our christian brethren who were slain and destroyed by these blasphemous Turks. Now, forasmuch as besides these aforesaid, many others were plucked away violently from their country, from their wives and children, from liberty, and from all their possessions, into wretched captivity and extreme poverty, it remaineth likewise to treat somewhat, also, concerning the cruel manner of the Turk's handling of the said christian captives. Misery of the christian captives under the Turk. The buying and selling of captives.

(1) Ex Johan. Fabro, in oratione ad regem Hen. VIII. (2) Ex Johan. Fabro, et aliis.

Solyman. And first here is to be noted, that the Turk never cometh into Europe to war against the Christians, but there followeth after his army a great number of brokers or merchants, such as buy men and children to sell again, bringing with them long chains in hope of great escheats: in which chains they link them by fifty and sixty together, such as remain undestroyed with the sword, whom they buy of the spoils of them that rob and spoil the christian countries; which is lawful for any of the Turks' army to do, so that the tenth of their spoil or prey (whatsoever it be) be reserved to the head Turk; that is, to the great master thief.

Christian captives tithed by the Turk.

Of such as remain for tithe, if they be aged (of whom very few be reserved alive, because little profit cometh of that age), they be sold to the use of husbandry, or keeping of beasts. If they be young men or women, they be sent to certain places, there to be instructed in their language and arts, as shall be most profitable for their advantage; and such are called in their tongue, Sarai. And the first care of the Turks is this: to make them deny the christian religion, and to be circumcised; and, after that, they are appointed, every one as he seemeth most apt, either to the learning of their laws, or else to learn the feats of war. Their first rudiment of war is to handle the bow; first beginning with a weak bow, and so, as they grow in strength, coming to a stronger bow; and if they miss the mark, they are sharply beaten: and their allowance is two pence or three pence a day, till they come and take wages to serve in war. Some are brought up for the purpose to be placed in the number of the wicked Janizaries, that is, the order of the Turk's champions, which is the most abominable condition of all others. Of these Janizaries, see before. And if any of the aforesaid young men or children shall appear to excel in any beauty, he is compelled to serve their abominable abomination; and, when age cometh, then they serve instead of eunuchs, to wait upon matrons, or to keep horses and mules, or else to be scullions and drudges in their kitchens.

O wickedness passing all misery!

†

O misery above all miseries!

The servitude of young women captives.

Such as be young maidens and beautiful, are deputed for concubines. Those who be of mean beauty, serve for matrons to their drudgery work in their houses and chambers, or else are put to spinning, and such other labours; but so, that it is not lawful for them either to profess their christian religion, or ever to hope for any liberty. And thus much of those who fall to the Turk by tithe.

The others, who are bought and sold amongst private subjects, first are allured with fair words and promises to take circumcision; which if they will do, they are more favourably treated: but all hope is taken from them of returning again into their country; which if they attempt, the pain thereof is burning. And if such, coming at length to liberty, will marry, they may; but then their children remain in bond to the lord, for him to sell at his pleasure; and, therefore, such as are wise amongst them will not marry. Those who refuse to be circumcised, are miserably handled; for example whereof, the author (who giveth testimony hereof) doth infer his own experience. Such captives as be expert in any manual art or occupation, can better shift for themselves; but, contrariwise, they who have no handicraft to live upon, are in worse case. And therefore such as have been brought up in learning, or be priests or noblemen, and such others whose

tender education can abide no hardness, are the least reputed, and most of all others neglected of him that hath the sale or keeping of them, for that he seeth less profit to rise of them, than of the others; and, therefore, no cost of raiment is bestowed upon them, but they are carried about barehead and barefoot, both summer and winter, in frost and snow. And if any faint and be sick in the way, there is no resting in any inn, but first he is driven forward with whips, and if that will not serve, he is set peradventure upon some horse; or if his weakness be such that he cannot sit, then is he laid overthwart the horse upon his belly, like a calf; and if he chance to die, they take off his garment, such as he hath, and throw him in a ditch.[1] *Solyman.*

In the way moreover, besides the common chain which doth inclose them all, the hands also of every one are manacled, which is, because they should not harm their leaders: for many times it happened, that ten persons had the leading of fifty captives; and, when night came, their feet also were fettered, so that they lodged in no house, but lay upon the ground all night.

Miserable calamity of christian women under the Turks.

The young women had a little more gentleness showed, being carried in panniers in the daytime. But when night came, pity it was to hear the miserable crying out of such as were inclosed within, by reason of the injuries which they suffered by their carriers, insomuch that the young tender age of seven or eight years, as well of the one sex, as of the other, could not save them from the villany of the Turks. †

Christian captives brought to markets and sold.

When the morning cometh, they are brought forth to the market for sale, where the buyer, if he be disposed, plucking off their garments, vieweth all the bones and joints of their body; and if he like them, he giveth his price, and carrieth them away into miserable servitude, either to tilling of their ground, or to pasture their cattle, or to some other strange kind of misery, incredible to speak of: insomuch that the author reporteth, that he hath seen himself, certain of such christian captives yoked together like horses and oxen, and to draw the plough. The maid-servants likewise are kept in perpetual toil and work in close places, where neither they come in sight of any man, neither be they permitted to have any talk with their fellow-servants, &c. Such as are committed to keep beasts, lie abroad day and night in the wild fields, without house and harbour, and so, changing their pasture, go from mountain to mountain; of whom also, beside the office of keeping the beasts, other handy labour is exacted at spare hours, such as pleaseth their masters to put unto them.

Put to draw in the plough.

Danger of Christians who fly out of Turkey.

Out of this misery there is no way for them to flee, especially for them that are carried into Asia beyond the seas; or if any do attempt so to do, he taketh his time chiefly about harvest, when he may hide himself all the daytime in the corn, or in woods or marshes, and find food; and in the night only he fleeth, and had rather be devoured of wolves and other wild beasts, than to return again to his master. In their fleeing they use to take with them a hatchet and cords, that when they come to the sea side, they may cut down trees, and bind together the ends of them, and so, where the sea of Hellespont is narrowest, about Sestos and Abydos, they take the sea, sitting upon

(1) Ex Bartholo. Georgioniz. Perigrena lib. de afflictionibus Christianorum sub Turco.

Solyman. trees, where, if the wind and tide do serve luckily, they may cut over in four or five hours. But the most part either perish in the floods, or are driven back again upon the coasts of Asia, or else be devoured of wild beasts in the woods, or perish with hunger and famine. If any escape over the sea alive into Europe, by the way they enter into no town, but wander upon the mountains, following only the north star for their guide.

Danger of our men by the way.

As touching such towns and provinces as are won by the Turk, and wherein the Christians are suffered to live under tribute, first, all the nobility there they kill and make away; the churchmen and clergy hardly they spare. The churches, with the bells and all the furniture thereof, either they cast down, or else they convert to the use of their own blasphemous religion; leaving to the Christians certain old and blind chapels, which when they decay, it is permitted to our men to repair them again for a great sum of money given to the Turk. Neither be they permitted to use any open preaching or ministration, but only in silence and by stealth to frequent together; nor is it lawful for any Christian to bear office within the city or province, or to bear weapon; or to wear any garment like to the Turks.[1] And if any contumely or blasphemy, be it ever so great, be spoken against them, or against Christ, yet must thou bear it, and hold thy peace. Or if thou speak one word against their religion, thou shalt be compelled (whether thou wilt or no) to be circumcised: and then, if thou speak one word against Mahomet, thy punishment is fire and burning. And if it chance a Christian, being on horseback, to meet, or pass by a Mussulman, that is, a Turkish priest, he must alight from his horse, and with a lowly look devoutly reverence and adore the Mussulman; or if he do not, he is beaten down from his horse with clubs and staves.

Christians meeting a Turkish priest must adore him.

Furthermore, for their tribute they pay the fourth part of their substance and gain to the Turk; besides the ordinary tribute of the Christians, which is to pay for every poll within his family a ducat unto the Turk, which if the parents cannot do, they are compelled to sell their children into bondage. Others being not able to pay, go chained in fetters from door to door begging, to make up their payment, or else must lie in perpetual prison.

Misery of taking away christian children from their parents.

And yet notwithstanding, when the Christians have discharged all duties, it remaineth free for the Turks, to take up among the Christians' children whom they best like, and them to circumcise, and to take them away, being young, from the sight of their parents, to far places, to be brought up for the Turks' wars, so that they may not return to them again; but first are taught to forget Christ, and then their parents; so that if they come again amongst them, yet are they not able to know their kinsfolks and parents.

O misery!

This misery, passing all other miseries, no man is able with tongue to utter, or with words to express. What weeping and tears, with sorrow and lamentation; what groaning, sighs, and deep dolour, doth tear and rend asunder the woful hearts of the simple parents, at the plucking away of their babes and children? to see their sons and their own children, whom they have born and bred up to the service of

(1) If Christians may not go like Turks, why should our gospellers go like papists? The Turks have their fire and faggots as well as our papists.

Christ Jesus the Son of God, now to be drawn away violently from them to the warfare of Satan, and to fight against Christ? to see their babes, born of christian blood, of Christians to be made Turks, and so to be plucked out of their arms, and out of their sight, without hope ever to return to them again? to live perpetually with aliens, barbarous and blasphemous Turks, and so to become of the number of those who are called fatherless and motherless?[1] *Solyman.*

Albeit the same children afterwards do greatly degenerate from the faith of Christ, yet very many of them have privily about them the gospel written by St. John, "In principio erat verbum," &c. which, for a token or remembrance of their christian faith, they carry under their arm-hole, written in Greek and Arabic: who greatly desire, and long look for the revenging sword of the Christians, to come and deliver them out of their dolorous thraldom and captivity, according as the Turks themselves have a prophecy, and greatly stand in fear of the same. Whereof more shall be said, Christ willing, in the chapter following. Privy gospellers in Turkey. An old prophecy touching the Christians' sword.

And thus have ye heard the lamentable afflictions of our christian brethren under the cruel tyranny and captivity of the Turks, passing all other captivities that ever have been to God's people, either under Pharaoh in Egypt, or under Nebuchadnezzar in Babylon, or under Antiochus in the time of the Maccabees: under which captivity, if it so please the Lord to have his spouse the church to be nurtured, his good will be done and obeyed! But if this misery come by the negligence and discord of our christian guides and leaders, then have we to pray and cry to our Lord God, either to give better hearts to our guiders and rulers, or else better guides and rulers to his flock.

And these troubles and afflictions of our christian brethren suffered by the Turks, I thought good and profitable for our country people here of England to know, for as much as by the ignorance of these, and such like histories worthy of consideration, I see much inconvenience doth follow: whereby it cometh to pass, that because we Englishmen, being far off from these countries, and little knowing what misery is abroad, are the less moved with zeal and compassion to tender their grievances, and to pray for them, whose troubles we know not. Whereupon also it followeth, that we, not considering the miserable state of others, are the less grateful to God, when any tranquillity by him to us is granted. And if any little cloud of perturbation arise upon us, be it ever so little, as poverty, loss of living, or a little banishment out of our country for the Lord's cause, we make a great matter thereof, and all because we go no further than our own country, and, only feeling our own cross, do not compare that which we feel, with the great crosses whereunto the churches of Christ commonly in other places abroad are subject. Which if we did rightly understand, and earnestly consider, and ponder in our minds, neither would we so excessively forget ourselves in time of our prosperity given us of God, nor yet so impatiently be troubled, as we are in time of our adversity; and all because either we hear not, or else we ponder not, the terrible crosses which the Lord layeth upon our other brethren abroad in other nations, as by this present story here prefixed may appear. Necessary that the troubles of the church be known.

(1) This is with tears rather than with words to be expressed.

Solyman.

The largeness of the Turk's dominions.

Now consequently remaineth, as I have showed hitherto what tyranny hath been used of the Turks against Christ's people, so to declare likewise, how far this tyranny of the Turks hath extended and spread itself; describing, as in a table; to the christian reader, what lands, countries, and kingdoms, the Turks have won and got from Christendom; to the intent, that when christian princes shall behold the greatness of the Turk's dominions spread almost through all the world, and how little a part of Christianity remaineth behind, they may thereby understand the better, how it is time now for them to bestir them, if ever they think to do any good in God's church. And therefore, to make a compendious draft, as in a brief table, of such countries, kingdoms, and dominions, got from us by the Turks, we will first begin with Asia, describing what tracts, countries, cities, and churches, the Turk hath surprised, and violently plucked away from the society of christian dominions, taking only such as be most principal, and chiefly them that be in Scripture contained, for that it were too long to discourse all and singular such places by name, as the Turk hath under his subjection.

The world being divided commonly into three parts, Asia, Africa, and Europe;[1] Asia is counted to be the greatest in compass, containing as much as both the others, and is divided into two portions, the one called Asia Major; the other called Asia Minor. And although the empire of the Turk extendeth unto them both; yet especially his dominion standeth in the other Asia, which is called Asia Minor, which reacheth from the coasts of Europe unto Armenia Major, beyond the river Euphrates, and comprehendeth these regions and cities following.

THE DIVISION OF ASIA MINOR, CALLED CHERONESUS,

With the particular Countries and Cities belonging to the same.

COUNTRIES.

Pontus[2] and Bithynia.[3]

CITIES.

Nicea.	Heraclea.	Nicomedia.
Chalcedon.	Prusa or Bursa.	Apamea.[4]

Natolia, or Anatolia, containeth divers countries, with their cities, as followeth:

COUNTRIES.

Mysia Minor.[5]	Mysia Major.[8]	Ionia.
Phrygia Minor.[6]	Phrygia Major.[9]	Caria.[11]
Troas.[7]	Lydia.[10]	Doris.
	Æolis.	

CITIES.

Cizicus.	Dardanum.	Alexandria or Troas.[12]
Parium.	Callipolis.	Ilium.
Lampsacus.	Abydus.	Assos.[13]

(1) On the 4th of August, 1498, the Great Continent of America was discovered by Columbus; the above observations were made by Foxe, about 1566.—Ed. (2) Acts ii. (3) Ibid. xvi.
(4) Apamea is a city in Bithynia, also another in Mesopotamia, Apamea Cybotus; also a city in Great Phrygia, and another also in Parthia. (5) Acts xvi.
(6) Acts ii. Phrygia Minor in Ptolomy is called Troas. (7) Acts xx.
(8) Acts xvi. (9) Ibid. ii. (10) Isa. lxvi. (11) 1 Macc. xv.
(12) Acts xvi. (13) Ibid. xx.

CITIES.

Scepsis	Phocœa.	Pergamos
Adramitium.[1]	Smyrna.[3]	Cuma.
Hierapolis.[2]	Erythræ.	Ephesus.[9]
Pitane	Laodicea.[4]	Sardis.[10]
Apollonia.	Carura.[5]	Halicarnassus.[11]
Myrina.	Thyatira.[6]	Miletus.[12]
	Philadelphia.[7]	

Thus far reacheth the compass of Natolia; next follow:

COUNTRIES.

Lycia.[13]	Pamphilia.[15]	Armenia Minor.
Galatia, vel Gallogræcia.[14]	Pisidia.	Cilicia.
Paphlagonia.	Cappadocia.[16]	Laconia.

CITIES.

Colossæ.[1]	Perga.[20]	Leandis.
Patara.[18]	Attalia.[21]	Claudiopolis.
Pinara.	Aspendus.	Juliopolis.
Xanthus.	Phaselis.[22]	Tharsus.[25]
Andriacæ.	Trapesus.	Coricus.[26]
Myra.[19]	Themiseyra.	Solimuntis, vel Trajano-
Ancyra.	Comana Pontica.	polis.
Gordium.	Amasia vel Eupatoria.[2]	Issus, vel Iaiassa.
Tharma.	Masa vel Cæsarea.	Augusta.[27]
Pessenus.	Naziantium.[24]	Iconium.[28]
Amisus.	Comana Cappadocia	Lystra.[29]
Sinope.	Miletena.	Derbe.[30]
Corambis.	Nicopolis.	Antiochia Pisidiæ.[31]

Syria comprehendeth in it divers particular Provinces, with their Cities, as followeth:

COUNTRIES.

Syria.[32]	Phœnicia.[35]	Seleucis.
Palestina Judea.	Damascene.	Laodicene.
Chanaan.	Cœlosyria.	Apamene.
Samaria.[33]	Cassiotis.	Idumæa.[36]
Galilæa.[34]	Comagena.	

CITIES.

Hierosolyma.[37]	Aecaron.[45]	Bethania.[52]
Cæsarea Stratonis.[38]	Azotus.[46]	Lydda.[53]
Bethlehem.[39]	Ascalon.[47]	Nazareth.[54]
Emmaus.[40]	Gaza.[48]	Capernaum.
Jericho.[41]	Bersabee.[49]	Cana.[56]
Joppe,[42] or Japheth.[43]	Antipatris.[50]	Tyrus.[57]
Tyberias.[44]	Assaron.[51]	Sydon, vel Sichem.

(1) Acts xxvii. (2) Col. iv. (3) Apoc. ii. (4) Ibid. iii.
(5) At Carura, a certain man with a company of harlots being there lodged, suddenly happened an earthquake in the city, wherein he, and all they were swallowed up. Pius 2 Papa, lib. de Descriptione cap. 16.
(6) Apoc. ii. (7) Ibid. iii.
(8) Apoc. ii. (9) Ibid. (10) Ibid. iii. (11) 1 Macc. xv. (12) Acts xx.
(13) Acts xxvii. (14) Ibid. xvi. (15) Ibid. ii. (16) Ibid. (17) Col. i.
(18) Acts xxi. (19) Ibid. xiii. (20) Ibid. (21) Ibid. xiv. (22) Macc. xv.
(23) Here Basilius Magnus was bishop. (24) Here Gregorius Nazianzenus was bishop.
(25) Acts xxii. The country where St. Paul was born.
(26) Another Coricus is also in the isle of Creta (27) Acts xxvii. (28) Ibid xiv.
(29) Acts xvi. (30) Ibid. xiv. (31) Ibid. xi. (32) Ibid. xv. (33) Ibid.
(34) Matt. iii. (35) Acts xi. (36) Mark iii. (37) Acts i. (38) Ibid. viii.
(39) Matt. ii. (40) Mark i. (41) Matt. xx. (42) Josh. xv. (43) Acts ix.
(44) John vi. (45) Josh. xiii (46) Acts viii. (47) Judg. ii. (48) Acts viii.
(49) Josh. xix. Bersabee is a city in Jury, also another in Idumea.
(50) Acts xxiii. (51) Ibid. ix. (52) Mark xi. (53) Acts ix. (54) Matt. iv.
(55) Matt. iv. (56) John ii. (57) Luke vi. (58) Ibid.

Solyman.

CITIES.

Ptolomais.[1]	Antiochia, sub Tauro.	Paradisus
Cæsarea Philippi.[2]	Alexandria apud Issum.	Jabruda.
Damascus.[3]	Nicopolis.[6]	Nazamm
Philadelphia.[4]	Gephyra.	Apamia.
Buthis, vel Pella.	Gindarus.	Besamma, vel Bersabee.
Antiochia apud Orontem, vel Theophilis.[5]	Seleucia.[7]	Euleusa.
	Imma.	Massa.
Samosata.	Laodicæa.[8]	

Thus far reacheth the compass of Syria.

Asia Minor.

COUNTRIES.

Arabia.[9]	Carra, or Charan, where Abraham dwelt.	Sarmatia
Arabia Petræa, or Nabatæa.	Selucia.[10]	Colchis.
	Mesopotamia.	Iberia.
Arabia Felix.	Babylonia.[12]	Albania, and Armenia.[13]
Arabia Deserta.		

CITIES.

Sabæa.	vel Hur Chaldæorum, where Abraham was born.[16]	which is now called Sujas.
Edessa,[14] which is now called Orpha, and in the story of Tobias, called Rages.	Patara.	Phasis.
	Azara.	Lubium.
Byblus.	Gerusa. S. Georgius.	Artanissa.
Babylon, vel Baldach.[15]	Sinda.	Armachica.
Orchoe, vel Urchoa,	Dioscuria vel Sebastia,	Getara, vel Gangara.
		Chabala.

And thus far reacheth the compass of Asia Minor, with the countries and provinces to the same pertaining, which being once brought to the faith of Christ, are now in a manner all subdued to the Turks.

Islands belonging to Asia Minor.

The islands belonging to the regions of Asia Minor aforesaid, gotten by the Turk, are these:

Thinias, belonging to Bithynia.	Possidium to Æolis.	Carpathus to Doris
	Samos to Ionia.[19]	Rhodus to Lycia.[23]
Tenedos to Troas.	Trogyllium.[20]	Cyprus.[24]
Chios to Lydia.[17]	Cnidus, to Doris.[21]	Panchæa.
Patmos.[18]	Cos.[22]	

(1) Acts xxi. (2) Matt. xvi. (3) Gal. i. (4) Apoc. i.

(5) Antiochia, apud Orontem, a chief city in Syria, where the disciples of Christ were first named Christians, Acts xi.

(6) Nicopolis, is a city also in Macedonia, mentioned in the epistle of Saint Paul to Titus, chap. iii.

(7) Acts xiii. Seleucia, is a city in Syria. Also another in Pamphylia, another in Cilicia Pisidia, another in Cœlo-Syria, and in Mesopotamia another.

(8) Col. ii. In this Laodicea was the council kept, which is called Concilium Laodicense. There is another Laodicea in Lydia, near to Colossæ in Asia Minor. Coles. iv. 15. Laodicea also is the chief city in Phrygia Pacatiana, near to Galatia, Acts xviii. 1 Tim. vi.

(9) Gal. i. 4. (10) Acts vii. (11) Psalm lix.

(12) Dan. iii. Babylon in Chaldæa, where Nebuchadnezzar reigned. It was after destroyed, and translated by Seleucus Nicanor. Another is in Egypt called Alcayrus. In the country of Babylonia, is also a certain region appointed for philosophers and astronomers, called Chaldea. Jer. l.

(13) Gen. viii. Armenia Major is divided from Armenia Minor by the river Euphrates. This Armenia Major and Minor, this day be both under the Turks.

(14) In Edessa reigned king Abgarus, mentioned in Eusseb. lib. i. cap. 15, to whom Christ wrote, promising to send unto him after his death. (15) Acts vii. (16) Gen. xi. 15.

(17) Acts xx. (18) Apoc. i. (19) Acts xx. (20) Ibid. (21) Ibid. xxvii.

(22) Ibid. xxi. (23) Ibid.

24) Acts xi. This Cyprus king Richard I. did once subdue, fighting against the Saracens.

Æneas Sylvius, otherwise pope Pius II., in describing Asia Minor,[1] reciteth a certain fact of a worthy virgin; who at that time the Turks were besieging a certain town in Lesbos, and had cast down a great part of the walls, so that all the townsmen had given over, putting on man's harness, stepped forth into the breach, where not only she kept the Turks from entering in, but also slew of them a great sort. The citizens seeing the rare courage, and good success of the maiden, took to them again their hearts and harness, and so lustily laid about them, that an incredible number of the Turks were slain. The rest being repulsed from the land, reculed into their ships; who being then pursued by a navy of Calisa, were worthily discomfited likewise upon the sea. And thus was the isle of Lesbos at that time by a poor virgin, that is by the strong hand of the Lord working in a weak creature, preserved from the Turks.

Solyman.

A memorable fact of a virgin, in defence of her country.

Beside these regions and countries of Asia Minor above described, Sebastian Munster, in the fifth book of his Cosmography, declareth moreover, that the Turks and Sultans have under their subjection both Arabia, Persia, and also India Exterior, wherein is Calcutta. The which Persia, although it be under the Sophi, who is an enemy to the Turk, yet it is to be thought, that he is a Sultan, one of the Turkish and Mahometan religion. This Persia and India were once seasoned with Christ's gospel, as may appear by the primitive church. And thus have you the parts of Asia described, which in times past being almost all christened, do now serve under the Turk.

AFRICA.

After the description of Asia, let us next consider the parts and countries of Africa. Where, although the greatest part either consisteth in deserts desolate, or is possessed by Prester John, who professeth Christ and his gospel; yet the Turk hath there also no little portion under his dominion, as these:

COUNTRIES.

Egypt.[2]	Africa Minor.	Mauritania
Regnum Tunece.	Cyrene.[3]	

CITIES.

Alexandria.	Charlago.	Hippo. Here Saint Augustine was bishop.
Memphis.	Aphordisum.	
Arsinæ.		

A description of the Countries and Cities in Europe, which were before christened, and now are subdued and subject to the Turk.

COUNTRIES.

Thracia.	Amphilochia.	Corinthia.
Samothracia.[4]	Ambracia.	Argia.
Græcia.[5]	Achaia.[7]	Laconia.
Macedonia.[6]	Attica.	Messenia.
Thessalia.	Bœotia.	Elis.
Epyrus.	Phocis.	Sicyona.
Chaonia.	Ætolia.	Arcadia.
Thresprotia.	Peloponnesus.	

(1) Ex Æne. Sylv. lib. De Orbis Descrip. cap. 74. Et Seb. Munst. lib. 5.
(2) Matt. ii. (3) Acts ii. (4) Ibid. xvi. (5) Ibid. xx. (6) Rom. xv. (7) Ibid.

Solyman.

CITIES.

Constantinople, or Byzantium.	Actium.	Messena.
Pera.	Torona.	Tegea.
Adrianopolis	Azelia.	Argos.
Trajanopolis	Acarnanon.	Lacedæmon, or Sparta.[9]
Caliopis.	Argos.[7]	Epidaurus.
Sestos.	Astacus.	Helice.
Apollonia.	Omphalium.	Lerna.
Thessalonica.[1]	Athenæ.	Leuctrum.
Philippi.[2]	Magaris.	Methone.
Demetrias.	Thebæ.	Mycenæ.
Neapolis.[3]	Delphos.	Megalipolis.
Amphipolis.[4]	Egris.	Nemæa.
Apollonia Mygdoniæ.[5]	Chalydon.	Nauplia.
Berhæa.[6]	Locris.	Olympia.
Ambracia.	Naupactus.	Sicyon.
	Corinthus.[8]	Ægyra.

Islands bordering about Greece,[10] won likewise by the Turk from the Christians.

ISLANDS.

Eubœa, or Nigropontus.	Cyclades.[14]	Ithaca.
Creta.[11]	Cephalenia.	Samos.[15]
Salmone.[12]	Zacynthus, or Zanthus.	Corcyra.
Clauda.[13]	Lemnos.	Corsica[16]

CITIES.

Chalcis.	Gerestus.	Phœnice.[19]
Charistus.	Pulchri Portus.[17]	Salamis.
Cerinthus.	Lasæa.[18]	Delos.[20]

After the Turk had subdued Thrace and Greece, proceeding further into Europe, he invaded other regions and cities, which also he added to his dominions; as,

COUNTRIES.

Mysia Superior.[21]	Istria.	Servia.
Mysia Inferior	Bosnia.	Rascia.
Dalmatia.[22]	Bulgaria.	Moldavia.
Corinthia.	Wallachia.	Hungaria.
Corvatia.	Transylvania, or Septem Castra.	Austria.
Croatia.		

CITIES.

Rhætiaria.	Scupi	Tirista.
Nessus.	Sigindunum, or Singet.	Axium, or Chilia.
Ulpianum.	Triballorum Œscus.	Labacus, Metropolis.

(1) Acts xvii. (2) Ibid. xvi. (3) Ibid. (4) Ibid. xvii. (5) Ibid. (6) Ibid.
(7) Argos, is a city in Amphilochia, and another also in Peloponnesus.
(8) Acts xvii. Of Corinth Strabo writeth, that more than a thousand virgins there in the temple of Venus, used yearly to be set out as common; and therefore not without cause Saint Paul writeth 'Eratis scortatores, idolatræ,' &c. 1 Cor. vi. (9) 2 Macc. v.
(10) The islands about Græcia; see above.
(11) Acts xvii. In Creta St. Paul ordained Titus to be bishop and overseer.
(12) Acts xxvii. (13) Ibid. (14) Fifty-three islands. (15) Acts xx.
(16) Corsica, is an island beyond Italy, which the Turk's navy joining with the French, did overcome, A.D. 1553.
(17) Acts xxvii. (18) Ibid. (19) Ibid. xvii. (20) 1 Macc. xv.
(21) The region of Mysia is divided into two parts; whereof the one is in Asia, and is divided into Mysia Major, and Mysia Minor. The other is in Europe, and is divided into Mysia (or Mœsia) Superior, and Mysia Inferior. (22) 1 Tim. iv.

CITIES. *Prophecy.*

Epidaurus,[1] or Ragusium.	Tergovistus, or Tervis.	Walpo.
Milea, or Meleda.	Huniad.[3]	Novigradum.
Senia, or Segna.	Hermenstat.	Varna.[5]
Enona, or Hona.	Cronestat.	Buda, or Ofen
Jadra, or Zara.	Saltzburg.	Alba regalis.
Sebenica.	Alba Julia, or Wessen-	Belgradum, or Taurinum.
Stridon, where St. Jerome	burge.	Strigonium.
was born.	Gyula.	Varadinum.
Quinque Ecclesiæ.	Samandria.	Neopolis, Major. et Minor
Jaitza, Metropolis of	Columbetz.[4]	Pestum.
Bulgaria.[2]		

As I was writing hereof, a certain sound of lamentable news was brought unto us, how the Turk, whom we had hoped before to have been repulsed by the emperor Maximilian out of Christendom, hath now of late, this present year 1566, got the town of Gyula about Transylvania, after they had sustained sixteen of his most forcible assaults, destroying in the same most cruelly many thousands of our Christian brethren, men, women, and children; but because we have no full certainty, we will refer the story thereof to further information.

THE PROPHECIES OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES CONSIDERED,

Touching the coming up, and final Ruin and Destruction, of this wicked Kingdom of the Turks,

WITH THE REVELATIONS AND FORESHOWINGS ALSO OF OTHER AUTHORS CONCERNING THE SAME.

Forasmuch as you have hitherto sufficiently heard, to what quantity and largeness the dominion of the Turks hath increased, and do understand what cruel tyranny these wretched miscreants have and do daily practise most heinously wheresoever they come, against the servants and professors of Christ; it shall not be unprofitable, but rather necessary, and to our great comfort, to consider and examine in the Scriptures, with what prophecies the Holy Spirit of the Lord hath premonished and forewarned us before, of these heavy persecutions to come upon his people by this horrible Antichrist. For as the government and constitution of times, and states of monarchies and policies, fall not to us by blind chance, but be administered and allotted unto us from above; so it is not to be supposed, that such a great alteration and mutation of kingdoms, such a terrible and general persecution of God's people almost through all Christendom, and such a terror of the whole earth as is now moved and engendered by these Turks, cometh without the knowledge, sufferance, and

(1) Epidaurus, is a city in Illyria, and also another in Peloponnesus. These regions were in former times called by the name of Illyria or Illyricum, and afterward, by reason of certain Scythians coming thither, they were also called Sclavonia. Stephanus, king of Bosnia, and afterward of Rascia and Mysia, was by subtle train allured to come and speak with Mahomet the Turk, who, being come, was taken and his skin flayed off.

(2) All this tract of Bulgaria, Wallachia, Transylvania, Servia, Rascia, and Moldavia, was wont to be called Dacia, but afterward was severed into divers lands and dominions. Bulgaria was won of Bajazet the Turk from the crown of Hungary, through the unprosperous war of Sigismund, at the field of Nicopolis, A.D. 1395. This Sigismund was the burner of John Huss, and the persecutor of his doctrine.

(3) Where Johannes Huniades was born.

(4) At Columbetz, Sigismund lost the field, fighting against the Turks.

(5) In Varna, a city in Rascia, Ladislaus, king of Hungary, fought with the Turk, and was overcome, A.D. 1444. Vide supra.

Prophecy. determination of the Lord before, for such ends and purposes as his divine wisdom doth best know. For the better evidence and testimony whereof, he hath left in his Scriptures sufficient instruction and declaration, whereby we may plainly see, to our great comfort, how these grievous afflictions and troubles of the church, though they be sharp and heavy unto us, yet they come not by chance or by man's working only, but even as the Lord himself hath appointed it, and doth permit the same.

Two things to be considered in the time and order of the Old Testament.

And first to begin with the time of the Old Testament, let us seriously advise and ponder, not only the scriptures and prophecies therein contained, but also let us consider the whole state, order, and regiment of that people; the church, I mean, of the Israelites. For although the scriptures and prophets of the Old Testament were properly sent to that people, and have their relation properly to things done, or that should be done in that commonwealth, of which prophets John Baptist was the last and made an end, as our Saviour himself witnesseth, saying, the law and prophets be unto the time of John, &c.; yet, notwithstanding, the said people of that Old Testament bear a lively image and resemblance of the universal church which should follow, planted by the Son of God through the whole earth. So that as the prophets of God, speaking to them from the mouth and word of God, prophesied what should come to pass in that people; so, likewise, the whole course and history of those Israelites exemplifieth and beareth a prophetical image to us, declaring what is to be looked for in the universal church of God dispersed through the world, planted in Christ Jesus his Son, according as Philip Melancthon, gravely gathering upon the same, testifieth in divers places in his commentary upon the prophet Daniel.

As first the history of godly Abel, slain by wicked Cain, what doth it import or prophesy, but the condition of the people and servants of God, who commonly go to wrack in this world, and are oppressed by the contrary part, which belongeth not to God?

The like may be said also of Isaac and Ishmael; of Jacob and Esau: of whom those two who were the children of promise, and belonged to the election of God, were persecuted in this world by the others who were rejected. Where, moreover, is to be noted concerning Ishmael, that of his stock, after the flesh, came the Saracens, whose sect the Turks do now profess and maintain. And as Ishmael had but twelve sons; so it were to be wished of God, that this Solyman who is the twelfth of the Turkish generation, may be the last. But of this, better occasion shall follow (the Lord willing) hereafter.

The twelve sons of Ishmael, and through his Ottoman Turks.

Furthermore, of the twelve tribes of Israel, the sacred history so reporteth,[1] that after they had a long season continued together by the space of eight or nine hundred years, at length, for their idolatry and transgression of their forefathers, ten tribes of them were cut off, and dispersed among the Gentiles a hundred and thirty years before the captivity of Babylon; so that but two tribes only remained free, and they also at last, after a hundred and thirty years, were captived under the Babylonians for a certain time. No otherwise hath it happened with the church of Christ almost in the universal world, of which church the greatest part, both in Asia, in Africa, and almost in

The old church of the Israelites and the public church of Christ.

(1) 2 Kings xvii.

Europe (where the holy apostles so laboured and travailed), we see now to be disparkled among the Turks, and their candlesticks removed: the Lord of his great grace reduce them again, Amen! So that of twelve parts of Christendom, which were once planted in Christ, scarce two parts remain clear, and they, how long they shall so continue, the Lord knoweth. And, albeit through the mercy of the Lord they escape the danger of the Turks, yet have they been so beaten by the pope, that they had been better almost to have been in the Turks' hands. *Prophecy.*

Again, after the said Israelites returned, being restored by Cyrus, let us consider well their story, the continuance of time, the manner of their regiments, and what afflictions they sustained in the time of the Maccabees; and we shall see a lively representation of these our days expressed in that prophetical people, according as St. Paul, writing of them, showeth how all things happened to them in figures,[1] that is, the actions and doings of that one nation, be as figures and types of greater matters, what shall happen in the latter times of the whole church universally in Christ collected.

So the transmigration and deliverance again of those two tribes, declareth to us the affliction of Christ's church for sin; and yet that God will not utterly reject his people for his Son's sake: as by manifold examples of the church hitherto may well appear. The church of the Jews a figure of Christ's.

Again, the continuance of the law first given by Moses, unto the destruction of the said people by Titus, amounteth to one thousand five hundred and sixty-four years; so we, counting the age of the New Testament, and reckoning from the day of our redemption unto this present, be come now to the year 1534, lacking but only three and thirty years of the full number.[2]

Likewise, in counting the years from their deliverance out of captivity to the end of their dissolution, we find five hundred and sixty-four years, during which years, as the church of the Jews was not governed under the authority of kings, but the high priests took all the power and authority to themselves; so we Christians, for the space especially of these latter five hundred and sixty-four years, what have we seen and felt, but only the jurisdiction and domination of the pope and high priests playing the 'Rex' in all countries, and ruling the whole? whereby, by the count of these years, it is to be thought the day of the Lord's coming not to be far off. Times of the old church, compared with the new. The high priests in the Jews' commonwealth, and our prelates compared.

Furthermore, in those latter years of the Jews' kingdom, what troubles and afflictions that people sustained three hundred years together, but chiefly the last hundred and sixty-six years before the coming of Christ, by Antiochus and his fellows, the history of the Maccabees can report; wherein we have also notoriously to understand the miserable vexations and persecutions of christian churches, in these latter ends of the world, by Antichrist; for, by Antiochus, Antichrist no doubt is figured and represented. This Antiochus surnamed Magnus, and Antiochus Epiphanes, his son, came of the stock of Seleuchus Nicanor; much like as Mahomet the Turk, and Solyman, came of the stock of Ottoman. Antiochus, a figure of Antichrist. His family. Family of the Turks.

Wherein this is to be noted and pondered, that, like as of the said Seleucus issued twelve Syrian kings one after another, of that gene-

(1) 1 Cor. x. (2) Ex Phil. Melanct. in Dan. cap. 9.

Prophecy. ration, who reigned over the Israelites with much severity and tyranny; so, of this devilish generation of Ottoman, have come twelve Turkish tyrants, whereof this Solyman is now the twelfth; God grant he may be the last! And as the two last Antiochi, being sons of the two brethren, did fight together for the kingdom, and in fighting were both slain, and shortly after the kingdom fell to the Romans; so the Lord grant, for Christ's sake, that the bloody brood of this old Solyman (who hath reigned now six and forty years) may so fight together, and perish in their own blood, that this bloody tyranny of theirs may come to a final end for ever. Amen.

And that the truth hereof may the better appear to such as be disposed to meditate more upon the matter, I thought good and profitable for the reader, to set before his eyes, in table-wise, the catalogue of both these Antichristian families, with the names and succession of the persons, first of the twelve Syrian kings, then of the twelve Ottomans, in like number and order.

A COMPARISON BETWEEN THE SYRIANS AND THE TURKS.

The Syrians.

		YEARS.
1.	Seleucus . . . . . reigned .	33
2.	Antiochus Soter	19
3.	Antiochus Theos, who killed Berenice his mother-in-law, and his young brother	15
4.	Seleucus Callinicus, with Antiochus Hierax his brother; which two brethren warred one against the other	20
5.	Antiochus Magnus	36
6.	Seleucus Philopater	12
7.	Antiochus Epiphanes, or rather Epimanes	
8.	Antiochus Eupater	
9.	Demetrius, brother of Epiphanes, who killed Eupater his cousin .	
10.	Demetrius Nicanor, whom Antiochus Sedetes, his brother, expulsed from his kingdom	
11.	Antiochus Sedetes. These two last being brethren had two sons . .	
12.	Antiochus Gripus, and Antiochus Ciricenus. These two, striving together for the kingdom, were both slain, and so, not long after, the kingdom of Syria came to the hands of Tygranes king of Armenia, and so being taken from him came to the Romans in the time of Pompey	

The Turks.

		YEARS.
1.	Ottoman . . . . . reigned .	28
2.	Orchan: he slew his two brethren	22
3.	Amurath: he put out the eyes of Sauces, his own son	23
4.	Bajazet: he slew Solyman, his brother	
5.	Calepine: the Greek stories make no mention of this Calepine. The Latin stories say that Calepine and Orchan were both one, and that he was slain by Mahomet his brother	6
6.	Orchan, whom Moses his uncle did slay	
7.	Mahomet the First: he slew Mustapha, his brother	14
8.	Amurath the Second: he slew Mustapha, his brother	34
9.	Mahomet the Second: he slew his two brethren, Turcine, an infant, and Calepine	37
10.	Bajazet the Second: he warred against his brother Demes, which Demes was afterwards poisoned by pope Alexander VI.	33
11.	Selim: he poisoned Bajazet his father, and his two brethren Acomates and Corcuthus, with all their children, his own cousins	7
12.	Solyman: he slew Mustapha, his own son, and was also the death of Gianger, his second son	46

These two pestilent families and generations, rising out, doubtless, from the bottomless pit, to plague the people of God, as in number of succession they do not much differ, so in manner of their doings and wicked abominations, they be as near agreeing, being both enemies alike to the people and church of Christ, both murderers and parricides of their own brethren and kindred, both blasphemers of God, and troublers of the whole world. Wherein we have all to learn and note, by the way, the terrible anger of Almighty God against the sin and wickedness of men. *Prophecy.*

Furthermore, whoso is disposed to consider and cast the course of times, and to mark how things be disposed by the marvellous operation of God's providence, shall find the times also of these two adversaries in much like sort to concur and agree. For, in considering with ourselves both the testaments and churches of God, the first of the Jews, the second of the Christians, look what time the Syrian kings had to rage then in Jerusalem, the same proportion of time hath now the tyranny of the Turks to murder the Christians; so that the one Antichrist may well represent and prefigure the other. For, as by the book of Maccabees may appear, Antiochus Epiphanes was about the hundred and ninety-first year before the Passion of our Saviour, and day of our redemption; so now casting the same number from this present year backward, we shall find it to be about the same year and time, when Bajazet, the fourth Turk after Ottoman, began to remove his imperial seat from Bursa in Bithynia to Adrianople in Europe, which is a city of Thrace; in which year and time began all the mischief in Europe, as is to be seen before, and this was A.D. 1375, unto which year, if we add 191, it maketh 1566, according to the prophecy of the Apocalypse, chap. xx., where it is prophesied of Gog and Magog, that they shall compass about the tents of the saints, and the well-beloved city, by which well-beloved city is meant, no doubt, Europe; and this was in the year abovesaid, 1375. Although touching the precise points of years and times, it is not for us greatly to be exquisite therein; but yet where diligence, and studious meditation may help to knowledge, I would not wish negligence to be a pretence to ignorance. And thus much for the times of Antiochus and his fellows. *The time of Antichrist examined.* *One Antichrist prefigures another.*

Now what cruelty this Antiochus exercised against the people of God, it is manifest in the history of the Maccabees;[1] where we read that this Antiochus, in the eighth year of his reign, in his second coming to Jerusalem, first gave forth in commandment, that all the Jews should relinquish the law of Moses, and worship the idol of Jupiter Olympus, which he set up in the temple of Jerusalem. The books of Moses and of the prophets he burned. He set garrisons of soldiers to ward the idol. In the city of Jerusalem he caused the feasts and revels of Bacchus to be kept, full of all filth and wickedness. Old men, women, and virgins, such as would not leave the law of Moses, with cruel torments he murdered. The mothers that would not circumcise their children, he slew. The children that were circumcised, he hanged up by the necks. The temple he spoiled and wasted. The altar of God, and the candlestick of gold, with the other ornaments and furniture of the temple, partly he cast out, *Furious cruelty of Antiochus against God's people.*

(1) Mac. lib. i. cap. 1.

Prophecy. partly he carried away. Contrary to the law of God, he caused them to offer and to eat swine's flesh. Great murder and slaughter he made of the people, causing them either to leave their law, or to lose their lives. Among whom, besides many others, with cruel torments, he put to death a godly mother with her seven sons, sending his cruel proclamations through all the land, that whosoever kept the observances of the sabbath, and other rites of the law, and refused to condescend to his abominations, should be executed: by reason whereof the city of Jerusalem was left void and desolate of all good men, but there were a great number who were contented to follow and obey his idolatrous proceedings, and to flatter with the king, and became enemies unto their brethren. Briefly, no kind of calamity, nor face of misery could be showed in any place, which was not there seen. Of the tyranny of this Antiochus it is historied at large in the book of Maccabees;[1] and Daniel, prophesying[2] before of the same, declareth that the people of the Jews deserved no less for their sins and transgressions.

Antiochus, a figure of the Turk.

By consent of all writers, this Antiochus beareth a figure of the great Antichrist, who was to follow in the latter end of the world, and is already come, and worketh what he can against us. Although, as St. John saith, there have been, and be many Antichrists, as parts and members of the body of Antichrist, who are forerunners, yet, to speak of the head and principal Antichrist, and great enemy of Christ's church, he is to come in the latter end of the world, at which time shall be such tribulation as never was seen before; whereby is meant, no doubt, the Turk, prefigured by this Antiochus.[3] By this Antichrist I do also mean all such as, following the same doctrine of the Turks, think to be saved by their works and demerits, and not by their faith only in the Son of God, of what title and profession else soever they be; especially if they use the like force and violence for the same, as he doth, &c.

Name of Antichrist, what it containeth.

Of the tyranny of this Antiochus aforesaid, and of the tribulations of the church in the latter times, both of the Jews' church, and also of the christian church to come, let us hear and consider the words of Daniel in the nineteenth, and also in his seventh chapter, prophesying of the same as followeth:

'He shall return, and fret against the holy covenant; so shall he do: he shall even return, and have intelligence with them that forsake the holy covenant. And arms shall stand on his part, and they shall pollute the sanctuary of strength, and shall take away the daily sacrifice, and they shall set up the abominable desolation. And such as wickedly break the covenant, shall flatter with him deceitfully; but the people that do know their God, shall prevail and prosper. And they that understand among the people, shall instruct many; yet they shall fall by sword and by flame, by captivity and by spoil, many days.

'Now when they shall fall, they shall be holpen with a little help, but many shall cleave unto them feignedly. And some of them of understanding shall fall to be tried, and to be purged, and to make them white, till the time be out: for there is a time appointed. And the king shall do what him listeth: he shall exalt himself, and magnify himself against all that is God, and shall speak marvellous things against the God of gods, and shall prosper till the wrath be accomplished; for the determination is made. Neither shall he regard the God of his fathers, nor the desires of women, nor care for any God; for he shall magnify himself above all. But in his place shall he honour the god Mauzzim,

(1) 1 Mac. i. (2) Dan. ix. (3) Ex Lyra in Gloss. Ordin. c. 1 Mac.

and the god whom his fathers knew not, shall he honour with gold, and with silver, and with precious stones and pleasant things. *Prophecy.*

'Thus shall he do in the holds of Mauzzim with a strange god, whom he shall acknowledge; he shall increase his glory, and shall cause them to rule over many, and shall divide the land for gain. And at the end of time shall the king of the south push at him, and the king of the north shall come against him like a whirlwind, with chariots and with horsemen, and with many ships, and he shall enter into the countries, and shall overflow and pass through. He shall enter also into the pleasant land, and many countries shall be overthrown; but these shall escape out of his hand, even Edom and Moab, and the chief of the children of Ammon. He shall stretch forth his hands also upon the countries, and the land of Egypt shall not escape; but he shall have power over the treasures of gold and of silver, and over all the precious things of Egypt, and of the Lybians, and of the black Moors where he shall pass. But the tidings out of the east and the north shall trouble him; therefore he shall go forth with great wrath, to destroy and root out many. And he shall plant the tabernacles of his palace between the seas, in the glorious and holy mountain; yet he shall come to his end, and none shall help him.'

To this place of Daniel above prefixed, might also be added the prophecy of the said Daniel written in the seventh chapter, and much tending to the like effect; where he, treating of his vision of four beasts (which signify the four monarchies), and speaking now of the fourth monarchy, hath these words:

'After this, I saw in the visions by night, and behold the fourth beast was grim and horrible, and marvellous strong. It had great iron teeth; it devoured and brake in pieces, and stamped the residue under its feet; and it was unlike the other beasts that were before it, for it had ten horns. As I considered the horns, behold, there came up among them another little horn, before whom there were three of the first horns plucked away. And behold, in this horn were eyes like the eyes of a man, and a mouth speaking presumptuous things, and it seemed more stout than the others. Which horn also, when I looked on, made battle with the saints, and prevailed against them; until the Old Aged came, and judgment was given to the saints of the Highest, and till the appointed time was come, that the saints should have the kingdom.'

Thus have ye heard the plain words of Daniel; in which as he doth manifestly describe the coming of Antiochus, the great adversary, toward the latter end of the Jews; so by the same Antiochus is figured also to us the great adversary of Christ, who is the Turk.

Although some there be, notwithstanding, who, with great learning and judgment, do apply this place of Daniel above recited, not to the Turk, but rather to the pope; and that for six or seven special causes herein touched and noted.[1]

The first is this: that the wicked transgressors of the covenant shall join with him deceitfully and hypocritically, who shall pollute the tabernacle of strength, and take away the perpetual sacrifice, and bring in the abomination of desolation.

The second note is, that the prophet declareth, how the learned among the people shall teach many, and that they shall fall upon the sword, into fire and captivity, and shall be banished, whereby they shall be tried, chosen, and made bright and pure, &c.; all which, say they, is not among the Turks to be seen, but only in the pope's church; where the faithful preachers and teachers of the people are slain and burned, and go to wrack, &c.: where, likewise, it followeth, that they shall be holpen against Antichrist, and that many false

(1) Vide Rodul. Gualt. de Antichristo.

Prophecy. brethren should join unto them dissemblingly, &c. To this they allege, that the Christians have no such help against the Turk, whereunto such false brethren should join themselves, as is and hath been commonly seen among the Christians against the pope, from time to time, almost in all countries; as in Germany, by the Protestants and free cities; in England, in king Henry's time, by the lord Cromwell, and afterwards by king Edward, and now by queen Elizabeth; in Scotland by the godly nobility; in France, by the queen of Navarre and her son; and also by the prince of Conde and the worthy admiral, and his two brethren, and many others; in Flanders by those whom the regent called beggars; so as was in the time of the Maccabees, against Antiochus.

Helps of the Christians against the pope.

Thirdly, that the king shall exalt himself above all that hath the name of God, and shall lift up his mouth to speak presumptuously against God.

Fourthly, that he careth not for the desires of women; which may seem to note how the pope's doctrine shall forbid the honest and lawful marriage in churchmen.

The fifth specialty which they apply to the pope, is that which followeth in the prophet, saying, "Neither shall he regard the God of his fathers, nor any god; but, instead of him, shall set up his god Mauzzim, and shall worship him with silver and gold, and precious stone," &c., which they do apply to the pope, setting up his god of bread, and worshipping him with glistering golden ornaments, and most solemn service.

Mauzzim the pope's god.

Sixthly, it followeth, "and he shall increase them with much glory and riches, and shall divide unto them lands and possessions," &c.; meaning that the pope, having dominion over treasures of gold and silver, and all precious things of the land, shall endue his cardinals, prelates, his flattering doctors, with friars, monks, and priests, and all such as shall take his part, with great privileges, liberties, revenues, and possessions. And thus, I say, some there be who apply this prophecy of the seventh and eleventh chapters of Daniel, unto the bishop of Rome; whom, although I take to be an extreme persecutor of Christ's church, yet I judge rather those two chapters of Daniel concerning the little horn in the middle of the ten horns, and the great destroyer of the pleasant land and glorious holy mountain, to mean first Antiochus, and by him, secondly, to mean the great Antichrist, the Turk; who hath now set already the tabernacles of his palace between the seas, according to the prophecies of Daniel, as is above said.

The seventh and eleventh chapters of Daniel, mean the great Antichrist, the Turk.

Over and besides these prophecies above alleged, may be added also the prophecy of Ezekiel [chap. xxxix.], speaking of Gog and Magog, which, as it may be applied to the oppression of the Jews under the heathen multitude which stopped the building of the city, and under the Syrian kings, &c.; yet in the same also are expressed the calamities and afflictions of Christ's church in these latter times, under the Saracens and the Turks, &c.

Proceeding further in this matter, let us come now to the prophecies of the New Testament, and mark the words of St. Paul, writing to the Thessalonians,[1] who then were christened, and now are either Turkish, or under the Turk, which words be these: "Be ye not

Prophecies of the New Testament.

(1) 2 Thess. ii.

suddenly moved in your mind, nor troubled, neither by spirit, nor by word, nor by letter as sent from us, as though the day of Christ were at hand. Let no man deceive you by any means, for the Lord will not come before there come a defection, or a departing first, and that wicked man be revealed, the son of perdition, which is an adversary, and is extolled above all power, and that which is called God; so that he shall sit in the temple of God, boasting himself to be God," &c. Although this defection and departing may have a double understanding, as well of the pope's sect (which is gone and departed from the free justification by faith only in Christ, through the promise of grace) as of the Turks; yet, leaving a while to speak of the pope, because it appeareth more notoriously in the Turk, we will chiefly apply it to him, in whom so aptly it doth agree, that unless this great defection from faith in so many churches had happened by the Turk, it had been hard to understand the apostle's mind, which now, by the history of these Turks, is easy and evident to be known, considering what a ruin hath happened to the church of Christ by these miserable Turks; what empires, nations, kingdoms, countries, towns, and cities, be removed from the name and profession of Christ; how many thousands and infinite multitudes of christian men and children, in Asia, in Africa, and in Europe, are carried away from Christ's church to Mahomet's religion, some to serve for the Turk's guard among the Janizaries, some for soldiers, some for miners, some for gunners, to fight and war against the Christians; so that the most part of all the churches, planted once by the apostles, are now degenerated into Turks, only a small handful of Christians reserved yet in these west parts of Europe, of which small residue what shall also become shortly, except Christ himself do help, Christ only himself doth know. How great this defection spoken of by St. Paul hath been, thou mayest see, gentle reader, in the table above described.

Prophecy.

Defection in time of Anti-christ, declared.

Notwithstanding this text of the holy apostle, as I said before, may be verified also with no less reason upon the bishop of Rome, than upon the Turk, both for that he is a man of sin, that is, his seat and city is a great maintainer of wickedness, and also for that he is an adversary, that is, contrary, in all his doings and proceedings, to Christ.

Thirdly, For that he sitteth in the temple of God, and so did not Mahomet.

Fourthly, Because he is an exalter of himself, and sitteth more like a god than a man in Rome, whereof see more in the book set forth in English, called, 'The Contestations of the Popes.'

Fifthly, For that he seduceth, and hath seduced, by his apostasy, the most part of all Christendom from the doctrine and free promises of God, into a wrong and strange way of salvation, which is, not to be justified freely before God only by our faith in Christ his well-beloved Son (unto which faith the promise of God freely and graciously hath annexed all our salvation only, and to no other thing), but hath taught us to work out our salvation by an infinite number of other things; insomuch that he bindeth the necessity of our salvation also to this, that we must believe, if we will be saved, and receive him to be the vicar of Christ on earth, &c.[1]

(1) Ex Bonifacis extravag.

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Prophecy. But to return again to the Turks, among all the prophecies both of the Old Testament and of the New, there is none that painteth out the Antichristian kingdom of the Turks better than doth the Revelation of St. John, whose words let us weigh and consider, who, in Apocalypse ix., where he speaketh of opening the seventh and last seal (which signifieth the last age of the world), and there, writing of the seven trumpets of the seven angels, at the sounding of the sixth angel saith:

'Loose the four angels which are bound in the great river Euphrates. And the four angels were loosed, which were ready both day, and hour, and month, and year, to slay the third part of men. And the number of horsemen were twenty thousand times ten thousand: and I heard the number of them. And thus I saw in a vision horses, and them that sat on them, having fiery habergeons, and of jacinth-stone, and of brimstone, and the heads of the horses were as the heads of lions, and out of their mouths went forth fire, and smoke, and brimstone: of these three plagues was the third part of men killed, that is, of the fire, smoke, and brimstone, which proceeded out of their mouth,' &c.

The seventh Seal expounded. By the seventh seal, is meant the seventh and last age of the world, which last age of the world is from Christ to the judgment and resurrection of the dead.

By the seven angels with their seven trumpets, is signified the seven plagues that come in this seventh and last age of the world.

The sixth trumpet. By the sixth trumpet of the sixth angel, is meant the sixth plague coming last and next before the plague of the great judgment day, which sixth plague is here described to come by the east kings, that is, by the Turks, as followeth to be seen.

Loosing of the angels upon the river Euphrates. By loosing the angels who had rule of the great river Euphrates, is signified the letting out of the east kings, that is, the Turks, out of Scythia, Tartary, Persia, and Arabia, by whom the third part of Christendom shall be destroyed, as we see it this day hath come to pass.

It followeth in the prophecy, "Their power shall be in their mouths, and in their tails. For their tails be like serpents, having heads, and with them they hurt," &c.; meaning that these Turks, with the words of their mouths, shall threaten great destruction of fire and sword to them that will not yield unto them; and in the end, when the Christians shall yield unto them, trusting to their promises, they, like serpents, shall deceive them in the end, and kill them; as appeareth by the story of the Turks above past.

The like prophecy also, after the like words and sense, is to be seen and read in Apocalypse xvi., where St. John, treating of seven cups filled with the wrath of the living God, given to the hands of seven angels by one of the four beasts (that is, in the time of one of the four monarchies, which was the monarchy of Rome), speaketh likewise of the sixth angel, who poured his vial of God's wrath upon the great river Euphrates, and the waters thereof dried up, that the way of the kings of the east should be prepared, &c.

The four beasts mean four monarchies.

By the sixth angel with the sixth vial, is meant, as before, the last plague save one, that shall come upon the Christians. By the kings of the east are meant the Saracens, and twelve Ottoman Turks. By drying up the river Euphrates, is signified the way of these Turks to be prepared by the Lord's appointment, to come out of the east to the

west parts of the world, to molest and afflict the Christians. It followeth more in the text: "And I saw three unclean spirits like frogs, come out of the mouth of the dragon, and out of the mouth of the beast, and out of the mouth of the false prophet, for they are the spirits of devils, doing wonders, to go unto the kings of the whole earth, to assemble and gather them together to the battle, against the day of the great God Omnipotent," &c. And it followeth shortly after, "And he assembled them together into a place which is called in Hebrew Armageddon, that is, a trap or train of destruction." And immediately it followeth in the same place, "And the seventh angel poured out his vial in the air, and a mighty voice came from heaven, out of the throne, saying, 'factum est,' it is done, or finished," &c.: whereby it is to be understood, that toward the last consummation of the world, great force shall be seen, and a mighty army of the enemies shall be collected and gathered against the people and saints of the highest, and then cometh the consummation, with 'factum est,' &c.

Prophecy.

Kings of the east, dry up Euphrates.

Wherefore it is not for nought that the Holy Spirit of God in the same place, a little before the sixth angel doth pour out his vial, doth exhort all the faithful, saying: "Behold, I come like a thief in the night; blessed is he that watcheth and keepeth his garments, lest he walk naked, and men see his filthiness," &c.

An exhortation of the Holy Ghost to the faithful.

Nicholas de Lyra, and Paul, bishop of Burdens, and Matthias Dorinke, writing upon Apocalypse xiii. and expounding the mystery of the second beast rising out of the earth, having the horns of a lamb, &c., do apply the same to Mahomet and the Turks, with a solemn declaration made upon the same. Which interpretation of theirs, although in some points it may seem to have some appearance of probability, neither can it be denied but that Mahomet and the Turk be pestilent and wicked enemies of Christ our Lord, and most bitter persecutors of his church; yet, as touching the proper and natural meaning of the apostle in that place, speaking of the false lamb, &c., if we consider well all the circumstances of that beast, and mark the consequence of the text, both of that which goeth before and followeth after, we must needs grant, that Nicholas de Lyra with his fellows, and with all such-like of the pope's school that follow that school, be deceived, and that the description and interpretation of that false horned lamb must necessarily be applied only to the bishop of Rome, and none other; which is to be proved by six principal causes or arguments:

The beast having horns like the lamb, means the pope.

The first is, for that this beast is described to bear the horns of a lamb; by which lamb, no doubt, is meant Christ. By the horns of the lamb is signified the outward show or resemblance of Christ our Saviour; which show or resemblance can have no relation to Mahomet, for that he taketh himself to be above Christ, and Christ, as an excellent prophet of God sitting at his feet. Wherefore seeing Mahomet cometh neither as equal to Christ, nor as vicar under Christ, this prophecy cannot agree in him, but only in him who openly, in plain words, protesteth, that all Christ's lambs and sheep not singularly, but universally through the whole world, are committed to him as vicar of Christ, and successor of Peter; and that all men must confess the same of necessity, or else they are none of Christ's

The first reason why.

Prophecy. sheep,[1] &c.: wherein it is easy to see where the pretensed horns of the lamb do grow.

The second reason. The second argument; "And he spake like the dragon," &c. A lamb's horns and the mouth of a dragon do not agree together. And as they do not agree together in nature, so neither can they be found in any one person, either Turk or other (if we will judge truly) so lively, as in the bishop of Rome. When thou hearest him call himself the apostolical bishop, the vicar of Christ, the successor of Peter, the servant of God's servants, &c.; thou seest in him the two horns of a lamb, and wouldst think him to be a lamb indeed, and such a one as would wash your feet for humility; but hear him speak, and you shall find him a dragon. See and read the epistle of pope Martin V., above-mentioned, charging, commanding, and threatening emperors, kings, dukes, princes, marquises, earls, barons, knights, rectors, consuls, proconsuls, with their shires, their counties, and the universities of their kingdoms; provinces, cities, towns, castles, villages, and other places. See the answer of pope Urban II., and his message to king William Rufus. Behold the works and doings of pope Innocent against king John.

The pope hath the horns of a lamb, but the mouth of a dragon. Note also the answer of another pope to the king of England, who, for the price of the king's head, would not grant unto him the investing of his bishops. Mark well the words and doings of pope Hildebrand against the emperor Henry IV.; also of pope Alexander II., treading upon the neck of Frederic Barbarossa, not like a lamb treading upon a dragon, but like a dragon treading upon a lamb; so that his own verse might be turned upon himself, "Tanquam aspis et basiliscus super oviculam ambulans, et tanquam leo et draco conculcans agnum." Consider moreover the behaviour, manner, condition, and property of almost all the popes who have been these six hundred years, and what dragon or serpent could be more viperous than their own doings and words can speak and give testimony against themselves.

Third reason. It followeth, moreover, in the same prophecy of the Apocalypse for the third argument, "And he doth all the power of the first beast presently before his face, and causeth the earth, and all the inhabitants therein, to honour the first beast, the stripe of whose deadly wound was cured," &c.

The two beasts in the xiiith chapter of the Apocalypse. In this prophecy two things are to be noted; first, what the first beast is, whose power the second beast doth execute. Secondly, what this second beast is, which so doth exercise its power in its sight. The first of these beasts described here in the Apocalypse, having seven heads and ten horns, must needs signify the city of Rome, which may easily be proved by two demonstrations. First, by the exposition of the same Apocalypse xvii., where is declared and described the said beast to stand on seven hills, and to contain ten kings, having the whole power of the dragon given; and also the same city to be named 'The whore of Babylon, drunken with the blood of the saints:' all which properties joined together, can agree in no wise but only to the heathen empire of Rome, which city, at that time of writing these prophecies, had the government of the whole world. The second demonstration or evidence may be deduced out of the number

Description of the city and monarchy of Rome.

(1) Ex Bonifac. VIII. Extra. de Majorit. et Obed.

of the months assigned to this beast [Apoc. xiii.], for so it is written, that this beast had power to make, that is, to work his malice against Christ's people, forty-two months, which months, counted by sabbaths of years (that is, every month for seven years), make up the just number of those years in which the primitive church was under the terrible persecutions of the heathen emperors of Rome, as is afore specified. *Prophecy.*

Which thing thus standing, proved and confessed, that the first beast must needs signify the empire and city of Rome; then must it necessarily follow that the second beast, with the lamb's horns, must signify the bishop and pope of the same city of Rome. The reason hereof is evident and apparent by that which followeth in the prophecy,[1] where it is declared, that the second beast, having two horns of a lamb, received and exercised all the power of the first beast, before or in the sight of the said beast, which cannot be verified either in the Turk or in any other, but only in the pope of Rome, who, as you see, receiveth, usurpeth, and deriveth to himself all the power of that city and monarchy of Rome; insomuch that he saith, that when Constantine or Ludovicus yielded unto him the rule and kingdom of that city, he gave him but his own, and that, which of right and duty belonged to him before. The beast with the two horns of the lamb. The pope having all the rule and power of Rome.

And this authority or power over all the empire of Rome, he worketh not in Asia, nor in Constantinople as the Turk doth, but in the sight of the beast which gave him the power; that is, in the city of Rome itself, which is the first beast here in this prophecy of the Apocalypse described.

Fourthly, It followeth moreover, "And he causeth the earth and all the inhabitants therein, to worship and honour the first beast,[2] which had a deadly wound, and was cured," &c. The interpretation of this part, as also of all the other parts of the same chapter, standeth upon the definition of the first beast: for, it being granted, as cannot be denied, that the first beast signifieth the city and empire of Rome, it must consequently follow, that the bishop (whom we call the pope) of the said city of Rome, must be understood by the second beast, forasmuch as neither Turk nor any other, but only the bishop of Rome, hath holden up the estimation and dignity of that city, which began to be in ruin and decay by the Vandals, Goths, Herulians, and Lombards, about A. D. 456; but afterwards by the bishop of Rome, the pristine state and honour of that city revived again, and flourished in as great veneration as ever it did before. And this it is which the Holy Ghost seemeth here to mean of the first beast, saying, "That he had a wound of the sword, and was cured;" for so it followeth. Fourth reason.

Fifthly, "And he caused all the inhabitants of the earth to make the image of the beast, which had the stripe of the sword and lived. And it was given to him to give life to the image of the beast, and to make the image thereof to speak, and to cause all them that worshipped not the image of the beast, to be killed; forcing all persons, both little and great, rich and poor, bond and free, to take the mark of the beast in their right hand, or in their foreheads, and that none might buy or sell, but they which had the mark, or the name of the beast, or the number of his name," &c. Fifth reason.

(1) Apoc. xiii. (2) Ἐνώπιον τοῦ θηρίου. Apoc. xiii.

Prophecy. By giving life to the image of the beast, and making it to speak, is to be presupposed that the beast was at a near point of death, and lay speechless before, insomuch that the city of Rome began to lose and change its name, and was called awhile Odacria, of Odacer, king of the Herulians, who, by dint of sword, surprised the Romans; and yet, notwithstanding, by means of this Roman prelate, the said city of Rome, which was then ready to give up the ghost, so recovered her majesty and strength again, that it is hard to say whether Rome did ever ruffle and rage in her tyranny before, in the time of Nero, Domitian, Dioclesian, and other emperors, more tragically than she hath done under the pope; or whether that Rome had all kings, queens, princes, dukes, lords, and all subjects more under obedience and subjection, when the emperors reigned, or now in the reign of the pope. And therefore it is said not without cause by the Holy Ghost, that it is given to him, "to give life and speech to the image of the beast, causing all them to be slain which will not worship the image of the beast,"[1] &c. As for example hereof, who seeth not what numbers and multitudes of christian men, women, and children in all countries have been put to fire and sword? Stories of all times will declare, what havoc hath been made of christian blood about the pre-eminence and majority of the see of Rome. What churches and countries, both Greek and Latin, have been excommunicated? what kings have been deposed, and emperors stripped from their imperial seat? and all because they would not stoop and bend to the image of the beast, that is, to the majesty and title of Rome, advanced up so highly now by the bishop thereof, as it was never higher before in the reign of Nero or Dioclesian. Wherefore, taking the first beast to signify the empire of Rome, which cannot be denied, it is plain that the second beast must necessarily be applied to the pope, and not to the Turk, forasmuch as the Turk seeketh nothing less than the advancement of that empire, but rather striveth against it to pluck it down.

Rome almost dead. Called Odacria.

Life in the image of the beast. The image of Rome speaketh again as cruelly as ever it did.

Sixth reason. Number of the name of the beast discussed, 666. The sixth and last argument is grounded upon the number of the name of the beast, expressed by the Holy Ghost in the same prophecy, by the letters χ, ξ, ς, in which letters, although there lieth great darkness and difficulty to be understood, yet certain ancient Fathers who were disciples and hearers of those who heard St. John himself, as Irenæus and others, do expound the said letters, conjecturally, to contain the name of the beast, and to be the name of a man under this word λατεῖνος:[2] whereas else, no other name lightly of any person, either in Greek or Latin, will agree to the same, save only the foresaid name λατεῖνος; although some later writers, giving their conjectures upon the same, do find the name of Lateranus, in Hebrew letters, to answer to the same number. Some feign other names, as, ἀντεμος or τεῖταν, made words, which signify nothing, as Diclux, or Luduuic, by Roman letters, &c. But of all names properly signifying any man, none cometh so near to the number of this mystery (if it go by order of letters) as doth the word λατεῖνος aforesaid. And thus much by the way and occasion of Nicholas de Lyra, Paulus Burgen, Matthias Dorinke, the author of Fortalilium Fidei, and other

Writers deceived in the xiiith chapter of the Apoc.

(1) 'Et faciet eos occidi qui non adoraverint imaginem bestiæ.' Apoc. xiii.
(2) λ α τ ε ῖ ν ο ς. The number of these letters in Greek, maketh the full number of 666.

commentators more, of the same faction; who, writing upon this xiiith chapter of the Apocalypse, and not considering the circumstances thereof, both are deceived themselves, and deceive many others, applying that to the Turk, which cannot otherwise be verified, but only upon the pope, as may appear sufficiently by the premises. Not that I write this of any mood or malice, either to the city of Rome, or to the person of the bishop, as being God's creature; but being occasioned here to treat of the prophecies against the Turks, I would wish the readers not to be deceived, but rightly to understand the simple Scriptures according as they lie, to the intent that the true meaning thereof, being bolted out, it may be better known what prophecies directly make against these Turks; what otherwise. *Prophecy.*

In the which prophecies against the Turks, now to proceed, let us come to Apocalypse xx., wherein the holy Scripture seemeth plainly and directly to notify the said Turks. The words of the prophecy be these: "And I saw an angel descending from heaven, having the key of the bottomless pit, and a great chain in his hand; and he took the dragon, the old serpent, which is the devil and Satanas, and bound him up for a thousand years, and cast him into the pit, and sealed him up, that he should not seduce the people any more, till the thousand years were expired: and, after that, he must be let loose for a little while," &c. And it followeth after, "And when the thousand years shall be complete, Satanas shall be let out of his dungeon, and shall go abroad to seduce the people, which are on the four corners of the land of Gog and Magog, to assemble them to battle; whose number is like to the sands of the sea. And they went up upon the latitude or breadth of the earth, and compassed about the tents of the saints, and the well-beloved cities," &c.

To the perfect understanding of this prophecy, three things are necessary to be known. First, what is meant by the binding up and loosing out of Satan as the old dragon. Secondly, at what time and year he was first chained up and sealed for a thousand years. Thirdly, at what year and time these thousand years did end, when he should be loosed out again for a little season. Which three points being well examined and marked, the prophecy may easily be understood directly to be meant of the Turk: albeit analogically, some part thereof may also be referred, not improperly, unto the pope, as is above notified. Three things to be noted in the binding and loosing out of Satan.

First, by binding and loosing of Satan seemeth to be meant, the ceasing and staying of the cruel and horrible persecution of the heathen emperors of Rome against the true Christians, as is to be seen in the ten first persecutions in the primitive church above described in the former part of these Acts and Monuments; in which most bloody persecutions Satan the devil then raged without all measure, till the time it pleased Almighty God to stop this old serpent, and to tie him shorter. And thus have you to understand what is meant by the binding up of Satan for a thousand years; whereby is signified, that the persecution against the Christians, stirred up by the beast (that is, in the empire of Rome, through the instigation of Satan), shall not always continue, but shall break up after a certain time, and shall cease for a thousand years, &c. What is meant by binding up of Satan.

Now at what time and year this persecution, that is, the fury and

Prophecy rage of Satan should cease, is also declared in the Apocalypse before; where, in the xith and xiiith chapters, we read, that the beast aforementioned shall have power to work his malice and mischief the space of forty-two months, and no more; and then that Satan should be locked up for a thousand years. The computation of which months, being counted by sabbaths of years (after the example of the sixty-nine weeks of Daniel, chapter xi.), it doth bring us to the just year and time, when that terrible persecution in the primitive church should end; and so it did. For, give to every month a sabbath of years, that is, reckon every month for seven years, and that maketh two hundred and ninety-four years, which was the full time between the 18th year of Tiberius (under whom Christ suffered) and the death of Maxentius, the last persecutor of the primitive church in Europe, subdued by Constantine, as may appear by calculating the years, months, and days between the said year of the reign of Tiberius, and the latter end of Maxentius: and so have you the supputation of the year and time when Satan was first bound up, after he had raged in the primitive church two and forty months; which months, as is said, being counted by sabbaths of years, after the usual manner of the Scripture, amount to two hundred and ninety-four years; and so much, was the full time between the passion of our Lord, which was in the 18th year of Tiberius, unto the last year of Maxentius.

Time of binding up Satan.

Forty-two months in the Apocalypse.

Supputation of years between the beginning and ceasing of the persecutions in the primitive church.

The pope the second beast mentioned.

And here, by the way, cometh a note to be observed, that forasmuch as by the number of these forty-two months specified in the Apocalypse, the empire of Rome must necessarily be confessed to be the first beast; therefore it must by like necessity follow, the bishop of Rome to be the second beast, with the two horns of the lamb, for that he only hath and doth cause the said empire of Rome to revive and to be magnified, and so doth not the Turk, but rather laboureth to the contrary. Wherefore, let every christian man be wise, and beware betimes how he taketh the mark of the beast, lest peradventure it follow upon him, that he drink of that terrible cup of wrath mentioned in the xivth chapter of the Apocalypse.[1]

Third part of the prophecy.

Thirdly, it remaineth to be discussed touching the third point in this aforesaid prophecy, that as we have found out (through the help of Christ) the year and time of Satan's binding, so we search out likewise the time and season of his loosing out, which by the testimony of Scripture, was proved to be a thousand years after his binding up; and so rightly, according to the time appointed, it came to pass. For if we number well by the Scripture the year of his binding up, which was from the passion of our Lord two hundred and ninety-four years, and add thereto a thousand years, it mounteth to one thousand two hundred and ninety-four; which was the very year when Ottoman, the first Turk, began his reign; which was the first spring and wellhead of all these woful calamities that the church of Christ hath felt, both in Asia, Africa, and Europe, almost these three hundred years past. For so we find in chronicles, that the kingdom of the Turks being first divided into four families, A. D. 1280, at length the family of Ottoman prevailed, and there-

Beginning of the Turk's progeny.

1) 'Et hic bibet de vino iræ Dei' Apo. xiv.

upon came these, whom we now call Turks; which was about the same time when pope Boniface VIII. was bishop of Rome. *Prophecy.*

Here by the way, this is again to be noted, that after the decree of transubstantiation was enacted in the council of Lateran by pope Innocent III., A.D. 1251, not long after, about A.D. 1260, were stirred up the power and arms of the Oguzians, and of Orthogule, father of Ottoman, who, about A.D. 1294, began first to vex the Christians about Pontus and Bithynia; and so beginning his kingdom, A.D. 1300, reigned twenty-eight years, as is afore-mentioned.[1] Time of transubstantiation, and of the Turks.

Mention was made before of Ezekiel prophesying against Gog, whose words divers expositors do apply against the Turk, and are these: Prophecy of Ezek. xxxviii.

'Thou shalt come from thy place out of the North parts, thou and much people with thee, all riding upon horses, a great and a mighty army; and thou shalt come up against my people of Israel as a cloud, to cover the land. Thou shalt be in the latter days, and I will bring thee upon my land, that the heathen may know me, when I shall be sanctified in thee, O Gog! before their eyes. Thus saith the Lord God, Art not thou he, of whom I have spoken in the old time by the hand of my servants the prophets of Israel, that prophesied in those days and years, that I would bring thee upon them? At the same time also when Gog shall come against the land of Israel, saith the Lord God, my wrath shall arise in mine anger; for in mine indignation, and in the fire of my wrath have I spoken it. Surely at that time there shall be a great shaking in the land of Israel, so that the fishes of the sea, the fowls of the heaven, the beasts of the field, and all that move and creep upon the earth, and all the men that are upon the earth shall tremble at my presence; the mountains shall be overthrown; the stars shall fall; and every man shall fall to the ground,' &c.

THE PROPHECIES OF METHODIUS, HILDEGARD, AND OTHERS, CONCERNING THE REIGN AND RUIN OF THE TURKS.

Unto these testimonies above excerpted out of the holy Scriptures, let us add also the prophetical revelations of Methodius, Hildegard, Sibylla, and others. This Methodius is thought of some to be the same Methodius of whom Jerome and Suidas make mention; who was bishop first of Olympus in Lycia, then of Tyre, and suffered martyrdom in the last persecution of the primitive church under Dioclesian; unto whom also Trithemius attributeth the book entitled 'De quatuor novissimis temporibus.' But that cannot be, forasmuch as the said Methodius doth cite and allege the master of sentences, namely, in his second book and sixth distinction, which master of sentences followed more than a thousand years after Christ; besides certain other fabulous matters contained in the same book. Albeit, because he speaketh there of many things concerning the state of the church under Antichrist, and the reformation of religion, as seemeth rightly to come to pass, and more is like to follow, I thought not to defraud the reader thereof, leaving the credit of the author to his arbitrement, to esteem and judge of him, as he seeth cause.[2] Among Methodius' prophesies. His book mistaken.

(1) Ex Leonico Chalcondyla, lib. i.

(2) The prophecies of Methodius have not been fulfilled; a specimen of the strange effusions of Hildegard will be seen in vol. ii. p. 353. Justin laid great stress upon the few remaining works of the Sibyllæ, and some of the Christians of the early church were so prejudiced in their favour that it gave occasion to Celsus to stigmatize them with the name of "Sibyllists." The christian reader may peruse these prophecies with curiosity, but he will return, with firmer confidence, to that

Prophecy. divers other places of Methodius, prophesying of the latter time, these words do follow:

His prophecies concerning the Turks.

'After the children of Ishmael had multiplied in their generations to an infinite and innumerable multitude in the desert aforesaid, they came out of the wilderness of Araby, and entered into the habitable land, and fought with the kings of the Gentiles, who were in the land of promise, and the land was filled with them. And after seventy weeks and a half of their power, wherewith they have subdued all the kingdoms of the Gentiles, their heart was exalted; seeing themselves so to have prevailed, and to have conquered all things,' &c.

And afterwards it followeth of the same matter in this sort:

'It shall come to pass that the said seed of Ishmael shall issue out and obtain the whole world, with the regions thereof, in the entering of peace, from the land of Egypt unto Ethiopia; and from the flood Euphrates unto India; and from the river Tigris to the entering of Nabaot, the kingdom of Jonithus, the son of Noah; and from the North unto Rome and Illyricum, Egypt and Thessalonica and Albania, and so forth to the sea Ponticum, which divideth the said kingdoms from Germany and France; and their yoke shall be double upon the necks of all nations and Gentiles; neither shall there be nation nor kingdom under heaven, which shall be able to stand against them in battle, until the number of eight weeks of years,'[1] &c.

The first state of time concerning the coming of the Saracens.

Briefly, as in a gross sum, this shall suffice to admonish the reader touching the meaning and method of the prophecies of Methodius, which Methodius, first describing the long and tedious afflictions of Christ's church, thus maketh mention of the seed of Ishmael:

'The seed of Ishmael, coming out of the parts and deserts of Araby, shall destroy,' saith he, 'and vanquish the whole earth, so that the Christians shall be given of God to the hands of the filthy barbarians, to be slain, polluted, and captived: Persia, Armenia, Cappadocia, Cilicia, Syria, Egypt, the east parts, Asia, Spain, all Greece, France, Germany, Agathonia, Sicily, the Romans also, shall be slain and put to flight; also the islands of the seas shall be brought to desolation and captivity, and put to the sword. Which tribulation of the Christians shall be without mercy or measure; the ransom of gold and silver and other exactions intolerable; but especially the dwellers in Egypt and Syria shall be most in the affliction of those times. And Jerusalem shall be filled with multitudes of people brought thither in captivity, from the four winds which are under heaven; so that beasts also, and fowls, and fish in the water, and the waters of the sea, shall be to them obedient. Cities and towns, which were before full of people, shall be laid waste. Women with child shall be smitten; their children sticked; infants taken from their mothers, and cast in the streets, and none shall bury them. The rulers and sage of the people shall be slain, and thrown out to the beasts. Churches shall be spoiled; the priests destroyed; virgins abused, and men compelled to sell their children; and the coming of them shall be chastisement without mercy; and with them shall go these four plagues, captivity, destruction, perdition, and desolation.'

Christians plagued by them.

He addeth much more, which for brevity I overpass. "And this affliction," saith he, "shall last eight weeks, or sabbaths of years;" which I take to signify eight hundred years, &c.

Secondly, After these terrible plagues thus described by Methodius upon the Christians, which he saith shall fall upon them for their

'more sure word of prophecy,' which came 'not by the will of man,' but in which 'holy men of old spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.'—Ed.

(1) Eight weeks of years, counting every week for a sabbath of years, that is, every day for a year, cometh to fifty-six years.

wicked abominations recited in the first and second chapters of St. Paul to the Romans; the said Methodius afterward, in this great distress of the Christians, being out of all hope and comfort of relief, declareth and speaketh of a certain king of the Greeks or Romans, who shall restore peace again to the Christians; in which peace they shall re-edify their cities and mansions again, the priests shall be delivered from their grievances, and men at that time shall rest from their tribulations; and then shall the king of the Romans dwell in the city of Jerusalem a week or sabbath, and a half of times, &c.

Prophecy.

Second state of the Christians, relieved of their plagues.

Thirdly, During the time of this peace the said Methodius saith, that men shall fall into licentious security, and careless life; and then, according to the words of the apostle, saying, "When they shall say, Peace, peace, sudden destruction shall fall upon them:"

Third alteration, by the coming of the Turks.

'Then,' saith he, 'shall be opened the gates of the North, and the beastly people shall break in, which king Alexander the Great did close up within two mountains, making his prayer unto the Lord God, that he would bind up that bestial and execrable people, lest with their filthy and detestable pollutions they should come out and pollute the Holy Land. Whose intercession being heard, the Lord commanded them to be inclosed within two mountains in the north parts, to the deepness of twelve cubits,' which signifieth, peradventure, twelve hundred years, 'so that neither by witchcraft, nor by any means, they could get out, or any might come unto them, until the time of the Lord appointed, which is,' saith he, 'the latter times; and then, according to the prophecy of Ezekiel, in the latter time of the consummation of the world, Gog and Magog, out from the North, shall come forth into the land of Israel, and shall work all this mischief against the Christians, above recited. And then,' saith Methodius, proceeding in his prophecies, 'shall the king of the Romans, after he hath reigned in Jerusalem a sabbath of times, and a half,[1] that is,' saith Methodius, 'ten years and a half, take the crown from his head,[2] and yield it up to the cross in Golgotha, where Christ was crucified, and shall die. And the cross with the crown shall be taken into heaven, which shall not appear again before the coming of the Lord.'

Fourthly, It followeth then, moreover, in the prophecies of Methodius, who declareth that when the week or sabbath and half week of times shall end, and when the king of Romans shall give up his crown in Jerusalem, and die:

'Then immediately shall Antichrist, the son of perdition, begin to appear, and be born in Jewry, of the tribe of Dan, whereof also came Judas Iscariot; and he shall be born,' saith Methodius, 'in Chorazin, and shall be bred in Bethsaida, and shall reign in Capernaum; to which three cities, Christ the Lord gave his third 'Væ.' And when great tribulation shall increase and multiply in the days of this Antichrist, and all lordship and dominion shall be destroyed, the Lord shall send his two faithful and dear servants, Enoch and Elias, to reprove and detect the false, seducing, and lying forgeries of this Antichrist, openly before all men; so that the people, seeing themselves falsely beguiled and seduced by this son of perdition, coming out of the temple dissemblingly, to the destruction of many, shall leave and flee from him, and join themselves to the said two holy prophets: which son of perdition and Antichrist, seeing his proceedings so to be reproved, and brought into contempt, in his fury and anger shall kill the two prophets of God. And then shall appear,' saith Methodius, 'the sign of the coming of the Son of Man; and he shall come in the clouds of heavenly glory, and shall destroy the enemy with the spirit of his mouth,' &c.

Destruction of Antichrist.

(1) The reign of christian kings in Jerusalem lasted eighty-eight years. A. D. 1187.
(2) By this resigning up the crown to the crucifix in Golgotha, is signified the ceasing of the Christians in Jerusalem till the coming of Christ. By this tribe of Dan, and the cities Chorazin, Bethsaida, and Capernaum, are signified God's great malediction upon Antichrist.

prophecy.

INTERPRETATION OF PROPHECY.

To these prophecies and testimonies of Methodius, what credit is to be given, I leave it to the reader. But if the meaning of his prophecies go by such order of times as is set and disposed in his book, he seemeth to describe unto us four principal states and alterations of times to come.

The coming of the Saracens.

The first state and alteration is by Mahomet and the Saracens, who be the offspring and sons of Ishmael, coming out of Araby, in the time of Heraclius, emperor of Constantinople, A.D. 630, who, rebelling against Heraclius, increased and prevailed still more and more against the Christians, both in Asia and Africa, and also in many places in Europe; especially in Spain and Italy.

The coming of the Turks.

The second state and alteration he prophesieth to come by the Turk, who, first coming out of the far parts of Scythia, that is, out of the north, first overcame the Saracens, subdued the Persians, and afterwards, joining together with the Saracens, conquered the kingdom of Jerusalem, about A.D. 1187; then subdued Syria and most part of Asia, &c. And these be they whom Methodius seemeth to mean, speaking of the vile and miserable people closed up of the Lord God, at the intercession of Alexander the great captain in the north, between two mountains the deepness of twelve cubits, lest that filthy corrupt nation should pollute the earth with their wickedness: whereby are meant these Turks, who coming out from the uttermost parts of the north, that is, out of Scythia, and the mountains of Caucasus, or else Imaus, were withholden and kept back of Almighty God, for Christ's cause, that they might not harm his church a long space, during the time of twelve hundred years: yea, and then the sins of the Christians so deserving, they were permitted of Almighty God to break out, and to invade the church; who, now joining together with the Saracens, have wrought, and daily do work, all these grievances against our christian brethren, as we see this day is come to pass: and more is like to follow, except the hand of the Lord, which let them out, do pluck them in again.

Scythia juxta Caucasum.

Moreover, in the same space, between the reign of the Saracens and the Turks, where Methodius speaketh of the king of Romans, who should restore quietness to the church, and should reign in Jerusalem a sabbath of times, and half a sabbath; thereby seemeth to be understood the voyage of christian princes out of the west parts of Europe, under Godfred, duke of Lotharing, and his two brethren, and many other christian princes, with three hundred thousand footmen, and one hundred thousand horsemen; who, fighting against the Saracens, recovered again from them the city of Jerusalem, A.D. 1099, which city before had been in their possession the term of four hundred and ninety years.[1] After which victory got, first Godfred, then Baldwin, his brother, and others after them, to the number of nine christian kings, reigned in Jerusalem the space of eighty-eight years; and after that, through the discord of the Christians not agreeing amongst themselves, both Jerusalem and Syria, with other parts of Asia besides, were subdued and won of the Turks, which yet to this day they still keep. And this was A.D. 1187.

The city of Jerusalem recovered by the Christians from the Saracens; possessed by them eighty-eight years; and won from them again by the Turks.

(1) Ex Paulo Jovio.

About which year and time (as followeth in Methodius), when the city of Jerusalem shall be won of the Turks, then shall Antichrist begin to be born of the tribe of Dan, of whom came Judas Iscariot, and shall be born in Chorazin, and bred in Bethsaida, and reign in Capernaum: meaning that this Antichrist, or son of perdition, shall be full of God's malediction, noted by Judas Iscariot, and these three cities, against whom was spoken thrice 'Væ,' of the Lord. *Prophecy. Coming and marks of Antichrist described.*

And here is moreover to be noted, that Methodius saith, not that Antichrist shall be born among the Saracens or Turks, but among the people of God, and of the tribe of Israel. Whereby is to be collected, that Antichrist shall not come of the Saracens, nor Turks, but shall spring up among the Christians, and, saith Methodius, "shall seem to come out of the temple, to deceive many," &c. Whereby the pope may seem, rather than the Saracen or the Turk, to be described, forasmuch as the pope, being elected, nourished, and reigning, in the midst of God's people at Rome, sitteth in the temple, and very place of Christ; and, no doubt, deceiveth many, &c.

And now, to come to the time assigned of Methodius, here is to be added also, that which we read in Antoninus, part 3, that about this said present time, a certain bishop of Florence preached that Antichrist was then coming: but the pope commanded him to keep silence, and to speak no more thereof. Now, why the pope so did, and why he could not abide the preaching of Antichrist, I refer it to those who list to muse more upon the matter. This is certain, that about this time here assigned by Methodius, came Peter the Lombard, Gratian, and pope Innocent III., the first authors and patrons of transubstantiation. At which time also began the first persecution by the church of Rome against the Albigenses or Waldenses, about Toulouse, Bourges, and Avignon, of whom seventeen thousand the same time were slain, by the pope's crossed soldiers, among whom friar Dominic was then the chiefest doer; about which time also was friar Francis, of which two came the two orders of begging friars: all which began much about one time together, A.D. 1215, which were nearly within twenty years after the kingdom of the Christians was taken of the Turks, according to the prophecy above-said.[1] *Transubstantiation. The first persecution. Dominic. Friar Francis.*

It followeth, moreover, in Methodius, "In his time, all lordship and domination shall cease and give over," &c.; the verity whereof we see now accomplished in the pope, for, where the pope with his double sword and triple crown doth come, there all secular power must give place; both emperors, kings, and princes must stoop. *The pope exalting himself above kings.*

So king John yielded up his crown to Pandulph, the pope's legate, and was in his hands five days, A.D. 1217. *Notes of Antichrist.*

Childeric, the French king, had his crown taken from him, and given to Pepin, A.D. 747.

Henry IV., emperor, was forced to submit himself and his sceptre to pope Hildebrand, A.D. 1077.

Frederic Barbarossa, emperor, in St. Mark's church in Venice, was fain to lay down his neck under pope Alexander's feet, A.D. 1277; which Frederic also before was fain to hold the stirrup to pope Adrian, &c.

What should I speak of the ambassador of Venice, named Fran-

(1) Ex Antonin. part iii. tit. 19, cap. 1.

Prophecy. ciscus Dandulus? who, being sent to pope Clement V., was made to lie under the pope's table like a dog, and gather up the crumbs; mentioned in Sabellicus Ænn. ix. lib. 7.

Henry III., being emperor, had his diadem first set on with the feet of the pope, and afterwards struck off from his head with the pope's foot again.

And what shall I speak more hereof, when Charlemagne submitted himself so low as to kiss the feet of pope Leo, A.D. 800?

It followeth then in the prophecy of Methodius:

'In the tribulation of those days shall be sent from God two special prophets, Enoch and Elias, to reprove and disclose the fraudulent falsehood of Antichrist; and many, seeing his delusion, shall forsake him, and follow them: whereat Antichrist being grieved, shall kill them,' &c.

We never read yet, in any story, of any such two prophets to be sent either to the Saracens, or to the Turks: whereas, against the pope, we read John Huss and Jerome of Prague, two learned martyrs and prophets of God, to have been sent, and to have reproved and described the anatomy of Antichrist; and, at last, to have been burned for their labour. And what prophet can speak more plainly, either Enoch or Elias, than did Jerome of Prague, prophesying of the coming of Martin Luther, a hundred years after him? when the pope and his fellows should answer to God and to him. The time we see came just. Now let the pope with his fellows see, what answer they can make. It followeth further in Methodius, concluding his prophecy:

Nearness of the Lord's judgment.

'And then shall appear the coming of the Son of man in the clouds of heaven, with celestial glory,' &c.

Wherefore after the burning of these two notable prophets, with many other thousands burned also since their time by the bishop of Rome, it is to be thought that the coming of Christ's judgment in the clouds, is not far off. "Veni cito Domine." Amen!

And thus much touching Methodius, of whose prophecies, how much or how little is to be esteemed, I leave it indifferent unto the reader. For me it shall suffice simply to have recited his words, as I find them in his book contained; noting this by the way, that of this book of Methodius, 'De novissimis temporibus,' neither Jerome in his catalogue, nor Suidas, nor yet Aventinus, in the place where he treateth purposely of such prophecies, maketh any mention. As touching Hildegard and Briget, and others, whom the French call Bardi, for their songs and prophetical verses, sufficient hath been alleged, before out of Aventinus:[2] who, in his third book of Chronicles, writing of the testimonies of Hildegard, Briget, and the Bardi, seemeth to ground upon them, that the Turks, whether we will or not, shall have their imperial seat at Cologne; and I pray God that it come not to pass, that the Turk do give some attempt against England by the seas, before that he come to Cologne by land.[3]

Prophecy of Hildegard and Briget.

A caveat to England.

Brevity causeth me to cut off many testimonies and revelations of these above said, or else I could here rehearse the prophetical words

(1) Vid. in primo Tom. operum Johan. Hus: de Anatomia.
(2) Aventin. lib. iii. Annalium.
(3) Ex Brigitta. lib. iv. c. 57.

of Briget, lib. iv. c. 57, concerning the city and church of Rome, of which she saith thus: *Prophecy.*

'It must be purged and scoured with three things, to wit, with sharp sword, with fire, and with the plough, and that God will do with that city, as one that removeth plants out of one place unto another: and, finally, that the city of Rome shall sustain the sentence, as if a judge should command the skin to be flayed off, the blood to be drawn from the flesh, and the flesh to be cut in small pieces, and the bones thereof to be broken; so that all the marrow may be squeezed from the same,' &c. Prophecies of Briget.

But for brevity I let Briget pass, and will declare something out of Erythrea Sibylla, in her book of prophecies found in St. George's church in Venice; where she, prophesying many things of the birth of Christ under Augustus, and of the birth of John Baptist, and of baptism, of the apostles, of the conversion of the Gentiles, and of Constantine, &c. hath these words:[1] Prophecies of Erythrea Sibylla, named Eriphila.

'After the peaceable bull shall conclude all the climes of the world under tribute, in those days a heavenly lamb shall come. And the days shall come, when the power of the flowing stream shall be magnified in water, and the lion, the monarch, shall be converted to the lamb, which shall shine to all men, and subvert kingdoms.'

Moreover saith Sibylla:

'In the latter age God shall be humbled, and the divine offspring shall be abased, and deity shall be joined with humanity, the lamb shall lie in hay, and God and man shall be bred up under a maiden's attendance: signs and wonders shall go before amongst the circumcised,' &c. Also, 'An aged woman shall conceive a child, having knowledge of things to come. The world shall marvel at Boötes 'the star,' which shall be a leader to his birth; he having thirty-two feet, and six thumbs, shall choose to himself out of fishers and abjects, the number of twelve, and one devil, not with sword, nor with battle,' &c. Prophecies of Sibylla of Christ.

Afterwards thus it followeth, moreover, in Sibylla, saying:

'The health of the lamb lying[2] shall be clothed with a few spoils of the lion. Black shall be turned into red. He shall subdue the city of Æneas, and kings, but in the book of the fisher: In dejection and poverty he shall conquer riches, and shall tread down pride with his own death. In the night he shall rise up, and be changed, he shall live and reign, and all these things shall be consummated, and regeneration or 'new things' be made: at last he shall judge both good and evil,' &c.

And thus much briefly collected out of Sibylla Erythrea, concerning Christ our Lord.

Furthermore, touching the state and course of the church, and of Antichrist, it followeth in the said Sibylla, saying:

'Then shall four winged beasts[3] rise up in testimony; they shall sound out with trumpets the name of the lamb, sowing righteousness, and the law irreprehensible; against which law the beast shall gainstand, and the abomination and froth of the dragon. But a marvellous star shall rise, having the image of the four beasts, and shall be in a marvellous multitude; it shall bring light to the Greeks, and shall illustrate the world. The lake of the fisher shall bring

(1) Ex Erythrea Sibylla in suo Nazilographo. i. Imperiali scripto.
(2) The lamb lying, that is, the church, without travail shall be maintained with some living or possessions of the chief rulers.
(3) By these four beasts is meant the four monarchies of the world, that is, the multitude of all the kingdom of the Gentiles, as in the Apocal By the city of Æneas is meant Rome.

Prophecy. the name of the lamb with power into the city of Æneas, unto the end of the world or time.' 'Then in the city of Æneas the star joined shall loose such as were bound of the devil, and thereof he shall rejoice and glory, and glorious shall be his end,' &c.

After this Sibylla writing, as it seemeth, of Antichrist, importeth these words:

Prophecy of Sibylla of Antichrist.

'And it shall come to pass, that an horrible beast shall come out of the east, whose roaring shall be heard to Africa, to the people of Carthage, which hath seven heads, and sceptres innumerable, feet six hundred and sixty-three.[1] He shall gainstand the lamb, to blaspheme his testament, increasing the waters of the dragon. The kings and princes of the world he shall burn in intolerable sweat, and they shall not diminish his feet. And then two stars, like to the first star, shall arise against the beast, and shall not prevail, till the abomination shall be come, and the will of the Lord shall be consummated.'

And again, speaking of the same matter, he inferreth these words of the aforesaid two stars above mentioned:

'And towards the latter days two bright stars shall arise,[2] raising up men lying dead in their sins, being like to the first star, having the face of the four beasts, which shall resist the beast, and the waters of the dragon, testifying [or preaching] the name and law of the lamb, the destruction of abomination and judgment, and shall diminish his waters; but they shall be weakened in the bread of affliction, and they shall rise again in stronger force,' &c.

And it followeth moreover:

'After the abomination, then shall truth be revealed, and the lamb shall be known, to whom regions and countries shall submit their necks, and all earthly men shall agree together in one, to come into one fold, and to be ruled under one discipline; and after this shall be but a small time,' &c.

And shortly after, the said Sibylla speaking of the latter judgment to come, declareth how all the abominations of sins shall come before the Lamb; and that terrible fire shall fall from heaven, which shall consume all earthly things created unto the top of heaven, &c.

And thus much out of Sibylla, touching her prophecies of Christ and Antichrist, according as I found them alleged by a certain catholic Romish writer, in his book entitled 'Onus Ecclesiæ,' excerpted, as he saith, out of the library of St. George, in the city of Venice.

Philip Melancthon, in his preface upon 'Bartholomæus Georgienitz Peregrinus,' writing of the origin and manners of the Turks, allegeth a certain prophecy of Hiltenus, mentioned hereafter, which foresaid that the Turks should bear rule in Italy and in Germany, A.D. 1600.

Now it remaineth, in conclusion of these prophecies of the Turks, something to say of the Turks' own prophecies, concerning the enduring and ending of their own kingdom, whose prophetical prognostication, being taken out of their own language, and their own books, I thought here to insert, as I find it alleged in the book of the aforesaid Bartholomæus Georgienitz, as followeth:

(1) The six hundred and sixty-three feet do mean the years of his reign.
(2) These two stars seem to mean Huss and Jerome, who being put to death by the pope, their doctrine rose again more strongly than before.

A Turkish Prophecy in the Persian Tongue, of the Reign and Ruin of the Turks.

Prophecy.

Patissahomoz ghelur, Ciaferum memleketi alur, keuzul almai alur, Kapzeiler iediy ladegh Gyaur keleci csikmasse, on ikiyladegh onlaron beghlig eder: eufi iapar, baghi diker bahesai baghlar, oglikezi olur, onichi yldensora Hristianon Keleci csichar, ol Turchi gerestine tus chure.

The same in Latin.

Imperator noster veniet, ethnici principis[1] regnum capiet, rubrum quoque pomum capiet, in suam potestatem rediget: quod si septimum usque annum Christianorum gladius non insurrexit, usque ad duodecimum annum eis dominabitur. Domos ædificabit, vineas plantabit, hortos sepibus muniet, liberos procreabit, et post duodecimum annum apparebit Christianorum gladius, qui Turcam quaqua versum in fugam aget.

The same in English.

Our emperor shall come; he shall get the kingdom of the Gentiles' prince; also he shall take the red apple, and shall bring it under his subjection: and if the sword of the Christians shall not rise unto the seventh year, he shall have dominion over them unto the twelfth year. He shall build houses, plant vineyards, shall hedge about his orchards, shall procreate children; and after the twelfth year shall appear the sword of the Christians, which shall put the Turk to flight every where.

Those who make declaration of this Turkish prophecy, do expound this twelfth year to signify the twelfth year after the winning of Constantinople; which Constantinople, say they, is meant by the red apple: and after that twelfth year, say they, shall rise the sword of the Christians, &c. And this prophecy, being written and translated out of the Persian tongue, with this exposition upon the same, is to be found in the book of Bartholomæus Georgienitz. Albeit, concerning the exposition thereof, it seemeth not to be true, which is there spoken of the twelfth year after the winning of Constantinople, being now one hundred years since the winning thereof.

Exposition of the Turk's prophecy.

Wherefore it may rather seem probable, that by the seventh and twelfth years of the Turks, this to be the meaning; that if the seventh of the Ottoman Turks do escape the sword of the Christians, they shall continue, build, and plant, &c., until the twelfth Turk, who is this Solyman; and then, after that, shall rise the Christian's sword, which shall put them to flight, and vanquish them in all quarters. And this exposition may seem to accord with the place of Genesis xxv.; wherein is written of Ishmael, that he had twelve sons, and no more: so, that this Solyman, being the twelfth Turk after Ottoman, may (by the grace of Christ) be the last; whom we heard credibly to be reported, at the printing hereof,[2] to be dead. But, howsoever this prophecy is to be taken, it appeareth by their own oracles, that at length they shall be overcome by the Christians.

Another exposition.

A Table describing the times and years of the Saracens, Turks, and Tartarians, for the better explaining of the Story above prefixed.

A. D. 632. The kingdom of the Saracens or Arabians, began after the death of Mahomet, the first ringleader of the mischief; which Saracens, reigning in

Saracens begin.

(1) By the prince of the Gentiles, the Turks do here mean the kingdoms and dominions of the Christians, whom they call Gentiles, because they are not circumcised after their manner.

(2) Solyman died in 1566. The Second Edition of the Acts and Monuments was printed in London in 1570, at which period the above report of Solyman's death arrived.—Ed.

Prophecy. Babylon over Persia and Asia, continued about one hundred and ninety-eight years.

A. D. 667. Jerusalem was taken by the Saracens. These Saracens, after they had subdued Ormisda king of Persia, set up to themselves a new kingdom, calling their chief prince Caliph, which signifieth a general lord; and under him Seriphes, that is an under prince; and again, under him their Soldan, who is a ruler or captain; under which soldans all the provinces were divided. And thus ruled they the space above said, of one hundred and ninety-eight years.

The Egyptian Saracens, or Sultans.

A. D. 703. The Egyptians being weary of their subjection under the Romans, called for help of the Saracen caliph; and so, casting off the Romans, submitted themselves to the law of the Saracens, and had also their caliph, and their Babylon called Cairo, where their caliphs continued unto Saraco or Syracinus, four hundred and forty-seven years.

The Saracens' kingdom ceaseth.

A. D. 810. Mauginet, or Muchumet, the chief sultan of Persia, being at variance with Imbraell, the sultan of Babylon, sent for the aid of the Turks out of Scythia; by whom when he had got the victory against the Babylonians, the said Turks shortly after conquered the Persians, and subdued their country within the space of twenty years.

A. D. 830. The Saracens, being expulsed out of Asia by the Turks, wandered about Africa, Spain, and Italy, and were in divers places dispersed, and so remain.

The Turk's kingdom beginneth.

A. D. 839. The Turks, after they had expulsed the Saracens out of Asia, began to reign in Asia, in Persia, and in Arabia; and there reigned without interruption till the coming of the Tartarians, the space of one hundred and ninety-two years.

A. D. 1009. The Turks won the city of Jerusalem from the Saracens; which city the sultan of Egypt won again from the Turks shortly after, and possessed the same till the coming of Godfred.

A. D. 1051. The first king of the Turks, called Zaduke, began to reign in Asia, and joined league with the caliph of Egypt, and there reigned till the conquest of Godfred and the Christians the space of forty-six years.

A. D. 1078. Solyman, nephew to Aspasalem, the Turkish king in Asia, otherwise called Tarquinia, subdued Cappadocia, which hath continued now, since, the space of five hundred years.

A. D. 1099. Godfred Bulion, duke of Lotharing, a christian prince, taking his viage into Asia with seven hundred thousand christian soldiers, first got the city of Nice against the sultan of the Turks; then Lycaonia, Silicia, Syria; afterwards Mesopotamia, and Comagena: then Antioch, A. D. 1098, and the next year recovered Jerusalem, being then in the hands of the Saracens, which they, a little before, had won from the Turks, as is aforesaid. After this Godfred, succeeded eight christian kings, who kept the kingdom of Jerusalem and Asia, both from the Turks and Saracens, the space of eighty-eight years.

A. D. 1100. The Georgians, who be a people of Armenia the greater, vanquished the Turks out of the kingdom of Persia, after they had cut their king in pieces: whereby the Turks, flying to Cappadocia, there remained under Solyman, and joined themselves to the soldan of Egypt, and waxed then strong in Asia Minor, called now Turquinia.

A. D. 1170. When Almeric, the seventh king of Jerusalem after Godfred had overcome the caliph, or sultan of Egypt, the sultan being overcome, called for the help of Saracon, the sultan of Syria. This Saracon, after he had expulsed the Christians out of Egypt, turned his power against the sultan of Egypt, and vanquishing him, took to himself the kingdom of Egypt: which kingdom he with his posterity did hold till the coming of the Tartarians and the Mamalukes about the space of eighty-eight years.

A. D. 1187. Saladine, the nephew of Saracon the sultan of Egypt, perceiving the dissension among the christian states of Palestine, got Antioch, where he slew Raymund the prince with his own hands: then he got Tiberias. From thence he went to Acre, where he took Guido king of Jerusalem, and the master of the Templars, prisoners; for whose ransom the Turk had Ascalon yielded up to him by the Christians. That done, he subdued Jerusalem, which had been in the hands of the Christians before, the space of eighty-eight years.

A. D. 1189. Frederic the emperor, Philip the French king, and Richard king of England, made their viage into Asia, where Frederic, washing in a river in Cilicia, died. In this viage, at the siege of Acre, Saladine won the field of our men, of whom two thousand were slain in the chase. Achre at length was got by the Christians. King Richard got Cyprus. The two kings fell at strife. Philip retired home without any good doing. King Richard laid siege to Jerusalem, but in vain, and so returning homeward, was taken near to Vienna in Austria, after he had taken truce before with the soldan, upon such condition as pleased him. And this good speed, had the pope's sending out against the Turks. *Prophecy.*

A. D. 1215. There was another council holden at Rome by pope Innocent III., where was enacted a new article of our faith, for transubstantiation of bread and wine, to be turned into the body and blood of our Saviour. In this council also great excitation was made by the pope, and great preparation was through all Christendom, to set forward for recovery of the Holy Land. A mighty army was collected of dukes, lords, knights, bishops, and prelates, that, if God's blessing had gone with them, they might have gone throughout all Asia and India. Transubstantiation.

A. D. 1219. The Christians after eighteen months' siege, got a certain town in Egypt, called Damietta, or Elipolis, with much ado, but not much to the purpose. For afterwards, as the christian army of the pope's sending went about to besiege the city of Cairo, or Babylon, the sultan, through his subtle train, so entrapped and inclosed them within the danger of the Nile, that they were constrained to render again the city of Damietta, with their prisoners, and all the furniture thereof as they found it, into the soldan's hand; and glad so with their lives to pass forward to Tyre. A. D. 1221.

In the mean time the Egyptian Turk caused the city of Jerusalem to be rased, that it should serve for no use to the Christians. What great thing else was done in that viage, it doth not greatly appear in stories. Albeit Frederic II., emperor, was not unfruitfully there occupied; and much more might have done, had it not been for the violence and persecution of the bishop of Rome against him; whereby he was enforced to take truce with the sultan for ten years, and so returned. After which things done, not many years after, at length the last city of all belonging to the Christians, which was Ptolomais, or Acre, was also taken from them by the sultan, so that now the Christians had not one foot left in all Asia.

A. D. 1230. Thus the Christians being driven out of Asia by the sultans and Turks, yet the said Turks and sultans did not long enjoy their victory. For eftsoons the Lord stirred up against them the Tartarians, who, breaking into Asia by the ports of Caspius, subdued divers parts of Asia, namely about Comana, Colchis, Iberia, Albania, &c. These Tartarians, as they had got many captives in their wars, so for gain they used to ship them over customably to Alexandria in Egypt, to be sold; which servants and captives Melechsala, the great sultan, was glad to buy, to serve him in his wars. Which captives and servants after they had continued a certain space in Egypt, and through their valiant service grew in favour and estimation with the said Melechsala, and began more to increase in number and strength; at length they slew him, and took to themselves the name and kingdom of the sultan. And thus ceased the stock of Saracon and Saladine aforementioned, which continued in Egypt about the space, as is said, of one hundred years. Tartarians. Saladine's stock in Egypt ceaseth.

A. D. 1240. After the death of Melechsala, the army of these aforesaid rascals and captives set up to themselves a king of their own company, whom they called Turquemenius: who, to fill up the number of their company, that it should not diminish, devised this order, to get or to buy christian men's children, taken young from their parents, and the mother's lap; whom they used so to bring up, as to make them to deny Christ, and to be circumcised, and instructed in Mahomet's law, and afterwards to be trained in the feats of war; and these were called Mamalukes: among whom this was their order, that none might be advanced to be king but out of their own number, or else chosen by them; neither that any should be made knights or horsemen, but only the children of Christians who should deny Christ before, called Mamalukes. Also it was among them provided, that to this dignity neither Saracens nor Jews should be admitted. Item, that the succession thereof should not Mamalukes in Egypt.

Prophecy. descend to the children and offspring of these Mamalukes. Also that the succession of the crown should not descend to the children of the aforesaid sultans, but should go by voice and election.

The Tartarians with Turquemenius their king, about this time obtained Turquia, that is, Asia Minor, from the Turks, and within two years after, prevailing against the Turks, expelled them from their kingdom; and so continued these Mamalukes reigning over Egypt, and a great part of Asia, till the time of Tomumbeius their last king, who was destroyed and hanged at the gates of Memphis, by Selim the Turk, father to this Solyman, as in his history is declared. These Mamalukes continued the space of two hundred and sixty years.

A. D. 1245. These Tartarians, ranging through the countries of the Georgians, and all Armenia, came as far as Iconium, which was then the imperial city of the Turks.

A. D. 1289. The soldan of Egypt and Babylon got from the Christians Tripolis, Tyre, Sidon, and Berithus in Syria.

A. D. 1291. Lastly, Ptolomais, which also is called Acre, was surprised by the said soldan, rased, and cast down to the ground, and all the Christians therein (who were not many left) were slain. And this was the last city which the Christians had in Asia; so that now the Christians have not one foot (as is said before) left in all Asia. Thus the Egyptian soldans, and the Tartarians, reigned and ranged over the most part of Asia above the Turks, till the reign of Ottoman the great Turk, about the space of eighty years.

And thus have ye the whole discourse of the Turkish story, with their names, countries, towns, dominions; also with their times, continuance, interruptions, and alterations, in order described, and in years distinguished: which, otherwise, in most authors and writers be so confused, that it is hard to know distinctly, what difference is between the Saracens, Turks, Tartarians, the Sultans or Soldans, Mamalukes, or Janizaries; what is their Caliph, their Seriphes, their Sultan, or Bassa; in what times they began, and how long, and in what order of years they reigned. All which, in this present Table, manifestly to thine eye may appear.

Why the pope cannot prevail against the Turks.

Wherein this thou hast moreover, gentle reader! to consider (which is worthy the noting), how the bishop of Rome all this season, from the first beginning of the Turk's reign, hath not ceased from time to time continually, calling upon christian princes and subjects to take the cross, and to war against the Turks; whereupon so many great viages have been made to the Holy Land, and so many battles fought against the Turk and Soldan for winning the holy cross; and yet no lucky success hath followed thereof hitherto, nor ever came it prosperously forward, whatsoever through the exciting of that bishop hath been attempted against that great enemy of the Lord: insomuch that the Christians have lost not only all that they had in Asia, but also are scarce able to defend that little they have in Europe against his violence. What the cause is of this hard luck of the bishop's doings, it is hard for man to define. Let men muse as their mind leadeth, and as the gospel saith, "He that hath eyes to see, let him see." This is certain, that as there hath lacked no care nor diligence in the bishop of Rome, to stir men up to that business; so on the princes' behalf, there hath lacked no courage nor strength of men, no contribution of expenses, no supportation of charges, no furniture or habiliment of war; only the blessing of God seemeth to have lacked! The reason and cause whereof I would it were as easy to be reformed, as it may be quickly construed. For what man, beholding the life of

us Christians, will greatly marvel, why the Lord goeth not with our army to fight against the Turks! And if my verdict might here have place, for me to add my censure, there appeareth to me another cause in this matter, yet greater than this aforesaid: which, to make plain and evident, in full discourse of words, leisure now doth not permit. Briefly to touch what I conceive, my opinion is this, that if the sincere doctrine of christian faith, delivered and left unto us in the word of God, had not been so corrupted in the church of Rome; or, if the bishop of Rome would yet reclaim his impure idolatry and profanations, and admit Christ the Lamb of God to stand alone, without our impure additions, to be our only justification, according to the free promise of God's grace; I nothing doubt, but the power of this faith, grounding only upon Christ the Son of God, had both framed our lives into a better disposition, and also soon would, or yet will, bring down the pride of that proud Holofernes. But otherwise, if the bishop of Rome will not gently give place to the mild voice of God's word, I think not contrary, but he shall be compelled at last to give place and room to the Turk, whether he will or not. And yet notwithstanding, when both the Turk and the pope shall do against it what they can, the truth and grace of God's testament shall fructify and increase by such means as the Lord shall work, which beginneth already (praise to the Lord) to come graciously and luckily forward, as in most places.

Prophecy.

God offended with idolatry and wrong faith of the Christians.

A Prayer against the Turks.

O eternal Lord God! Father of our Lord Jesus Christ; Creator and disposer of all things; just, gracious, and wise only; in the name and reverence of thy Son Jesus, we prostrate ourselves, desiring thine Omnipotent Majesty to look down upon these afflicted times of thy poor creatures and servants: relieve thy church, increase our faith, and confound our enemies: and as thou hast given thine only-begotten Son unto us, promising with him life to all that shall believe upon his name, so incline the obedience of our faith to thy promises in him, that our hearts may be far off from all other sinful additions and profane inventions, which are beside him, and not in him, grounded upon thy will and promise. And grant, we beseech thee, to thy church, more and more to see how terrible a thing it is, to set up any other means or help of salvation, but only in him whom thou only hast sent and sealed. Reform thy church with perfect doctrine and faithful teachers, that we, seeing our own weakness, may put off ourselves, and put on him, without whom we can do nothing. So shall we stand strong, when nothing standeth in us, but thy Son alone, in whom thou art only pleased. Renew in this thy church again the decayed faith of thy Son Jesus, which may plentifully bring forth in us, not leaves only, but fruits of christian life; and forgive our wretched idolatry, and blind fantasies past, wherewith we have provoked manifold ways thy deserved indignation against us. For our hearts have been full of idols, our temples full of images, our ways full of hypocrisy: thy sacraments profaned, and thy religion turned to superstition: because the lantern of thy word went not before us, therefore we have stumbled. Miserably we have walked hitherto, like sons, not of Sarah, but of Hagar, and therefore these Turkish Hagarenes have risen up against us. Many hard and strait ways we have passed, but the ways of the Lord we have not found. Much cost we have bestowed on bread that assuageth no hunger, but that bread which only feedeth and cometh freely we have not tasted. We have sailed far and near in barks of our own building, but have not kept within the ark only of thy promise; and therefore these floods have taken us. We have prayed much, but not in thine appointed temple; and therefore we have not been heard. We have ploughed and tilled, but without thy heifer; and therefore this untidy ground of ours bringeth forth so many weeds. We do fish

Gal. iv. 7.

Wisd. v. 6.

Psa. cxix. 105.

Isa. lv. 2.

Gen. vi. 4.

Jud. xiv 18.

Joh. xxi. 6.

Henry VII.

A. D. 1500 to 1506.

apace and that all night, but because we fish not on the right side of the boat, in our fishing we catch never a fin. Our buildings be full of good intentions and great devotions, but because the groundwork is not surely laid upon the rock of thy promise [Luke vi. 48], the east wind riseth and shaketh them all to shivers. We walk, and have walked along, after the precepts and doctrines of men having a show of wisdom, but not as holding the head [Colos. i. 19], where lieth all our strength; and therefore these Philistine Turks have hitherto so prevailed against us. Briefly, all the parts and bones of the body be shaken out of place. Wherefore, we beseech thee, O Lord, put to thy holy hand, and set them in the right joint again: and finally, reduce this same thy mystical body again to its perfect and natural head, which is thine only Son Jesus Christ, and none other: for him only hast thou anointed and appointed; neither is there any other head, that can minister strength and nutriment to this body, but he alone; forasmuch as all other heads be sinful, and are not able to stand in thy sight, but make this body rather worse than better. Only this thy well-beloved and perfect Son is he, in whom only dwelleth all our strength and fulness; him only we confess and acknowledge; for whom and with whom, we beseech thee, O Lord God of hosts, grant to thy church strength and victory against the malicious fury of these Turks, Saracens, Tartarians, against Gog and Magog, and all the malignant rabble of Antichrist, enemies to thy Son Jesus, our Lord and Saviour. Prevent their devices, overthrow their power, and dissolve their kingdom, that the kingdom of thy Son so long oppressed, may recover and flourish over all; and that they who wretchedly be fallen from thee, may happily be reduced again into the fold of thy salvation, through Jesus Christ, our only Mediator and most merciful Advocate. Amen.

In this long digression, wherein sufficiently hath been described the grievous and tedious persecution of the Saracens and Turks against the Christians, thou hast to understand, good reader! and behold, the image of a terrible Antichrist, evidently appearing both by his own doings, and also by the Scriptures, prophesied and declared to us before. Now, in comparing the Turk with the pope, if a question be asked, whether of them is the truer or greater Antichrist, it were easy to see and judge, that the Turk is the more open and manifest enemy against Christ and his church. But, if it be asked whether of them two hath been the more bloody and pernicious adversary to Christ and his members; or whether of them hath consumed and spilt more christian blood, he with sword, or this with fire and sword together, neither is it a light matter to discern, neither is it my part here to discuss, who do only write the history, and the acts of them both. Wherefore, after the story of the Turks thus finished, now to re-enter again there, where we left off, in describing the domestical troubles and persecutions here at home under the bishop of Rome; after the burning of Babram in Norfolk above declared.

Troubles in England.

I signified also of another certain aged man, mentioned in an old written chronicle borrowed of one in the Tower, entitled 'Polychronicon,' (although I find not his name in the said chronicle expressed,) who suffered the pains of burning in Smithfield, about the same time, which was A. D. 1500. This aged father, I suppose, is he of whom I find mention made in certain old papers and records of William Cary, citizen (albeit the day of the month doth a little differ), wherein is thus testified, that on the 20th day of July, A. D. 1500, upon the day of St. Margaret, there was an old man burned in Smithfield for a heretic; and the same person, on the 10th day, before he was burnt, would have stolen out of the Lollards' tower, and so falling out of the

tower, did foully hurt himself; whereupon he was carried in a cart to his death, as he went to his burning. *Henry VII.*

In the aforesaid papers of ancient record, is furthermore declared, how, in the year above prefixed, which was A.D. 1499, in the time of one Persevel, many were taken for heretics in Kent, and at Paul's cross they bear the faggots and were abjured; and shortly after, the same year, there went thirteen Lollards afore the procession in Paul's; and there were of them eight women and a young lad, and the lad's mother was one of the eight, and all the thirteen bear faggots on their necks afore the procession. A. D. 1500 to 1506. Divers Kentish men bearing faggots.

William Tylsworth, Martyr, burned at Amersham.

Forasmuch as the world is come now to such a morosity and peevish insensibility in these contentious and cavilling days of ours, that nothing can be so circumspectly written and storied, but shall lie in danger of one sycophant or another, who never will credit there, where they list not to like; neither will they ever like that which seemeth prejudicial to their faction, or not to serve the humour wherewith their fantasies be infected: therefore, to stop the mouths of such carping cavillers with as much possibility as I may, be it known to all and singular such persons, who, by evidence of truth and witness, will be satisfied, that in the town of Amersham be yet alive both men and women, who can and do bear witness of this that I shall declare. Also there is of the said company, one named William Page, an aged father and yet alive, witness to the same. Also another, named Agnes Wetherly, widow, being about the age of a hundred years, yet living and witness hereof; that in the days of king Henry VII. A.D. 1506, in Buckinghamshire, in the diocese of Lincoln (William Smith being bishop of the same diocese), one William Tylsworth was burned in Amersham, in a close called Stanley, about sixty years ago: at which time one Joan Clerk, being a married woman, who was the only daughter of the said William Tylsworth, and a faithful woman, was compelled with her own hands to set fire to her dear father; and at the same time her husband John Clerk did penance at her father's burning, and bare a faggot; as did also these: The daughter compelled to set fire to her father.

Robert Bartlet.	John Milsent, and his wife.	William Grinder.
Richard Bartlet.	William White.	Thomas Homes.
John Bartlet.	John Mumbe, and his wife.	Yomand Dorman.
Thomas Harding, and his wife.	Richard Bennet.	William Scrivener.
Henry Harding.	Roger Bennet.	John Scrivener.
Richard Harding.	John Fip.	Thomas Chase.
Robert Harding.		John Cracher.

All these bare faggots, and afterwards were compelled to wear certain badges, and went abroad to certain towns to do penance; as to Buckingham, Aylesbury, and other towns besides. And also divers of these men were afterwards burned in the cheek, as William Page, who at this present is alive, and likewise did bear a faggot with the aforesaid. Furthermore, the aforesaid Agnes Wetherly testifieth, that at the burning of this William Tylsworth, were sixty and above, that were put to bear faggots for their penance; of whom divers were Amersham men bearing faggots.

Henry VII. A.D. 1500 to 1506.

enjoined to bear and wear faggots, at Lincoln, the space of seven years' some at one time, some at another, &c. In which number was also one Robert Bartlet, a rich man, who, for his profession's sake, was put out of his farm and goods, and was condemned to be kept in the monastery of Ashridge, where he wore on his right sleeve a square piece of cloth, the space of seven years together.

It followeth, moreover, in the testimony of the aforenamed, that about the same time of the burning of William Tylsworth (as the Amersham men do say), or the next day after (as recordeth the aforesaid Agnes) was one father Roberts burned at Buckingham. He was a miller, and dwelled at Missenden; and at his burning there were above twenty persons, that were compelled to bear faggots, and to do such penance as the wicked Pharisees did compel them. After that, by the space of two or three years, were burned at Amersham, Thomas Barnard, a husbandman, and James Mordon, a labourer; they two were burned both at one fire, and there was William Littlepage, who is yet alive, compelled to be burned in the right cheek, and father Rogers, and father Rever, alias Reive, who after was burned. This father Rogers was in the bishop's prison fourteen weeks together, night and day, where he was so cruelly handled with cold, hunger, and irons, that after his coming out of the said prison, he was so lame in his back, that he could never go upright as long as he lived; as can testify divers honest men that be now living. Also there were thirty more burned in the right cheek, and who bare faggots at the same time. The cause was, that they would talk against superstition and idolatry, and were desirous to hear and read the holy Scriptures. The manner of their burning in the cheek was this: their necks were tied fast to a post or stay, with towels, and their hands holden fast that they might not stir; and so the iron, being hot, was put to their cheeks: and thus bear they the prints and marks of the Lord Jesus about them.

Father Roberts, martyr.

Father Reive, martyr.

Men of Amersham burnt in the cheek for God's word.

The cruel handling of Thomas Chase of Amersham,

WICKEDLY STRANGLED AND MARTYRED IN THE BISHOP'S PRISON AT WOBURN, UNDER WILLIAM SMITH, BISHOP OF LINCOLN.

Among these aforesaid, who were so cruelly persecuted for the gospel and word of Christ, one Thomas Chase of Amersham was one of them that was thus cruelly handled: which Thomas Chase by the report of such as did know him, was a man of a godly, sober, and honest behaviour (whose virtuous doings do yet remain in memory), and who could not abide idolatry and superstition, but many times would speak against it. Wherefore the ungodly and wicked did the more hate and despise him, and took him and brought him before the blind bishop, being at that time at Woburn, in the county of Buckingham, and, as it is written in Acts xii., that wicked Herod did vex certain of the congregation, and killed James the brother of John with the sword; and because he saw that it pleased the Jews, &c., he proceeded further, and had this same Thomas Chase before him, asking him many questions touching the Romish religion, with many taunts, checks, and rebukes; but what answer this godly man, Thomas

Chase brought before the bishop.

Chase, made them, it is unknown. Howbeit it is to be supposed that his answer was most zealous and godly in professing Christ's true religion and gospel, and to the extirpation of idolatry, and superstition, and hypocrisy, for the said Thomas Chase was commanded to be put in the bishop's prison, called 'Little Ease,' in the bishop's house at Woburn; which prison had not been ministered unto him, had not his answers been sound and upright. There Thomas Chase lay bound most painfully with chains, gyves, manacles, and irons, oftentimes sore pined with hunger, where the bishop's alms were daily brought unto him by his chaplains; which alms were nothing else but checks, taunts, rebukes and threatenings, floutings and mockings. All which cruelty the godly martyr took most quietly and patiently, remembering and having respect to Christ's promises [Matt. vii.]: "Blessed are they which suffer persecution for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven:" and as followeth: "Blessed are ye when men revile you and persecute you;" &c. When the bishop, with his band of shavelings, perceived that by their daily practices of cruelty they could not prevail against him, but rather that he was the more fervent and earnest in professing Christ's true religion, and that he did tolerate and bear most patiently all their wickedness and cruelty ministered unto him, they imagined how and which way they might put him to death, lest there should be a tumult or an uproar among the people. And as Richard Hun shortly after was hanged or strangled in Lollard's tower, about A. D. 1514, even so these blood-suppers most cruelly strangled and pressed to death this said Thomas Chase in prison, who most heartily called upon God to receive his spirit; as witnesseth a certain woman that kept him in prison.

Henry VII. A. D. 1500 to 1506.

Condemned to the bishop's prison called 'Little Ease.'

Worthy alms of a bishop.

Perfect patience and constancy of Chase.

Chase cruelly murdered in prison.

After these stinging vipers, being of the wicked brood of Antichrist, had thus most cruelly and impiously murdered this faithful Christian, they were at their wits' end, and could not tell what shift to make, to cloke their shameful murder withal: at last to blind the ignorant silly people, these bloody butchers most slanderously caused it by their ministers to be bruited abroad, that the aforesaid Thomas Chase had hanged himself in prison; which was a most shameful and abominable lie, for the prison was such, that a man could not stand upright, nor lie at ease, but stooping, as they do report that did know it. And besides that, this man had so many manacles and irons upon him, that he could not well move either hand or foot, as the women did declare that saw him dead; insomuch that they confessed that his blood-bulk was broken, by reason they had so vilely beaten him and bruised him. And yet these holy Catholics had not made an end of their wicked act in this both killing and slandering of this godly martyr; but, to put out the remembrance of him, they caused him to be buried in the wood called Norland Wood, in the highway betwixt Woburn and Little Marlow, to the intent he should not be taken up again to be seen: and thus commonly are innocent men laid up, by these clerkly clergymen. But He that is effectually true of himself hath promised, at one time or at another to clear his true servants, not with lies and fables, but by his own true word. "No secret," saith He, "is so close, but once shall be opened; neither is any thing so hid, that shall not at the last be

Falsely slandered to hang himself.

God bringeth to light the secret murders of the papists.

Henry VII. known clearly."[1] Such a sweet Lord is God always to those that are his true servants. Blessed be his holy name, therefore, for ever and ever, Amen!

A. D. 1500 to 1506. Thomas Harding being one of this company thus molested and troubled, as is aforesaid, in the town of Amersham, for the truth of the gospel, after his abjuration and penance done, was again sought for, and brought to the fire, in the days of king Henry VIII., and under Dr. Longland then bishop of Lincoln, succeeding after cardinal Wolsey; of whose death and martyrdom we shall likewise record (Christ willing and granting) in order, when we shall come to the time and year of his suffering.

Thomas Noris, martyr. After the martyrdom of these two, I read also of one Thomas Noris, who likewise, for the same cause, that is, for the profession of Christ's gospel, was condemned by the bishop, and burnt at Norwich, A.D.1507. the last day of March, A. D. 1507.

Elizabeth Sampson. In the next year following, which was A. D. 1508, in the consistory of London, was convented Elizabeth Sampson, of the parish of Aldermanbury, upon certain articles, and especially for speaking against pilgrimage and adoration of images; as the image of our lady at Wilsdon, at Staines, at Crome, at Walsingham, and the image of St. Saviour of Bermondsey; and against the sacrament of the altar, and for that she had spoken these or like words: That our lady of Wilsdon was but a burnt tailed elf, and a burnt tailed stock; and if she might have holpen men and women who go to her on pilgrimage, she would not have suffered her tail to have been burnt: and what should folk worship our lady of Wilsdon, or our lady of Crome; for the one is but a burnt tailed stock, and the other is but a puppet: and better it were for the people to give their alms at home to poor people, than to go on pilgrimage. Also she called the image of St. Saviour, 'Sim Saviour with kit lips;' and that she said she could make as good bread, as that which the priest occupied; and that it was not the body of Christ, but bread, for that Christ could not be both in heaven and in earth at one time. For these and certain other articles, she was compelled to abjure before Master William Horsey, chancellor, the day and year above written.[2]

Laurence Ghest, Martyr.

Lamentable it is to remember, and a thing almost infinite to comprehend, the names, times, and persons of all them that have been slain by the rigour of the pope's clergy, for the true maintaining of Christ's cause, and of his sacraments; whose memory being registered in the book of life, albeit it need not the commemoration of our stories, yet for the more confirmation of the church, I thought it not unprofitable, the suffering and martyrdom of them to be notified, who innocently have given their blood to be shed in Christ's quarrel.

Laurence Ghest two years in prison at Salisbury. In the catalogue of whom, next in order, cometh the memorial of Laurence Ghest, who was burned in Salisbury for matter of the sacrament, in the days of king Henry VII. He was of a comely and tall person, and otherwise (as appeareth) not unfriended; for which the bishop and the close were the more loath to burn him, but

(1) Matt. x.; Luke xii. (2) Ex Regist. Lond.

kept him in prison the space of two years. This Laurence had a wife and seven children. Wherefore they, thinking to expugn and persuade his mind by stirring of his fatherly affection toward his children, when the time came which they appointed for his burning, as he was at the stake, they brought before him his wife and his aforesaid seven children; at the sight whereof, although nature is commonly wont to work in others, yet in him, religion overcoming nature, made his constancy to remain unmovable; in such sort, as when his wife began to exhort and desire him to favour himself, he again desired her to be content, and not to be a block in his way, for he was in a good course, running toward the mark of his salvation: and so, fire being put to him, he finished his life, renouncing not only wife and children, but also himself, to follow Christ. As he was in burning, one of the bishop's men threw a firebrand at his face; whereat the brother of Laurence, standing by, ran at him with his dagger, and would have slain him, had he not been otherwise staid.

Henry VII. A. D. 1508.

Would not be turned for wife nor children, but died a martyr.

Testified and witnessed by the credible report of one William Russel, an aged man dwelling of late in Coleman-street, who was there present, the same time, at the burning of Laurence, and was also himself burned in the cheek, and one of the persecuted flock in those days, whose daughter is yet living. The same is confirmed also by the testimony of one Richard Webb, servant sometime to Master Latimer, who, sojourning in the house of the said William Russel, heard him many times declare the same.

Witness to the story.

A notable Story of a faithful Woman burned in Chipping-Sudbury.

But amongst all the examples of them, whereof so many have suffered from time to time for Christ and his truth, I cannot tell if ever were any martyrdom more notable and admirable, wherein the plain demonstration of God's mighty power and judgment hath at any time been more evident against the persecutors of his flock, than at the burning of a certain godly woman put to death in Chipping-Sudbury, about the same time, under the reign of king Henry VII.

The constancy of which blessed woman, as it is glorious for all true godly Christians to behold; so again the example of the bishop's chancellor, who cruelly condemned the innocent, may offer a terrible spectacle to the eyes of all papistical persecutors to consider, and to take example; which the living God grant they may. Amen. The name of the town where she was martyred, was, as is said, Chipping-Sudbury; the name of the woman is not as yet come to my knowledge; the name of the chancellor, who condemned her, was called doctor Whittington; the time of her burning was in the reign and time of king Henry VII., orderly therefore in this place and time, to be inserted. Wherein is to be noted moreover the opportunity of this present history brought to my hands, and that in such convenient season, as I was drawing toward the end of the aforesaid king's reign, so that it may appear to those who behold the opportunity of things, not to be without God's holy will and providence, that this aforesaid example should not lie hid and unremembered, but should come to light and knowledge; and that

Chancellor Whittington a persecutor.

Henry VII. in such order of placing, according as the due course of our story hitherto kept, requireth.

A. D. 1508. After this godly woman and manly martyr of Christ was condemned by the wretched chancellor above named, doctor Whittington, for the faithful profession of the truth, which the papists then called heresy, and the time being now come when she should be brought to the place and pains of her martyrdom, a great concourse of all the multitude, both in the town and country about (as the manner is at such times), was gathered to behold her end. Among whom was also the aforesaid doctor Whittington, the chancellor, there present to see the execution done. Thus this faithful woman, and true servant of God, constantly persisting in the testimony of the truth, committing her cause to the Lord, gave over her life to the fire, refusing no pains nor torments to keep her conscience clear and unreprovable in the day of the Lord. The sacrifice being ended, the people began to return homeward, coming from the burning of this blessed martyr. It happened in the mean time, that as the catholic executioners were busy in slaying this silly lamb at the town's side, a certain butcher was as busy within the town, slaying a bull; which bull he had fast bound in ropes, ready to knock him on the head. But the butcher (belike not so skilful in his art of killing beasts, as the papists be in murdering Christians), as he was lifting his axe to strike the bull, failed in his stroke, and smote a little too low, or else how he smote, I know not: this is certain, that the bull, although somewhat grieved at the stroke, but yet not stricken down, put his strength to the ropes, and brake loose from the butcher into the street, the very same time as the people were coming in great press from the burning. Who, seeing the bull coming towards them, and supposing him to be wild (as it was no other like), gave way for the beast, every man shifting for himself as well as he might. Thus the people giving back, and making a lane for the bull, he passed through the throng of them, touching neither man nor child, till he came where the chancellor was: against whom the bull, as pricked with a sudden vehemency, ran full butt with his horns; and taking him upon the paunch, gored him through and through; and so killed him immediately: carrying his guts, and trailing them with his horns, all the street over, to the great admiration and wonder of all them that saw it.

A faithful christian woman burned.

Comparison between butchers, and the pope's murdering ministers.

A rare and special example of the just punishment of God upon a persecutor slain by a bull.

Although the carnal sense of man be blind in considering the works of the Lord, imputing, many times, to blind chance the things which properly pertain to God's only praise and providence; yet in this so strange and so evident example, what man can be so dull or ignorant, which seeth not herein a plain miracle of God's mighty power and judgment, both in the punishing of this wretched chancellor, and also in admonishing all other like persecutors, by his example, to fear the Lord, and to abstain from the like cruelty?

Now, for the credit of this story, lest I be said upon mine own head to commit to story things rashly, which I cannot justify, therefore, to stop such cavilling mouths, I will discharge myself with authority, I trust, sufficient, that is, with the witness of him who both was a papist, and also present at the same time at the burning of the woman, whose name was Rowland Webb: which Rowland, dwelling then in Chipping-Sudbury, had a son named Richard Webb, servant

Witness to the story.

sometime to master Latimer, who also, enduring with him in time of his trouble six years together, was himself imprisoned and persecuted for the same cause: unto which Richard Webb, being now aged, then young, the aforesaid Rowland, his father, to the intent to exhort him from the sect of heresy (as he then called it), recited to him many times the burning of this woman, and withal added the story of the bull aforesaid, which he himself did see and testify. This Richard Webb is yet living, a witness of his own father's words and testimony, which I trust may satisfy all indifferent readers, except only such as think no truth to be believed, but that only which is in their portues. *Henry VII.* A. D. 1508.

Verses touching the same, by Thomas Hatcher.

" Mira legis, quicunque legis, portenta nefandi
Exitus, ut pœnas addita pœna luat.
Vera legis, Domini cuicunque potentia nota est,
Ut delinquentes ira severa premat.
Sæpe fit ut fusus cumuletur sanguine sanguis,
Sæpe fit ut pœnis obruat ira novis.
Omnia sunt Domini dextræ subjecta potenti,
Qui ciet arbritrio bruta, hominesque suo.
Carnificis taurus, luctando corniger ictus
Evitans, fracto fune repente fugit.
Forte viam qua turba frequens confluxerat ante,
Fœminea ut cernat membra perire rogo,
Taurus iit, fertur qua confertissima turba;
Læsus at ex tanta solus et unus erat.
Solus et unus erat, rapidos qui misit in ignes,
Et misere parvum sparsit ovile Dei.
Et quasi consulto ferretur, præterit omnes,
Cornibus hunc tollit, proterit hunc pedibus,
Ille jacet, madido fœdatur sanguine corpus,
Eruta perque vias viscera sparsa jacent,
Quis non a Domino, nutu qui temperat orbem,
Cogitet hæc fieri, non repetendo tremat?
Ultio terribiles comitatur justa procellas,
Sera licet, certis passibus illa venit."

And thus much concerning the state of the church; wherein is to be understood, what storms and persecutions have been raised up in all quarters against the flock and congregation of Christ, not only by the Turks, but also at home, within ourselves, by the bishop of Rome and his retinue. Where also is to be noted, in the days and reign of this king Henry VII., how mightily the working of God's gospel hath multiplied and increased, and what great numbers of men and women have suffered for the same with us in England, as by these stories above past may be apparent.

The state of the commonwealt commonly followeth the state of the church.

Now these things declared, which to the church matters be appertaining, consequently it remaineth something to treat of the state, likewise, of the commonwealth, which commonly doth follow the state of the church. Where the church is quietly and moderately governed, and the flock of Christ defended by godly princes in peace and safety, from devouring and violence of bloody wolves; the success of civil estate, for the most part, there doth flourish, and the princes long continue, through God's preservation, in prosperous rest and tran-

Henry VII. A.D. 1508.

quillity. Contrariwise, where either the church of Christ through the negligence of princes, or the poor members of Christ, through their setting on, be persecuted and devoured, shortly after ensueth some just recompense of the Lord upon those princes, that either their lives do not long continue, or else they find not that quiet in the commonwealth, which they look for. Examples hereof, as in all other ages be abundant, so in this present time be not lacking, whether we consider the state and condition of other countries far off, or else of our own country near at home.

Duty of princes to defend their subjects from the slaughter of the church of Rome.

And here, not to wander in our story farther than to France only, let us a little behold the example of king Charles VIII., who, living in this king's time, died also not long before him. This Charles is commended of Philip de Comines, to be a moderate, valiant, and victorious prince, adorned with many special virtues to a prince appertaining. And yet the same king, because he was slack and remiss in defence of Christ's church, neither did use his authority, nor did take his occasion offered to him of God, to amend and reform the estate of the bishop and clergy of Rome when he might, he was therefore himself punished and cut off of the Lord, as by his story ensuing may right well appear. For so it is of him recorded, that being marvellously excited and provoked, of his own mind (contrary to the counsel of most of his nobles) he took his journey into Italy, neither being furnished with money, nor the season of the year being convenient thereunto. And that this may appear the better to proceed of the Lord's doing, to the intent he would have the church and clergy of Rome reformed by the prince's sword, which so vexed all Christendom at that time, we shall hear what is testified in the Commentaries of the said Philip de Comines,[1] writing in this wise:

Prophecy of Hierome Savanarola.

'There was in the city of Florence, the same time, a Dominic friar, named Hieronymus Savanarola,' of whom mention was made before,[2] 'a man of a right godly and approved life; who in the said city of Florence preached and prophesied long before, that the French king should come with an army into Italy, being stirred up of God to suppress the tyrants of Italy, and none should withstand him. He should also come to the city of Pisa, and the state of Florence should be altered: all which happened true. He affirmed, moreover, to be signified to him of the Lord, that the ecclesiastical state of the church must be redressed 'per vim armorum,' i.e. 'by the sword or force of arms.' Many things also be prophesied of the Venetians, and of the French king, saying, that the king with some danger and difficulty should pass that journey, yet notwithstanding should overcome it and escape, albeit his strength were never so slender; for God would safely conduct him in that journey, and safely bring him home again. But because he had not done his office, in amending the state of the church, and in defending his people from injury, and from devouring, therefore it should come to pass,' saith he, 'and that shortly, that some incommodity or detriment should happen to the king: or if he should escape that danger of his sickness and recover health, then if he did resist the cruelty of the wicked, and procure the safety of the poor and miserable, God would show mercy unto him,' &c.

And this the said Hierome declared before to Philip de Comines, one of the king's counsellors, who was the writer of the story, and required him to signify the same unto the king; who so did, and he, moreover, himself coming to the presence of the king, declared no less.

(1) Ex Commentariis Phil. Cominæi. De Bello Neapolitano, lib. iii.
(2) See vol. iv. page 8.—Ed.

All which things as he had foretold, came directly to effect. For the king, being but easily accompanied, with a small power entered into Italy; where first he came to Austi, then to Genoa, and to Pisa, from thence proceeded to Florence, which also he obtained, displacing there Peter de Medici the duke, who had used great tyranny upon the subjects. From thence he removed toward Rome, where a great part of the city wall, at the coming of the French king, fell down. *Henry VII.* A. D. 1508.

Afterward, when the king was entered into the city, and the pope (who then took part with Alphonsus king of Naples against the French king) had immured himself within the Mount of Adrian, the wall of the castle fell down of itself; whereby when the king was both occasioned, and exhorted also by his captains, to invade the pope, and to depose him, and to reform the church of Rome (which he might then easily have done, as it had pleased him); yet all these occasions, offered so opportunely of God, moved not the king to do his duty, and to help the poor church of Christ: wherefore shortly after, returning home into France from Naples, either the same year, or the next year following, he was stricken with a sudden sickness at Amboise, as he was looking on them that played at tennis, and that in the stinkingest place in all the castle, where he fell down and died within twelve hours, according to the forewarning of Hierome, who wrote unto him a little before, both of his son's death, and of his own, which was about A.D. 1498.[1]

Like examples we have many here also in this our realm of England. So long as king John kept out of the realm the pope's authority and power, he continued safe and quiet with his nobles: but as soon as he brought the realm under tribute and subjection to that foreign bishop, God stirred up his nobles against him, whereby he had much disquiet and trouble, and soon thereupon decayed.

Kings of England, who were blessed of God with long prosperity, being enemies to the bishops of Rome

Of all the kings of England from William the Conqueror to this king Henry VII., were none who either longer continued, or more prosperously flourished, than king Henry II., king Henry III., king Edward I., and king Edward III.; of whom the first, how stout he was in withstanding Thomas Becket and pope Alexander III., is sufficiently before comprehended.

The second, who was son of king John, albeit through the wretchedness of that time his power was not sufficient to repulse the pope's usurped jurisdiction out of the realm, yet his will was good: at least he so defended and provided for his subjects, that they took no great wrong at the pope's hands; who reigned one year longer than Augustus Cæsar,[2] which hath not commonly been seen in any prince.

The third, who was king Edward I., so vigilantly behaved himself for the public commodity and safety of his people, that he defended them from all foreign power and hostility both of the Scots (then our enemies, now our friends), and also from the bishop of Rome, taking part with them against us, as may appear above.[3] Furthermore of the same king, and of his worthy nobles and house of parliament, how valiantly they stood in denial of the pope's subsidies, and also how the said king secluded out of his protection the bishops, and

(1) Ex Philip. Cominæo. De bello Neapolitano, lib. v.
(2) Augustus reigned fifty-nine years. (3) See vol. ii. p. 579.—Ed.

Henry VII. especially the archbishop Peckham, for standing with the pope, read before.[1]

A. D. 1509. Now as touching king Edward III., how little he regarded, how princely he with his nobles likewise resisted, the pope's reservations and provisions, how he bridled the archbishop John Stratford, and rejected the vain authority of the bishop of Rome, both in defence of his subjects, and also in defence of claiming his right title in the realm of France, read before.[2]

Not that I do here affirm or define, as in a general rule, that worldly success and prosperity of life always follow the godly, which we see rather to be given more often to the wicked sort; but, speaking of the duty of princes, I note and observe by examples of histories, that such princes as have most defended the church of Christ committed to their governance, from injury and violence of the bishop of Rome, have not lacked at God's hand great blessing and felicity: whereas contrariwise, they who either themselves have been persecutors of Christ's members, or have not shielded them by their protection from foreign tyranny and injuries, have lacked at God's hand that protection, which the others had, as may appear by king Edward II., Richard III., king Henry IV., king Henry V., king Henry VI., &c., who, because either negligently they have suffered, or cruelly caused, such persecuting laws to be made, and so much christian blood injuriously to be devoured; therefore have they been the less prospered of the Lord, so that either they were deposed, or, if they flourished for a while, yet they did not long continue, almost not half the time of the other kings before named.

Difference between moderate princes, and those that were persecutors.

And therefore, as the state of the commonwealth doth commonly follow the state of the church, as ye heard before; so it had been to be wished, that this king Henry VII., being otherwise a prudent and temperate prince, had not permitted the intemperate rage of the pope's clergy so much to have their wills over the poor flock of Christ, as then they had; according as by these persecutions above mentioned may appear. Which king Henry VII., albeit he had a sufficient continuance, who had now reigned twenty-four years, yet notwithstanding here cometh the same thing to be noted whereof I spake before, that when the church of Christ beginneth to be injured with violence, and to go to wrack through misorder and negligence, the state of the commonwealth cannot there long endure without some alteration, and stroke of God's correction. But, howsoever this mark is to be taken, thus lieth the story: that after the burning and vexing of these poor servants of Christ above recited, when the persecution began now to be hot in the church, God called away the king, the same year above mentioned, which was 1509, after he had reigned the term of twenty-four years; who, if he had adjoined a little more pitiful respect, in protecting Christ's poor members from the fire of the pope's tyranny, to his other great virtues of singular wisdom, excellent temperance, and moderate frugality; so much had he been comparable with the best of those princes above comprehended, as he had been inferior but to a few: but this defect, which lacked in him, was supplied most luckily (blessed be the Lord!) by his posterity succeeding after him; of whom in the next volumes

Death of king Henry VII.

(1) See vol. ii. p. 609.—Ed. (2) See vol. ii. p. 638.—Ed.

following (Christ thereunto assisting us), we have to specify more at large. *Henry VII.* A. D. 1509.

Among many other things incident in the reign of this king Henry VII., I have overpassed the history of certain godly persons persecuted in the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield, as we find them in the registers of the diocese recorded; here following. Countrymen persecuted.

In the year of our Lord 1485, March 9th, amongst divers and sundry other good men in Coventry, these nine hereunder named, were examined before John, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, in St. Michael's church, upon these articles following in order:

John Blomstone, and eight others persecuted at Coventry.

First, John Blomstone was openly and publicly infamed, accused, reported, and appeached as follows:

That he was a very heretic, because he had preached, taught, holden, and affirmed, that the power attributed to St. Peter in the church of God, by our Saviour Jesus Christ immediately, did not flit or pass from him, to remain with his successors. The power of Peter flitteth not to his successors.

Item, That there was as much virtue in a herb, as in the image of the Virgin Mary.

Item, That prayer and alms avail not the dead; for incontinent after death, he goeth either to heaven or hell: whereupon he concludeth there is no purgatory. Purgatory denied.

Item, That it was foolishness to go on pilgrimage to the image of our Lady of Doncaster, Walsingham, or of the Tower of the city of Coventry: for a man might as well worship the blessed Virgin by the fire-side in the kitchen, as in the aforesaid places, and as well might a man worship the blessed Virgin, when he seeth his mother or sister, as in visiting the images; because they be no more but dead stocks and stones. Images not to be worshipped.

Item, That he said in English, with a frowning countenance, as it appeared: 'A vengeance on all such horson priests, for they have great envy that a poor man should get his living among them.'

Richard Hegham of the same city was accused, as under:

That he was a very heretic, because he did hold that a christian man being at the point of death, should renounce all his own works good and ill, and submit him to the mercy of God. Merits condemned.

Item, That it was fondness to worship the images of our Lady of the Tower, in the aforesaid city, or of other saints; for they are but stocks and stones.

Item, That if the image of our Lady of the Tower were put into the fire, it would make a good fire. Against images.

Item, That it were better to deal money unto poor folks, than to offer to the image of Christ and other saints, which are but dead stocks and stones.

Robert Crowther of the same city was accused as follows:

That he was a heretic, because he did hold, that whoso receiveth the sacrament of the altar in deadly sin, or out of charity, receiveth nothing but bread and wine.

Item, That neither bishop, nor priests, nor curates of churches, have power in the market of penance to bind and loose.

Item, That pilgrimage to the image of our Lady of the Tower is foolishness: for it is but a stock or a stone. Pilgrimage.

Henry VII.

John Smith was accused, as under:

A.D. 1509.

That he was a very heretic, because he did hold, that every man is bound to know the Lord's Prayer, and the Creed in English, if he might; for all these false priests.

Item, That whoso believed as the church then did believe, believed ill: and that a man had need to frequent the schools a good while, ere that he can attain to the knowledge of the true and right faith.

Item, That no priest hath power to assoil a man, in the market of penance, from his sins.

Roger Brown of the same city, was also accused as follows:

Against pilgrimage.

That he was a heretic, because he did hold that no man ought to worship the image of our Lady of Walsingham, nor the blood of Christ at Hales, but rather God Almighty, who would give him whatsoever he would ask.

Item, That he held not up his hands, nor looked up, at the elevation of the eucharist.

Item, That he promised one to show him certain books of heresy, if he would swear that he would not utter them, and if he would credit them.

Flesh in Lent.

Item, That he did eat flesh in Lent, and was taken with the manner.

Against purgatory and confession auricular.

Item, If any man were not shriven in his whole life long, and at the point of death would be confessed, and could not, if he had no more but contrition only, he should pass to joy without purgatory: and if he were confessed of any sin, and were enjoined only to say for penance one Pater-Noster, if he thought he should have any punishment in purgatory for that sin, he would never be confessed for any sin.

Item, Because he said all is lost that is given to priests.

Item, That there was no purgatory, that God would pardon all sins without confession and satisfaction.

Thomas Butler of the same city was likewise openly accused to this effect:

That he was a very heretic, because he did hold that there were but two ways, that is to say, to heaven and to hell.

Item, That no faithful man should abide any pain after the death of Christ, for any sin, because Christ died for our sins.

Against purgatory. Merits.

Item, That there was no purgatory; for every man immediately after death passeth either to heaven or hell.

Item, That whosoever departeth in the faith of Christ and the church, howsoever he hath lived, shall be saved.

Item, That prayers and pilgrimages are nothing worth, and avail not to purchase heaven.

John Falks was accused as follows:

Against images.

That he was a very heretic, because he did affirm, That it was a foolish thing to offer to the image of our Lady, saying, Her head shall be hoar ere I offer to her: What is it but a block? If it could speak to me, I would give it an halfpenny worth of ale.

Item, That when the priest carrieth to the sick the body of Christ, why carrieth he not also the blood of Christ?

Item, That he did eat cow-milk upon the first Sunday of Lent.

Item, That as concerning the sacrament of penance and absolution, no priest hath power to assoil any man from his sins, when he can not make one hair of his head.

Item, That the image of our Lady was but a stone or a block.[1]

(1) It is heresy, to say a stone is a stone, and a block is a block!

Richard Hilman was accused, as under: *Henry VII.* A.D. 1509.

That he was a very heretic, because he did say and maintain, That it was better to part with money to the poor, than to give tithes to priests, or to offer to the images of our Lady; and that it were better to offer to images made by God, than to the images of God painted.

Richard Hilman.

Item, That he had the Lord's Prayer and the salutation of the angel and the Creed in English, and another book did he see and had, which contained the epistles and gospels in English, and according to them would he live, and thereby believed to be saved.

Scripture in English.

Item, That no priest speaketh better in the pulpit than that book.

Item, That the sacrament of the altar is but bread, and that the priests make it to blind the people.

Item, That a priest, while he is at mass, is a priest; and after one mass done, till the beginning of another mass, he is no more than a lay-man, and hath no more power than a mere lay-man.

After they were enforced to recant, they were assoiled and put to penance.

In the year of our Lord 1488, the third of April, Margery Goyt, wife of James Goyt of Ashburn, was brought before the aforesaid John bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, and was there accused as follows:

Against the sacrament of the altar.

That she said, that that which the priests lift over their heads at mass, was not the true and very body of Christ; for, if it were so, the priests could not break it so lightly into four parts, and swallow it as they do; for the Lord's body hath flesh and bones: so hath not that which the priests receive.

Item, That priests buying forty cakes for a halfpenny, and showing them to the people, and saying, that of every of them they make the body of Christ, do nothing but deceive the people and enrich themselves.

Item, Seeing God in the beginning did create and make man, how can it be that man should be able to make God?

This woman also was constrained to recant, and so was she assoiled and did penance.

Thus much I thought good here to insert, touching these aforesaid people of Coventry, especially for this purpose, because our cavilling adversaries be wont to object against us the newness of Christ's old and ancient religion. To the intent, therefore, they may see this doctrine not to be so new as they report, I wish they would consider both the time and articles here objected against these aforesaid persons, as is above-premised.

Picus, earl of Mirandula.

I should also in the same reign of king Henry VII., have introduced that story of Johannes Picus, earl of Mirandula, the mention of whose name partly is touched before. This Picus, earl of Mirandula, being but a young man, was so excellently witted, and so singularly learned in all sciences, and in all tongues, both Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, Chaldee, and Araby, that coming to Rome booted and spurred, he set up ninety conclusions, to dispute in the same with any in all Christendom, whosoever would come against him; of which conclusions divers were touching the matter of the sacrament, &c. And when none was found in all Rome, nor in Europe, that openly would dispute with him, privily and in corners certain of the pope's clergy, prelates, lawyers, and friars, by the pope appointed, consulted together to inquire upon his conclusions; whereupon they did articu-

Henry VII. A.D. 1509. late against him for suspicion of heresy. And thus the unlearned clergy of Rome privily circumvented and entangled this learned earl in their snares of heresy, against whom they durst never openly dispute. He died being of the age of thirty-two years, of such wit and towardness, as is hard to say whether Italy ever bred up a better. In his sickness Charles VIII. the French king, moved with the fame of his learning, came to visit him. The furniture of his books cost him seven thousand florins. A little before his death his mind was to give all away, and to take a cowl, to go about and preach; but the Lord would not permit him. His story requireth a long tractation, which, if place do serve, we will not peradventure forget. With two popes, that is, with pope Innocent, and Alexander VI., he had much vexation.

The names of the Archbishops of Canterbury in this sixth Book contained.

62 John Stratford, held the see for	8 years.	66 Thomas Langton,[1] held the see for	0 years.
63 John Kempe	3 „	67 Henry Dene	2 „
64 Thomas Bouchier . .	33 „	68 William Warham . .	28 „
65 John Morton	14 „		

A BRIEF NOTE OF ECCLESIASTICAL LAWS ORDAINED BY ANCIENT KINGS IN THIS REALM.

Forasmuch as it is, and hath been a persuasion long engendered in the heads of many, that the bishops of Rome be the universal heads of the whole militant church of Christ in earth, and have always so continued from the beginning of the primitive time; and that no prince, king, nor emperor, in his own realm, hath any interest to intermeddle with matters and laws ecclesiastical, but only the said bishops of Rome: to refell and remove that opinion out of the heads of all Englishmen, as a thing most false, and contrary both to histories of time, and examples of ancient kings and governors of this realm, I thought to fill up a little end of paper here left, with some such brief rehearsal of laws devised and appointed by kings and rulers of this land, for the ordering of the church, and causes ecclesiastical; to the intent that all the world may see that the government of Christ's church here in earth under Christ hath not depended only of the pope from ancient time, but hath been rather directed by such kings and princes as God here had placed under him, to govern the people of this realm of England: as followeth here in this present table to be noted.

A BRIEF RECAPITULATION OF ANCIENT ECCLESIASTICAL LAWS, BY SUNDRY KINGS OF THIS REALM ORDAINED, FOR GOVERNMENT OF THE CHURCH, BEFORE THE CONQUEST.

Ecclesiastical Laws of King Inas, or Ina.

I. First, king Inas, who reigned in this land A. D. 712, commanded that ministers should frame their conversation of life, according to the form in laws prescribed.

(1) This Thomas Langton was elected archbishop, but died before he was confirmed.

II. That infants should be baptized within thirty days. *Henry VII.*

III. Item, That no man, lay or spiritual, free or bond, should labour on the Sunday.

IV. Item, He established immunity of churches, and sanctuary. Also he took order for the true payment of church duties, and of the first-fruits of all that was sown, to be paid at the day of St. Martin. A.D. 1509.

Ecclesiastical Laws of King Alured, or Alfred.

I. King Alfred, after he had ordained divers judicial punishments for violating the holy precepts of God commanded by Moses, he also confirmed and enlarged the privilege of sanctuary: he laid double pain upon such as committed offences in the solemnities of certain feasts; also against them that committed sacrilege.

II. He made a law against priests committing murder.

III. Also he made a law against whoredom, adultery, and fornication.

IV. He appointed days of fasting, and ceasing from labour.

V. Item, He set order for making and keeping vows.

Ecclesiastical Laws of King Edward the Elder, and Gythrum the Dane King.

I. First, They agreed upon the sanctuary; they forbade gentility and paganism; they laid punishment upon the clergy committing theft, perjury, or murder, fornication, or any capital crime.

II. They punished priests, that pretermitted their office in pronouncing festival, or fasting days.

III. They made a law against all labour, buying and selling upon the sabbath, also for keeping of feasts.

Item, For no execution to be done on the Sunday.

Also against witches and sorcerers, &c.

Ecclesiastical Laws of King Athelstan.

I. King Athelstan, who reigned A.D. 924, commanded that every village of his own should give a monthly corody[1] to a poor person.

II. That fifty Psalms should be sung daily in the church, for the king, &c.

III. He also ordained punishment for witches and sorcerers, &c

Ecclesiastical Laws of King Edmund

I. After king Athelstan followed king Edmund about A.D. 940, who established and provided laws against the unchaste living of churchmen.

II. Item, He made laws concerning tithes, with first-fruits of every man's crop, and alms-money duly to be paid.

III. He enacted, That bishops, of their own proper charges, should repair churches, and should also admonish the king for the furnishing of the same.

IV. For perjury also, and for fighting within the church, he set laws and pains.

Ecclesiastical Laws of King Edgar.

I. King Edgar, who began his reign about A.D. 959, amongst other constitutions ecclesiastical, ordained that the Sunday should be kept holy from Saturday at noon, till Monday in the morning.

II. Item, He ordained and decreed concerning liberties and freedoms of the church; for tithes also, and first-fruits of corn, and paying of Peter-pence.

III. Item, For holy days and fasting days.

IV. Item, That assemblies or synods should be kept twice every year, whereat as well the bishop of the diocese should be present, as the civil magistrate.

(1) "Corody," an allowance by an abbot of a monastery to the king, for the maintenance of one of his servants.—Ed.

Henry VII.

A.D. 1509.

King Ethelred, A.D. 979

King Ethelred also, who succeeded after Edgar and Edward, appointed divers laws for public regiment, whereof we find but few touching matters ecclesiastical; for tithes, lights, feasts, and nothing else, and therefore we pass further, to the laws of Canute.

Ecclesiastical Laws of King Canute.

Canute the Dane, king, began to reign in this land A.D. 1016. The said Canute (as Ethelred had done before) divided his laws into ecclesiastical and temporal.

I. That ecclesiastical persons, being accused of fighting, murder, or any other offence, should purge themselves thereof.

II. That priests should be degraded for perjury, and put in sureties of good behaviour.

III. He prayeth priests, that they will live chaste, and commanded other religious.

IV. He limited the degrees of marriage.

V. Item, he commanded celebration of the Sabbath from Saturday at noon, till Monday morning, as Edgar had done before, forbidding markets, huntings, labours, and court-keepings, during the said space.

VI. He ordained each christian man to come to the housel,[1] thrice yearly at least; that they might search and inquire after God's law, and his commandments.

VII. That every christian man understand the points of his faith, and that at least he learn perfectly the Lord's prayer and the creed; and that whosoever cannot, the same shall be excluded from the eucharist, and shall not be received to undertake for others in baptism.

VIII. That bishops and priests should do their duties; that they cry out and warn their flocks when the wolf cometh.

IX. That at the court of every shire the bishop of the diocese shall be present with the sheriff, and that the one shall teach them God's law, and the other man's law; as ye heard in king Edgar's laws before.

Kings of England, before the Conquest governors as well in causes ecclesiastical as temporal.

Many other laws, both ecclesiastical and temporal, besides these, were enacted by these and other kings here in England, before the Conquest; but these be sufficient to give the understanding reader to consider how the authority of the bishops of Rome, all this while, extended not so far to prescribe laws for government of the church, but that kings and princes of the realm, as they be now, so were then, full governors here under Christ, as well in causes ecclesiastical as temporal, both in directing orders, instituting laws, in calling of synods, and also in conferring bishoprics and benefices, without any leave of the Romish bishops. Thus Odo, Dunstan, Oswold, Ethelwold, Adelmus, and Lanfranc, although they fetched their palls afterward from Rome, yet were they made bishops and archbishops by kings only, and not by popes.

When kings of England came first under the pope's subjection.

And thus stood the government of this realm of England all the time before the Conquest, till pope Hildebrand, through the setting on of the Saxons, began first to bring the emperor (who was Henry IV.) underfoot. Then followed the subduing of other emperors, kings, and subjects after that; as namely here in England, when Lanfranc, Anselm, and Becket, went to complain of their kings and governors, then brought they the pope's judicial authority first from Rome over this land, both over kings and subjects; which ever since

(1) "Housel," the sacrament of the Lord's Supper.—Ed.

hath continued, till these latter years. Albeit the said kings of this realm of England, being prudent princes, and seeing right well the ambitious presumption of those Romish bishops, did what they could to shake off the yoke of their supremacy, as appeareth by the laws and acts of their parliaments, both in king Edward III.'s time, king Richard II., and king Henry IV., above in their parliament notes specified; yet, for fear of other foreign princes, and the blind opinion of their subjects, such was then the calamity of that time, that they neither could nor durst compass that which fain they would; till, at last, the time of their iniquity being complete, through the Lord's wonderful working, their pride had a fall, as in the next pages ensuing (the Lord so granting), shall by process of history be declared. *Ecclesiastical History.*

The proud Primacy of Popes described,

IN ORDER OF THEIR RISING UP, BY LITTLE AND LITTLE, FROM FAITHFUL BISHOPS AND MARTYRS, TO BECOME LORDS AND GOVERNORS OVER KINGS AND KINGDOMS, EXALTING THEMSELVES IN THE TEMPLE OF GOD, ABOVE ALL THAT IS CALLED GOD.[1]

IN the history of the primitive church before described hath been, gentle reader! set forth and exhibited the grievous afflictions and sorrowful torments, which, through God's secret sufferance, fell upon the true saints and members of Christ's church in that time, especially upon the good bishops, ministers, and teachers of the flock, of whom some were scourged, some beheaded, some crucified, some burned, some had their eyes put out, some one way, some another, miserably consumed: which days of woeful calamity continued (as is foreshowed) near the space of three hundred years. During that time the dear spouse and elect church of God, being sharply assaulted on every side, had small rest, no joy, nor outward safety in this present world, but, in much bitterness of heart, in continual tears and mourning under the cross, passed over their days, being spoiled, imprisoned, contemned, reviled, famished, tormented, and martyred every where; who neither durst well tarry at home for fear and dread, and much less durst come abroad for the enemies, but only by night, when they assembled as they might, sometimes to sing psalms and hymns together. In all which their dreadful dangers, and sorrowful afflictions, notwithstanding the goodness of the Lord left them not desolate; but the more their outward tribulations did increase, the more their inward consolations did abound: and the further off they seemed from the joys of this life, the more present was the Lord with them, with grace and fortitude to confirm and rejoice their souls: and though their possessions and riches in this world were lost and spoiled, yet were they enriched with heavenly gifts and treasures from above, a hundred-fold. Then was true religion truly felt in heart. Then was Christianity not in outward appearance showed, but in inward affection received, and the true image of the church, not in outward show pretensed, but in her perfect state effectual. Then was the name and fear of God true in heart, not in lips alone dwelling. Faith then was fervent, *Martyrdom of good bishops under wicked emperors.* *The true riches of the church.*

(1) 2 Thess. ii.

Ecclesiastical History.

zeal ardent; prayer not swimming in the lips, but groaned out to God from the bottom of the spirit. Then was no pride in the church, nor leisure to seek riches, nor time to keep them. Contention for trifles was then so far from Christians, that well were they when they could meet to pray together against the devil, author of all dissension. Briefly, the whole church of Christ Jesus, with all the members thereof, the farther it was from the type and shape of this world, the nearer it was to the blessed respect of God's favour and supportation.

THE FIRST RISING OF THE BISHOPS OF ROME.

After this long time of trouble it pleased the Lord at length mercifully to look upon the saints and servants of his Son, to release their captivity, to release their misery, and to bind up the old dragon the devil, which so long vexed them; whereby the church began to aspire to some more liberty, and the bishops, who before were as abjects, utterly contemned of emperors, through the providence of God (who disposeth all things in his time after his own will) began now of emperors to be esteemed and had in price. Furthermore, as emperors grew more in devotion, so the bishops more and more were exalted, not only in favour, but also preferred unto honour, insomuch that in short space they became not quarter-masters, but rather half emperors with emperors.

After this, in process of time, as riches and worldly wealth crept into the clergy, and that the devil had poured his venom into the church (as the voice was heard the same time over Constantinople)[1] so true humility began to decay, and pride to set in his foot, till at last they played as the ivy doth with the oak tree, which, first beginning with a goodly green show, embraceth him so long, till at length it overgroweth him, and so sucketh all his moisture from him, setting his root fast in his bark, till at last it both stifleth the stock, and killeth the branches, and so cometh to be a nest for owls and all unclean birds. Not untruly, therefore, it was said of Augustine, "Religio peperit divitias, &c. filia devoravit matrem;"[2] that is, "Religion begat riches, and the daughter hath devoured the mother." The verity whereof notoriously may appear above all others in the church of Rome, and the bishops of the same; for after the church of Rome, through favour of emperors, was endued with lands, donations, possessions, and patrimonies, so that the bishops thereof, feeling the smack of wealth, ease, and prosperity, began to swell in pomp and pride;[3] the more they flourished in this world, the more God's Holy Spirit forsook them; till at last the said bishops, who at the first were poor, creeping low upon the ground, and were persecuted a long time, every man treading upon them in this world; now of persecuted people, began to be persecutors of others, and to tread upon the necks even of emperors, and to bring the heads of kings and princes under their girdle. And not only that, but furthermore, through pride and riches, they were so far gone from all religion, that in the very end they became the great adversary of God (whom we call Antichrist), prophesied of so long before by the Spirit of God to come, sitting in the temple of God, &c., of whom thus we read in the

Spiritual riches of the church turned to worldly riches.

(1) This refers to an event which is said to have occurred at the period when temporal immunities were bestowed on the church by Constantine: when an angelic voice was heard in the air, saying, "Hodie effusum est venenum in ecclesia sancta Dei." See Wickliff, Dialog. lib. iv. ch. 18.—Ed.

(2) Ex lib. Serm. Discipuli. (3) Look to Tyndal, in his Book of the Practice of Prelates.

epistle of Paul [2 Thess. ii.], where he saith, "We beseech you, brethren, by the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by our fellowship together in him, that ye be not suddenly moved in your mind, nor troubled, neither by spirit, nor by word, nor letter, as it were from us, as though the day of Christ were at hand. Let no man in any wise deceive you, for that day shall not come except there come a departing first, and that man of sin be revealed, even the son of perdition; that adversary which exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped, so that he shall sit in the temple of God, as God, and set forth himself as he were God," &c. *Ecclesiastical History.* The great adversary called Antichrist, described.

THE WORDS OF ST. PAUL EXPOUNDED.

By which words of St. Paul, we have divers things to understand: First, That the day of the Lord's coming was not then near at hand. Secondly, The apostle, giving us a token before, to know when that day shall approach, biddeth us look for an adversary first to be revealed. Thirdly, To show what adversary this shall be, he expresseth him not to be as a common adversary, such as were then in his time. For although Herod, Annas, and Caiaphas, the high priests and Pharisees, Tertullus, Alexander the coppersmith, Elymas, and Simon Magus, and Nero the emperor, in Paul's time, were great adversaries; yet here he meaneth another besides these, greater than all the rest; not such a one as should be like to priest, king, or emperor; but such as, far exceeding the state of all kings, priests, and emperors, should be the prince of priests, should make kings to stoop, and should tread upon the neck of emperors, and make them to kiss his feet. Moreover, where the apostle saith, that he shall sit in the temple of God; thereby is meant, not the personal sitting of the pope in the city only of Rome, but the authority and jurisdiction of his see exalted in the whole universal church, equal with God himself. For let men give to the pope that which he, in his laws, decrees, and in his pontifical, requireth, and what difference is there between God and the pope? If God set laws and ordinances, so doth he. If God hath his creatures, so hath he. If God require obedience, so doth he. If the breach of God's commandments be punished, much more be his. God hath his religion, the pope also hath his; for God's one religion, he hath a hundred. God hath set up one advocate, he hath a hundred. God hath instituted but a few holy days; for God's one, he hath instituted forty. And if the holy day that God hath appointed be 'simplex,' the feast that the pope appointeth, is 'duplex,' and 'triplex.' Christ is the head of the church; so is the pope. Christ giveth influence to his body; so doth the pope. Christ forgiveth sin; the pope doth no less. Christ expelleth evil spirits by his power; so pretendeth the pope by his holy water. Furthermore, where Christ went barefoot upon the bare ground, he with his golden shoes is carried on men's shoulders; and where Christ was called Sanctus Sanctorum, he is called Sanctorum Sanctissimus. Christ never practised but only the spiritual sword; he claimeth both spiritual and temporal. Christ bought the church; he both buyeth and selleth the church. And if it be necessary to believe Christ to be the Saviour of the world; so it is necessary to believe the pope to be the head of the church. Christ paid tribute unto Cæsar; he maketh Cæsar pay

The pope matching himself even with God.

Ecclesiastical History.

tribute unto him. Finally, the crown of Christ was of sharp thorns; the pope hath three crowns of gold upon his head, as far exceeding Christ the Son of God in the glory of this world, as Christ exceedeth him in the glory of heaven; the image and pattern of whose intolerable pride and exaltation, according as St. Paul doth describe him in his epistle aforesaid, we have here set forth, not only in these histories to be seen, and by his own facts to be noted, but also in his own words and registers, clementines, extravagants, and pontificals, expressed, as in order (the Lord willing) shall follow.

THE EXALTATION OF POPES ABOVE KINGS AND EMPERORS, OUT OF HISTORIES.

The patriarch of Constantinople subdued by the pope.

First, After Italy and the city of Rome were overrun by the Goths and Vandals, so that the seat of the empire was removed to Constantinople, then began John, the patriarch of Constantinople, to put forth himself, and would needs be called universal bishop of the world; but the bishop of Rome in no case would suffer that, and stopped it. After this came the emperor's deputy, and exarch of Ravenna, to rule Italy; but the bishop of Rome, through aid of the king of Lombards, soon quailed him.

Also the emperor's lieutenant of Ravenna.

How the bishops of Rome came first to be the head bishops.

Not long after, about A. D. 500, came Phocas the murderer, who slew the emperor of Constantinople, his master Mauritius and his children. By which Phocas the bishops of old Rome aspired first to their pre-eminence, to be counted the head bishops over the whole church; and so, together with the Lombards, began to rule the city of Rome.[1] Afterwards, when the Lombards would not yield unto him in accomplishing his ambitious desire, but would needs require of the bishop the said city of Rome; he stirred up Pepin, but first deposed Childeric the king of France, and so thrusting him into an abbey, set up in his place Pepin and his son Charlemagne, to put down the said king of Lombards, called Aistulphus. And so he translated the empire from Constantinople into France, dividing the spoil between him and them; so that the kings of France had all the possessions and lands which before belonged to the empire, and he to receive of them the quiet possession of the city of Rome, with such donations and lordships, which now they challenge unto them under the name of St. Peter's patrimony, which they falsely ascribe to that donation of Constantine the Great.

Donation of Constantine, a thing forged.

It followeth then in process of time, after the days of Pepin, Charlemagne, and Ludovic (who had endued these bishops of Rome, called now popes, with large possessions), when the kings of France were not so appliable to their beck, to aid and maintain them against the princes of Italy, who began then to pinch the said bishops for their wrongfully usurped goods, they practised with the Germans to reduce the empire to Otho, first of that name, duke of Spain, referring the election thereof to seven princes electors of Germany, which was about A.D. 1002; notwithstanding, reserving still in his hands the negative voice, thinking thereby to enjoy that they had in quietness and security, and so did for a good space.

Pope Gregory V. practiseth with the Germans to reduce the empire of Germany.

At length, when some of these German emperors also after Otho

(1) Boniface III. obtained of Phocas to be called universal bishop.

began a little to spurn against the said bishops and popes of Rome; some of them they accursed, some they subdued and brought to the kissing of their feet, some they deposed, and placed others in their possessions. *Ecclesiastical History.*

So was Henry IV. by these bishops accursed, the emperor himself forced with his wife and child to wait attendance upon the pope's pleasure three days and three nights in winter, at the gates of Canossus, or Canusium.[1] Besides all this the said pope raised up Rodulph to be emperor against him; who being slain in war, then the said pope Gregory VII., not resting thus, stirred up his own son Henry V. to fight against his own natural father, and to depose him; which Henry V. was also himself afterwards accursed and excommunicated, and the Saxons at last set up by the bishops to fight against him. Emperors brought under the pope.

After this, the emperors began to be somewhat calmed, and more quiet, suffering the bishops to reign as they listed, till Frederic I., called Barbarossa, came and began to stir coals against them. Howbeit they hampered both him, and his son Henry in such sort, that they brought first the neck of Frederic, in the church of Venice, under their feet, to tread upon; and after that, the said bishops, crowning Henry his son in the church of St. Peter, set his crown on his head with their feet, and with their feet spurned it off again, to make him know that the popes of Rome had power both to crown emperors, and depose them again; whereof read before.

Then followed Philip, brother to Henry aforesaid, whom also the popes accursed, about A. D. 1198, and set up Otho duke of Saxony. But when the said Otho began to be so saucy, to dispossess the bishops of their cities and lands which they had encroached into their hands, they could not bear that, but incontinent they put him beside the cushion. The like also fell upon Otho IV., that followed after Philip, who was suffered no longer than four years to reign, about A. D. 1209.

At this time Frederic II., the son of Frederic Barbarossa above-mentioned, was but young, whom the bishops of Rome, supposing to find more mortified and tamed to their hand, advanced to be emperor after his father. But that fell out much contrary to their expectation; for he, perceiving the immoderate pomp and pride of the Roman bishops, which he could in no case abide, so nettled them and cut their combs, and waxed so stout against them, intending to extirpate their tyranny, and to reduce their pompous riches to the state and condition of the primitive church again, putting some of them to flight, and imprisoning some of their cardinals, that of three popes, one after another, he was accursed, circumvented by treason, at last deposed, and after that poisoned; and, at last, forsaken and died. Honorius III. Gregory IX. Innocent IV. against Frederic II. emperor.

After this Frederic, followed his son Conrad, whom the aforesaid bishops for his disobedience soon despatched, exciting against him in mortal war the Landgrave of Thuringia, whereby he was at length driven into his kingdom of Naples, and there deceased. War raised against Conrad, by the bishops of Rome.

This Conrad had a son called Conradine, duke and prince of Suevia.[2] When this Conradine, after the decease of his father came to enjoy his kingdom of Naples, the said bishops stirred up against him Charles the French king's brother, in such sort, that through

1) See vol. ii. p. 128.—Ed. (2) Ex Aventino.

Ecclesiastical History.

crafty conveyance, both Conradine who was descended of the blood of so many emperors, and also Frederic duke of Austria, were both taken, and after much wretched handling in their miserable endurance, unseeming to their state, at length were both brought under the axe by the pope's procurement, and so both beheaded. And thus ended the imperial stock of Frederic I., surnamed Barbarossa.

Insolency of pope Boniface VIII. against Philip, the French king.

The like as happened to Frederic the emperor, had almost also fallen upon Philip the French king, by pope Boniface VIII., who, because he could not have his commodities and revenues out of France after his will, sent out his bulls and letters patent to displace king Philip aforesaid, to possess Albert I. king of Romans in his room.

Tyrannous injuries of bishops of Rome, against kings of England.

And thus hitherto of foreign stories. Now touching our country princes here in England, to speak somewhat likewise of them: did not pope Alexander III. presumptuously taking upon him where he had nothing to do, to intermeddle with the king's subjects, for the death of Becket the rebel? Albeit the king sufficiently cleared himself thereof, yet, notwithstanding, did he not wrongfully bring the said king Henry II. to such penance as it pleased him to enjoin, and also violently constrained him to swear obedience to the see of Rome? the like also was showed before in this story to happen to king John his son; for when the said king, like a valiant prince, had held out the tyranny of those bishops seven years together, were not all the churches in England barred up, and his inheritance with all his dominions given away by pope Innocent III. to Ludovicus the French king, and he afterwards compelled to submit both himself, and to make his whole realm feudatory to the bishops of Rome? and, moreover, the king himself driven also to surrender his crown to Pandulph the pope's legate, and so continued as a private person five days, standing at the pope's courtesy, whether to receive it again at his hands or no? And when the nobles of the realm rose afterwards against the king for the same, was not he then fain to seek and sue to the aforesaid pope for succour, as by his own letter,[1] hereunder to be seen, taken out of the public rolls, may appear?

And yet, all this notwithstanding (though the said king John did so yield to the pope), he was both pursued by his nobles, and also in the end was poisoned by a subject of the pope's own religion, a monk of Swinstead; as I have sufficiently to prove, not only by William Caxton above in my story alleged, but also have testimony of the most part of chronicles for the same (a few only excepted), as of Thomas Gray in his French Chronicle; also of another French chronicle in metre, of Ranulphus Cestrensis: Thomas Rudburn also doth witness the same; so doth Richard Rede, in 'Novo Chronico

(1) *The Supplication of King John to Pope Innocent the Third.*[1]

Reverendis. Domino suo et Patri Sanctis. Innocentio Dei gratia, Johan. eadem gratia Rex Angliæ, &c. Cum comites et barones Angliæ nobis devoti essent, antequam nos et nostram terram dominio vestro subjacere curassemus, ex tunc in nos specialiter ob hoc, sicut publice dicunt, violenter insurgunt. Nos vero præter Deum vos specialem dominum et patronum habentes, defensionem nostram et totius Regni, quod vestrum esse credimus, vestræ paternitati commissam, et nos quantum in nobis est, curam et solicitudinem istam vestræ resignamus dominationi, devotius supplicantes quatenus in negotiis nostris, quæ vestra sunt, consilium et auxilium efficax apponatis, prout melius, videritis expedire, latores præsentium, &c. Teste meipso apud Dour. 18. Septem. 6.

(1) Ex Rotulo patent. de an. Regni Reg. Johannis VIII.

ad tempora,' Henry VI.; the like also doth the chronicle called 'Eulogium Monachi Cant.' The words of Walter Gisburn, an ancient historiographer, be plain. No less is to be found in Johannes Major, 'De Gestis Scotorum,' lib. iv. cap. 3, fol. 56, where he not only maketh mention of the monk and of the poison, but also of the abbot, of his absolution, and of the three monks every day singing for the said monk's soul. To these I could also annex divers other writers both English and Latin, without name, who witness that king John was poisoned; one beginning thus, "Here beginneth a book in the English tongue, called 'Brute,'" &c. Another beginneth, "Because this book is made to tell what time any thing, notable," &c. The third in English beginneth, "The reign of Britain that now is called England," &c. Of Latin books which have no name, one beginneth thus: "Britannia, quæ et Anglia dicitur, a Bruto nomen est sortita," &c. Another hath this beginning: "Adam pater generis humani," &c.

Ecclesiastical History.

Writers in English and Latin without name.

Besides this king Henry II., and king John his son, what kings have here reigned in England since their time, until the reign of king Henry VIII.; who, although they were prudent princes, and did what they could in providing against the proud domination of these bishops, yet were forced at length sore against their wills, for fear, to subject themselves, together with their subjects, under their usurped authority, insomuch that some of them (as Matthew Paris writeth of king Henry III.) were fain to stoop and kiss their legate's knee.

Hen. III. kissing the knee of the pope's legate.

The Image of Antichrist, exalting himself in the Temple of God, above all that is named God,[a]

OUT OF HIS OWN DECREES, DECRETALS, EXTRAVAGANTS, PONTIFICALS, ETC., WORD FOR WORD, AS IT IS OUT OF THE SAID BOOKS HERE ALLEGED AND QUOTED.

[1] Forasmuch as it standeth upon necessity of salvation, for every human creature to be subject unto me the pope of Rome, it shall be therefore requisite and necessary for all men that will be saved, to learn and know the dignity of my see, and excellency of my domination, as is here set forth according to the truth and very words of mine own laws, in style as followeth: [2] First, my institution began in the Old Testament, and was consummated and finished in the New, in that my priesthood was prefigured by Aaron; and other bishops under me were prefigured by the sons of Aaron, that were under him; [3] neither is it to be thought that my church of Rome hath been preferred by any general council, but obtained the primacy only by the voice of the Gospel, and the mouth of the Saviour, [4] and hath in it neither spot nor wrinkle, nor any such like thing. [5] Wherefore, as other seats be all inferior to me, and as they cannot absolve me, so have they no power to bind me or to stand against me, no more than the axe hath power to stand or presume above him that heweth with it, or the saw to presume above him that ruleth it. [6] This is the holy

(a) 2 Thess. ii.
(1) Pope Bonifacius VIII. Extravag. de Majori. et Obed. c. 'Unam.'
(2) Distinct. 12. c. 'Decretis.' (3) Pope Pelagius, dist. 21. c. 'Quamvis.'
(4) Pelagius, ibidem. (5) Pope Nicolaus. dist. 21. c. 'Inferior.'
(6) Pope Lucius, 24. q. i. c. 2. 'Recta.'

Ecclesiastical History.

and apostolic mother-church of all other churches of Christ; [7]from whose rules it is not meet that any person or persons should decline; but like as the Son of God came to do the will of his Father, so must you do the will of your mother the church, the head whereof is the church of Rome; [8]and if any other person or persons shall err from the said church, either let them be admonished, or else their names taken, to be known who they be, that swerve from the customs of Rome.

[9]Thus then, forasmuch as the holy church of Rome, whereof I am governor, is set up to the whole world for a glass or example, reason would what thing soever the said church determineth, or ordaineth, that to be received of all men for a general and a perpetual rule for ever. [10]Whereupon we see it now verified in this church, that was fore-prophesied by Jeremy, saying, "Behold, I have set thee up over nations and kingdoms, to pluck up and to break down, to build and to plant," &c. [11]Whoso understandeth not the prerogative of this my priesthood, let him look up to the firmament, where he may see two great lights, the sun and the moon, one ruling over the day, the other over the night: so in the firmament of the universal church, [12]God hath set two great dignities, the authority of the pope, and of the emperor; of which two, this our dignity is so much more weighty, as we have the greater charge to give account to God for kings of the earth, and the laws of men.

[13]Wherefore be it known to you emperors, who know it also right well, that you depend upon the judgment of us: we must not be brought and reduced to your will. [14]For, as I said, look what difference there is betwixt the sun and the moon, so great is the power of the pope ruling over the day, that is, over the spiritualty, above emperors and kings, ruling over the night; that is, over the laity. [15]Now, seeing then the earth is seven times bigger than the moon, and the sun eight times greater than the earth; it followeth that the pope's dignity fifty-six times doth surmount the estate of the emperors. [16]Upon consideration whereof, I say therefore and pronounce, that Constantine the emperor did wrong, in setting the patriarch of Constantinople at his feet on his left hand. [17]And although the said emperor wrote to me, alleging the words of St. Peter, commanding us to submit ourselves to every human creature, as to kings, dukes, and others for the cause of God, &c. [1 Pet. ii.], yet, in answering again in my decretal, I expounded the mind and the words of St. Peter to pertain to his subjects, and not his successors; willing the said emperor to consider the person of the speaker, and to whom it was spoken. For if the mind of Peter had been there to debase the order of priesthood, and to make us underlings to every human creature, then every Jack might have dominion over prelates; which maketh against the example of Christ, setting up the order of priesthood to bear dominion over kings, according to the saying of Jeremy, "Behold, I have set thee up over kings and nations," &c.

(7) Pope Calixtus dist. 12. c. 'Non decet.' (8) Pope Innocentius II. c. 'Quis.'
(9) Pope Stephan. dist. 19. c. 'Enimvero.'
(10) Pope Bonifac. VIII. Extravag. c. 'Unam sanctam.' Item, pope Johannes XXII. Extravag. cap. 'Super gentes.' (11) Pope Innocent. III. art. de Major. et obe. c. 'Solitæ.'
(12) Pope Gelasus dist. 96. c. 'Duo.' 13) Ibidem.
(14) Innocentius de Major. et obe. c. 'Solitæ.' (15) Glossa. Ibidem. (16) Ibidem.
(17) Innocentius. Ibid.

[18] And as I feared not then to write this boldly unto Constantine, so now I say to all other emperors, that they, receiving of me their approbation, unction, consecration, and crown imperial, must not disdain to submit their heads under me, and swear unto me their allegiance. [19] For so you read in the decree of pope John, how that princes heretofore have been wont to bow and submit their heads unto bishops, and not to proceed in judgment against the heads of bishops. [20] If this reverence and submission were wont to be given to bishops, how much more ought they to submit their heads to me being superior, not only to kings, but emperors? and that for two causes: first, for my title of succession, that I, pope of Rome, have to the empire, the room standing vacant; also for the fulness of power that Christ, the King of kings and Lord of lords, hath given to me, though unworthy, in the person of Peter; [21] by reason whereof, seeing my power is not of man, but of God, who by his celestial providence hath set me over his whole universal church, master and governor, it belongeth therefore to my office, to look upon every mortal sin of every christian man; [22] whereby all criminal offences, as well of kings as all others, be subject to my censure, [23] in such sort, that in all manner of pleading, if any manner of person at any time, either before the sentence given, or after, shall appeal to me, it shall be lawful for him so to do: [24] neither must kings and princes think it much to submit themselves to my judgment; for so did Valentinian the worthy emperor, so did Theodosius, and also Charlemagne.

[25] Thus you see all must be judged by me, and I of no man. Yea, and though I, pope of Rome, by my negligence or evil demeanour, be found unprofitable or hurtful, either to myself or others; yea, if I should draw with me innumerable souls by heaps to hell, yet may no mortal man be so hardy, so bold, or so presumptuous, to reprove me, [26] or to say to me, "Domine cur ita facis;" that is, "Sir, why do you so?" [27] For although you read that Balaam was rebuked by his ass, by which ass our subjects, by Balaam we prelates, are signified; yet that ought to be no example to our subjects to rebuke us. [28] And though we read in the scripture, that Peter, who received power of the kingdom, and being chief of the apostles, might, by virtue of his office, control all others, was content to come and give answer before his inferiors, objecting to him his going to the Gentiles; yet other inferiors must not learn by this example to be checkmate with their prelates, because Peter so took it at their hands; showing thereby rather a dispensation of humility, than the power of his office: by which power he might have said to them again in this wise, "It becometh not sheep, nor belongeth to their office, to accuse their shepherd. [29] For else, why was Dioscorus patriarch of Alexandria condemned and excommunicated at Chalcedon? Not for any cause of his faith, but only for that he durst stand against Pope Leo, and durst excommunicate the bishop of Rome: for who is he that hath authority to accuse the seat of St. Peter? [30] Albeit I am not ignorant what St. Jerome

(18) Pope Clement V. Clement de jure-jurando. c. 'Romani.'
(19) Pope Johannes dist. 96. c. 'Nunquam.'
(20) Pope Clement V. Clement de Sentent. et de rejudi pastoralis.
(21) Pope Innocent III. De judiciis c. 'Novit.' (22) Ibidem.
(23) Pope Marcellus, caus. 2. q. 6. c. 'Ad Romanam.' (24) Innocent. 'Novit ille.'
(25) Bonifacius Martyr. dist. 40. c. 'Si Papa.' (26) Glossa Extr. de sede vacant. Ad apostolatus
(27) Pope Leo, caus. 2. q. 7. c. 'Nos. (28) Greg. II. q. 7. c. 'Petrus.'
(29) Pope Nicolaus, dist. 21. c. 'In cantum.' (30) Jer. caus. 2. q. 7. c. 'Paulus.'

Ecclesiastical History,

writeth, that Paul would not have reprehended Peter, unless he had thought himself equal unto him; [31]yet Jerome must thus be expounded by my interpretation, that this equality betwixt Peter and Paul consisteth not in like office of dignity, but in pureness of conversation: [32]for who gave Paul his license to preach but Peter? and that by the authority of God, saying, "Separate to me Paul and Barnabas," &c.

[33]Wherefore, be it known to all men, that my church of Rome is prince and head of all nations; [34]the mother of the faith; [35]the foundation cardinal, whereupon all churches do depend, as the door doth depend by the hinges; [36]the first of all other seats, without all spot or blemish; [37]'lady mistress,' and instructer of all churches; [38]a glass and a spectacle unto all men, to be followed in all, whatsoever she observeth; [39]who was never yet found to slide or decline from the path of apostolic tradition, or to be entangled with any newness of heresy; [40]against which church of Rome whosoever speaketh any evil, is forthwith a heretic, [41]yea, a very pagan, a witch, and an idolater or infidel; [42]having fulness of power only in her own hands in ruling; [43]deciding, absolving, condemning, casting out, or receiving in. [44]Albeit I deny not but other churches be partakers with her in labouring and carrying: [45]to which church of Rome it is lawful to appeal for remedy, from the churches.

Although it was otherwise concluded in the general council of Millevitane, that no man should appeal over the sea under pain of excommunication, yet my gloss cometh in here with an exception: "Nisi forte Romanam sedem appellaverint," i. e. "Except the appeal be to the see of Rome;" &c. [46]by the authority of which church of Rome all synods and decrees of councils stand confirmed, [47]and who hath always full authority in her hands to make new laws and decrements; and to alter statutes, privileges, rights or documents of churches; to separate things joined, and to join things separated, upon right consideration, either in whole or in part, either personally or generally. [48]Of which church of Rome I am head, as a king is over his judges; [49]the vicar of St. Peter, [50]yea, not the vicar of Peter properly, but the vicar of Christ properly, and successor of Peter; [51]vicar of Jesus Christ, [52]rector of the universal church, director of the Lord's universal flock, [53]chief magistrate of the whole world; [54]Cephas, i. e. caput, the head and chief of the apostolic church; [55]universal pope, and diocesan in all places exempt, as well as every bishop is in places not exempt; [56]most mighty priest; [57]"lex animata in terris," i.e. [58]"a living law in the earth," judged to

(31) Glossa Gratiani. Ib.
(32) Glossa in Diss. 11. c. 'Quis.'
(33) Caus. 2. q. 7. c. 'Beati.'
(34) Pope Nicolaus, dist. 22. c. 'Omnes.'
(35) P. Anaclet, dist. 22. c. Sacrosancta.
(36) P. Pelagius. dist. 21. c. 'Quamvis.'
(37) P. Nicolaus, dist. 21. c. 'Denique.'
(38) P. Steph. dist. 29. c. 'Enimvero.'
(39) Pope Lucius. dist. 24. q. 1. 'Arect.'
(40) P. Nicolaus. dist. 22. c. 'Omnes.'
(41) P. Gregor. dist. 81. c. 'Si qui.'
(42) P. Leo, caus. 3. q. 6. c. 'Multum.'
(43) Dist. 20. Decretales.
(44) Pope Julius. caus. 2. q. 6. 'Qui se.'
(45) Causa. 2. q. 6. Arguta. Item. c. 'Ad Romanam.' caus. 2. q. 6. c. 'Placuit.' Glossa. Gratiani. 'Nisi.'
(46) Pope Gelasi. 25. q. 1. c. 'Confidimus.'
(47) P. Urbanus, 25. q. 1. c. 'Sunt.' P. Pelagius, 25. q. 2. c. 'posteaquam.'
(48) Bulla Donationis, dist. 96. c. 'Constant.'
(49) P. Paschalis, dist. 63. c. 'Ego.'
(50) P. Clement. V. Clement, c. 'Romani Glossa.'
(51) P. Bonif. VIII. Sext. Decret. c. 'Ubi.'
(52) Ibidem.
(53) P. Bonif. prohem. Sext. Decret. ab 'Sacrosancta.'
(54) Anacletus, dist. 22. c. 'Sacrosancta.'
(55) P. Bonif. IV. Sext Decret, de pœnit. et remis. c. 5. Glossa. Item Alexand. 4. Sext. decret. c. 4. in Glossa.
(56) P. Hilarius, 25. q. 1. 'Nulli.'
(57) Sext. Decret. cap. 'Ab Arbitris,' Glossa.
(58) P. Bonif. Sext. decret. de const. c. 'Licet.'

have all laws in the chest of my breast; [59]bearing the room of no pure man; [60]being neither God nor man, but the admiration of the world, and a middle thing betwixt both; [61]having both swords in my power, both of the spiritual and temporal jurisdiction; [62]so far surmounting the authority of the emperor, that I, of mine own power alone, without a council, have authority to depose him, or to transfer his kingdom, and to give a new election, as I did to Frederic and divers others. [63]What power then or potestate in all the world is comparable to me, who have authority to bind and loose both in heaven and earth? [64]that is, who have power both of heavenly things, and also of temporal things; [65]to whom emperors and kings be more inferior, than lead is inferior to gold. [66]For do you not see the necks of great kings and princes bend under our knees, yea and think themselves happy and well defenced, if they may kiss our hands? [67]Wherefore the sauciness of Honorius the emperor is to be reprehended, and his constitution abolished, who, with his laity, would take upon him to intermeddle, not only with the temporal order, but also with matters ecclesiastical, and election of the pope.

[68]But here percase some will object the examples and words of Christ, saying, "That his kingdom is not of this world;" and where he, being required to divide betwixt two brethren their heritage, did refuse it. But that ought to be no prejudice to my power; [69]for if Peter, and I in Peter—if we, I say, have power to bind and loose in heaven, how much more then is it to be thought, that we have power on earth to loose and to take away empires, kingdoms, dukedoms, and what else soever mortal men may have, and to give them where we will? [70]And if we have authority over angels, who be the governors of princes, what then may we not do upon their inferiors and servants? [71]And, for that you shall not marvel that I say angels be subject to us, you shall hear what my blessed clerk Antoninus writeth of the matter, saying, That our power, of Peter and me, is greater than the angels in four things: first, in jurisdiction; secondly, in administration of sacraments; thirdly, in knowledge; fourthly, in reward, &c. [72]And again, in 'Bulla Clementis,' do I not there command, in my bull, the angels of paradise, to absolve the soul of man out of purgatory, and to bring it into the glory of paradise?

[73]And now, besides my heavenly power, to speak of mine earthly jurisdiction: Who did first translate the empire from the Greeks to the Almains, but I? [74]And not only in the empire am I emperor, the place being empty, but in all ecclesiastical benefices have full right and power to give, to translate, and to dispose after my arbitrement. [75]Did not I, Zacharias, put down Childeric the old king of France, and set up Pepin? [76]Did not I, Gregory VII., set up

(59) Pope Innocentius III. de trans. c. 'Quanto.'
(60) Prohem. Clement. Gloss. Papa Stupor mundi, &c. 'Nec Deus es, nec homo, quasi neuter es inter utrumque.'
(61) P. Bonif. Extravag. de Majorit, et obed. c. 'Unam.' Item, dist. 22. c. 'Omnes.'
(62) Sext. Decr. de sentent. et re. ca. 'Ad apostoli.' Item in Gloss. Ibid.
(63) Pope Nicolaus, dist. 22. c. 'Omnes.' (64) Gloss. Ibid.
(65) Pope Gelasius, dist. 96. c. 'Duo.' (66) Pope Gelasius Ibidem,
(67) Dist. 96. c. 'Illud.' (68) Ex citatione Hiero. Marii.
(69) Pope Hildebrandus, alias Gregorius VII. Ex Platina, in vita Gregorii.
(70) Hildebrandus. Ibidem. (71) Antoninus, in tertia parte Summæ majoris.
(72) Bulla Clementis. (73) Pope Innocent. de electione, c. 'Venerabilem.'
(74) Extrav. de præbend. et dig. c. 'Execrabilis.'
(75) Pope Zacharias, Caus. 15. q. 6. c. 'Alius.'
(76) Pope Hildebrand. alias Gregor. VII. Clement. c. 'Pastoralis.'

Ecclesiastical History.

Robert Wysard, and make him king of Sicily and duke of Capua? &c. [77]Did not I, the same Gregory, also set up Rodulphus against Henry IV., emperor? [78]And though this Henry was an emperor of most stout courage, who stood sixty-two times in open field against his enemies, [79]yet did not I, Gregory, bring him 'coram nobis,' and make him stand at my gate three days and three nights, bare-foot and bare-leg, with his wife and child, in the deep of winter, both in frost and snow, entreating for his absolution; and afterwards did excommunicate him again, so that he was twice excommunicated in my days?

[80]Again, did not I, Paschal, afterwards Gregory, set up the son of the said Henry against his father in war, to possess the empire, and to put down his father? and so he did! [81]Item, Did not I, pope Alexander, bring under Henry II., king of England, for the death of Thomas Becket, and cause him to go barefoot to his tomb at Canterbury with bleeding feet? [82]Did not I, Innocent III., cause king John to kneel down at the feet of Pandulph my legate, and offer up his crown to his hands; also to kiss the feet of Stephen Langton bishop of Canterbury, and besides amerced him in a thousand marks by year? [83]Did not I, Urban II., put down earl Hugo in Italy, discharging his subjects from their oath and obedience to him? [84]Did not I, Paschal, excommunicate also his son Henry V., and get out of his hands all his right and title of elections and donations of spiritual promotions? Did not I, Gelasius II., bring the captain Cintius under, unto the kissing of my feet? and after Gelasius, did not I, Calixtus II., quail the aforesaid emperor Henry V., and also bring in subjection Gregory, whom the said emperor had set up against me to be pope, bringing him into Rome upon a camel, his face to the horse's tail, making him to hold the horse's tail in his hand, instead of a bridle? [85]Further, did not I, Innocent II., set up and make Lothaire to be emperor for driving pope Anacletus out of Rome? [86]Did not I, the said Innocent, take the dukedom of Sicily from the empire, and make Roger to be king thereof, whereby afterwards the kingdom became the patrimony of St. Peter? [87]Did not I, Alexander III., suspend all the realm and churches of England for the king's marriage, A. D. 1159?

[88]But what do I speak of kings? Did not I, the said Alexander, bring the valiant emperor Frederic I. to Venice, by reason of his son Otho there taken prisoner, and there, in St. Mark's church, make him fall down flat upon the ground, while I set my foot upon his neck, saying the verse of the Psalm, "Super aspidem et basiliscum ambulabis?" &c. [89]Did not I, Adrian pope, an Englishman born, excommunicate William king of Sicily, and refuse his peace which he offered? and had not he overcome me in plain field, I would have shaken him out of his kingdom of Sicily, and dukedom of Apulia! [90]Also did not I, the said Adrian, control and correct the aforesaid

(77) Ex Gestis Hildebrandi. (78) Baptista Egnatius.
(79) Platina, Benno Nauclerus. (80) Platina, Egnatius, Benno.
(81) Polydore Virgil. Historia Jornalensis de rebus Anglorum.
(82) Chronica vernacula. (83) Pope Urbanus, Caus. 15. q. 6. c. 'Juratos.'
(84) Pope Paschalis Cursulanus. Platina, Vincentius, Stella, Antoninus, Mattheus Parisiensis, Pope Gelasius II.; Pope Calixtus II. Plat. de vitis pontificum. (85) Pope Innocentius II.
(86) Nauclerus. (87) Pope Alexander III. de sponsal. et matr. c. 'Non est.'
(88) Nauclerus acta Rom. pontificum. (89) Pope Adrian. vit. Rom. pontificum.
(90) Ex Aventino.

Frederic, emperor, for holding the left stirrup of my horse, when he should have holden the right? [91] And afterwards, did not I excommunicate and curse him, for that he was so saucy to set his own name in writing before mine? [92] and, although a poor fly afterwards overcame and strangled me, yet I made kings and emperors to stoop! [93] Did not I, Innocent III., deject Philip, brother to Frederic, from the imperial crown, being elected without my leave, and after set him up again? and also set up Otho of Brunswick, and after did excommunicate and also depose the same four years, setting up the French king to war against him? [94] Then was Frederic II. set up by me, and reigned thirty-seven years; and yet, five years before he died, [95] did not I, Honorius, interdict him, for not restoring certain to their possessions at my request? [96] whom also Gregory IX. did excommunicate twice together, and raised up the Venetians against him; [97] and at length Innocent spoiled him of his empire: after that he caused him to be poisoned, at length to be strangled by one Manfred, and did excommunicate his son Conrad after him, not only depriving him of his right inheritance, but also causing him, with Frederic duke of Austria, to be behcaded! [98] Thus then did I not excommunicate and depose all these emperors in order? Henry IV., Henry V., Frederic I., Philip, Otho IV., Frederic II., and Conrad his son? [99] Did not I interdict king Henry VIII., [100] and all his kingdom of England? [101] and had not his prudence and power prevented my practice, I had displaced him from his kingdom also!

Briefly, who is able to comprehend the greatness of my power and of my seat? [102] for by me only, general councils take their force and confirmation; [103] and the interpretation of the said councils, and of all other causes hard and doubtful, ought to be referred and stand to my determination. [104] By me the works of all writers, whatsoever they be, be either reproved or allowed: [105] then how much more ought my writings and decrees to be preferred before all others, [106] insomuch that my letters and epistles decretal be equivalent with general councils. [107] And whereas God hath ordained all causes of men to be judged by men, he hath only reserved me, that is, the pope of Rome, without all question of men, unto his own judgment. [108] And therefore, where all other creatures be under their judge, only I, who in earth am the judge of all, can be judged by none, neither of emperor, nor of the whole clergy, nor of kings, nor of the people: [109] for who hath power to judge upon his judge? [110] This judge am I, and that alone, without any other resistance of any council joined to me. For I have power upon councils: councils have no power upon me. But if the council determine amiss, it is in my authority alone to infringe it, or to condemn whom I lust, without any council; [111] and all for the pre-eminence of my prede-

(91) Bulla Adriani contra Cæsarem. (92) Acta Ro. pont.
(93) Pope Innocentius III. Ex vitis et Actis Rom. pontificum. Ex Ab. Ursperg.
(94) Ex eodem. (95) Pope Honor. III. Ex Mario. (96) Pope Greg. IX. Ex eodem.
(97) Pope Innocent IV. Hieronymus Marius. Petrus de Vineis. 98) Ex Chronic. Carionis.
(99) Hist. Anglorum. (100) Ibidem. (101) Ibidem.
(102) Pope Marcellus, dist. 17. c. 'Synodum.' (103) Dist. 20. Decretales.
(104) Pope Nicolaus, dist. 19. 'Si Romanorum.' (105) Ibidem.
(106) Dist. 20. Decretales. (107) Symmachus Pope, 9. q. 3. 'Aliorum.'
(108) Pope Innocentius VI. q. 3. c. 'Nemo.' (109) Ibidem.
(110) Pope Gelasius IX. q. 3. c. 'Cuncta. (111) Ibid.

Ecclesiastical History.

cessor blessed St. Peter, which, by the voice of the Lord he received, and ever shall retain.

[112]Furthermore, and whereas all other sentences and judgments, both of councils, person, or persons, may and ought to be examined, [113]for that they may be corrupted four ways, by fear, by gifts, by hatred, by favour; only my sentence and judgment must stand, [114]as given out of heaven by the mouth of Peter himself, which no man must [115]break, nor retract; [116]no man must dispute or doubt of. [117]Yea, if my judgment, statute, or yoke, seem scarcely tolerable, yet for remembrance of St. Peter, it must be humbly obeyed. [118]Yea, and moreover, obedience is to be given, not only to such decrees set forth by me in time of my popedom, but also to such as I do foresee and commit to writing before I be pope. [119]And although it be thought by some writers, to be given to all men to err, and to be deceived, [120]yet neither am I a pure man. [121]And again, the sentence of my apostolic seat is always conceived with such moderation, is concocted and digested with such patience and ripeness, and delivered out with such gravity of deliberation, that nothing is thought in it necessary to be altered or retracted. [122]Wherefore it is manifest, and testified by the voice of holy bishops, that the dignity of this my seat is to be reverenced through the whole world, in that all the faithful submit themselves to it, as to the head of the whole body, [123]whereof it is spoken to me by the prophet, speaking of the ark: "If this be humbled, whither shall you run for succour, and where shall your glory become?"

Seeing then this is so, that holy bishops and scriptures do so witness with me, what shall we say then to such as will take upon them to judge of my doings, to reprehend my proceedings, or to require homage and tribute of me, to whom all others are subject? [124]Against the first sort, the Scripture speaketh in Deuteronomy, "Thou oughtest not to put thy scythe into another man's corn:" which thing to attempt against me, what is it but plain sacrilege [125]according to my canonists? who thus define sacrilege to consist in three things: either when a man judgeth of his prince's judgment; or when the holy-day is profaned; or when reverence is not given to laws and canons.

[126]Against the second sort maketh the place of the book of Kings, where we read the ark of God was brought from Gaba to Jerusalem; and, in the way, the ark inclining by reason of the unruly oxen, Ozias the Levite put to his hand to help, and therefore was stricken of the Lord. By this ark is signified the prelates; by the inclination thereof, the fall of prelates; [127]who also be signified by the angels that Jacob did see going up and coming down the ladder; [128]also by the prophet, where he saith, "He bowed down the heavens and came down," &c. By Ozias, and by the unruly oxen are meant our subjects. [129]Then, like as Ozias was stricken for putting his hand to

(112) Anastasius Patriarch. D. q. 3. c. 'Antiquis.' (113) Pope Greg. a. q. 3. c. 'Quatuor.'
(114) Pope Agatho Dist. 19. c. 'Sic omnes.' (115) Pope Nicholas, 9. q. 3. 'Patet.'
(116) Pope Innocent II. Art. 17. q. 4. 'Si quis.' (117) Dist. 19. c. 'In memoriam.'
(118) Sext. Decret. Tit. 7. De renunciat. Quoniam Glossa. (119) Offic. lib. 1.
(120) Glossa Extra. De verb. signif. c. 'Ad.' (121) Pope Greg. Caus. 35. q. 9. 'Apostolicæ.'
(122) Pope Symmachus. Caus. 9. q. 3. 'Aliorum.' (123) Ibid.
(124) Pope Greg. VI. q. 3. 'Scriptum est.' (125) Caus. 17. q. 4. Sacrileg. Glossa.
(126) 2. q. 7. c. Plærumquæ Glossema Gratiani. Item. (127) Ibid. (128) Ibid.
(129) Ibid.

the ark inclining, no more must subjects rebuke their prelates going awry: [130]albeit, here may be answered again, that all be not prelates who so be called; for it is not the name that maketh a bishop, but his life.

[131]Against the third sort, of such as would bring us under the tribute and exactions of secular men, maketh the New Testament, where Peter was bid to give the groat in the fish's mouth, but not the head nor the body of the fish. No more is the head or body of the church subdued to kings, but only that which is in the mouth; that is, the extern things of the church. And yet not they neither; [132]for so we read in the book of Genesis, that Pharaoh, in time of dearth, subdued all the land of the Egyptians; but yet he ministered to the priests, so that he neither took their possessions from them, nor their liberty.

If then the prelates of the church must be neither judged, nor reprehended, nor exacted, how much more ought I to be free from the same, [133]who am the bishop of bishops, and head of prelates? [134]For it is not to be thought that the case betwixt me and other prelates; betwixt my see and other churches, be like; [135]although the whole catholic and apostolic church make one bride-chamber of Christ, yet the catholic and apostolic church of Rome had the pre-eminence given over all others by the mouth of the Lord himself, saying to Peter, "Thou art Peter," &c.

[136]Thus a discretion and difference must be had in the church as it was betwixt Aaron and his children; [137]betwixt the seventy-two disciples, and the twelve apostles; betwixt the other apostles and Peter. [138]Wherefore it is to be concluded, that there must be an order and difference of degrees in the church betwixt power superior and inferior; without which order the university of the whole cannot consist. [139]For as amongst the angelical creatures above in heaven there is set a difference and inequality of powers and orders, some be angels, some archangels, some cherubim and seraphim: [140]so in the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the church militant on the earth, priests must not be equal with bishops, bishops must not be like in order with archbishops, or with patriarchs or primates, [141]who contain under them three archbishops, as a king containeth three dukes under him; in which number of patriarchs cometh also in, the state of [142]cardinals or principals, so called, because as the door turneth by his hinges, so the universal church ought to be ruled by them. [143]The next and highest order above these is mine, who am pope, differing in power and majority, and honour reverential, from these and all other degrees of men: [144]for the better declaration whereof, my canonists make three kinds of power in earth; 'immediata,' which is mine immediately from God; 'derivata,' which belongeth to other inferior prelates from me; [145]'ministralis,' belonging to emperors and princes to minister for me. For which cause the anointing of princes, and my consecration, do differ: for they are anointed only in the arms or shoulders, and I in

(130) Ibid. His ita. (131) Pope Urbanus 23. q. 'Tributum.'
(132) Ibidem. 'Quamvis.' (133) Pope Benedict. Extr. De aut. et usu. pallii. c. 'Sancta.'
(134) Pope Stephanus. dist. 19. 'Enim vero.' (135) Pope Pelagus dist. 21. 'Quamvis.'
(136) Dist. 21. Decretis. (137) Pope Anaclet. dist. 22. 'In novo.'
(138) Pope Bonifacius et Greg. Dist. 89. 'Ad hoc.' (139) Ibid. (140) dist. 89. c. 'Singula.'
(141) Ex citatione Bul. decre. 5. ser. 3. (142) De officio Archipræsbyt. in Glossa.
(143) 143 *** (144) Ex 3. parte Summæ majoris b. Antonini.
(145) Pope Innocent III. De sacra unctione, 'Qui venisset.'

Ecclesiastical History.

the head, to signify the difference of power betwixt princes and me.

[146]This order, therefore, of priests, bishops, archbishops, patriarchs, and others, as a thing most convenient, my church of Rome hath set and instituted through all churches, following therein, not only the example of the angelical army in heaven, but also of the apostles: [147]for amongst them, also, there was not a uniform equality or institution of one degree, [148]but a diversity or distinction of authority and power. Albeit they were all apostles together, yet it was granted notwithstanding to Peter (themselves also agreeing to the same), that he should bear dominion and superiority over all the other apostles; [149]and therefore he had his name given him Cephas, that is, head or beginning of the apostlehood. [150]Whereupon the order of the priesthood first in the New Testament began in Peter, to whom it was said, "Thou art Peter, and upon thee I will build my church; [151]and I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and thou being converted confirm thy brethren. [152]I have prayed for thee that thy faith shall not fail." Wherefore seeing such power is given to Peter, [153]and to me in Peter, being his successor, [154]who is he then in all the world that ought not to be subject to my decrees, which have such power in heaven, in hell, in earth, with the quick and also the dead? [155]commanding and granting in my bull of lead, sent to Vienna, unto all such as died in their peregrination to Rome, that the pain of hell should not touch them: and also, that all such as took the holy cross upon them, should every one at his request, not only be delivered himself, but also deliver three or four souls, whomsoever he would, out of purgatory.

[156]Again, having such promise and assurance that my faith shall not fail, who then will not believe my doctrine? for did not Christ himself first pray for Peter, that his faith should not fail? [157]Also have I not a sure promise of Paul's own mouth, writing to my church in these words: "God is my witness, whom I serve in my spirit, in the gospel of his Son, that without ceasing I make mention of you always in my prayers?" [Rom. i.] [158]Wherefore, as I condemn all such worthily, who will not obey my decrees, to be dispossessed of all their honour without restitution; [159]so all they that believe not my doctrine, or who stand against the privilege of the church, especially the church of Rome, I pronounce them heretics; [160]and as the other before is to be called unjust, so this man is to be called a heretic. [161]For why? he goeth against the faith, who goeth against her who is the mother of faith.

Scripture well applied, and like a clerk.

[162]But here may arise, percase, a doubt or scruple, that if my faith and knowledge stand so sure by the promise of Christ, and by the continual prayer of St. Paul; whether is it true, or is it to be granted, that any other should excel me in knowledge, or interpretation of holy Scripture? [163]for look, whose knowledge is grounded on most

(146) P. Nicholas, Dist. 22. c. 'Omnes.' (147) P. Clement, Dist. 80. c. 'In illis.'
(148) P. Anacletus Dist. 22. c. 'Sacrosancta.'
(149) Ibidem. Quasi vero Petrus non a Petra, sed κέφας ἀπὸ τῆς κεφάλης ducatur.
(150) Dist. 21. c. 'In novo.' (151) Ibid. (152) Dist. 21. c. Decretis.
(153) Pope Leo dist. 19. c. 'Ita Dominus.' (154) P. Nicholaus in tantum, dist. 22.
(155) P. Clemens, in Bulla Viennæ in scriniis privilegiorum. (156) Dist. 21. c. 'Decretis.'
(157) Pope Anacletus, dist. 22. c. 'Sacrosancta.'
(158) Pope Damasus. 25. q. c. 'Omnia.' Item Pope Greg. Dist. 19. Null.
(159) P. Nicolaus Dist. 22. c. 'Omnes.' (160) Ibid. (161) Ibid
(162) Dist. 20. Decretales. (163) Ibid.

reason, his words should seem to be of more authority. [164]Where- *Ecclesiastical History.*
unto I answer and grant, that many there be, and have been more abundantly endued with fuller grace of the Holy Ghost and greater excellency of knowledge; and therefore that the tractations of Augustine, Jerome, and others, ought to be preferred before the constitutions of divers popes. Yet, I say, in determination of causes, because they have not the virtue and height of that authority which is given to me, therefore in expounding of Scriptures, they are to be preferred; but in deciding of matters they stand inferior to my authority: by virtue of which authority, [165]both they themselves be allowed for doctors, and their works approved, and also all other matters be ruled, through the power of the keys, which is given to me immediately of Christ.

Although I deny not but the same keys, be also committed to other prelates, as they were to other apostles besides Peter, [166]yet it is one thing to have the keys, another thing to have the use of the keys. [167]Wherefore here is to be noted a distinction of keys, after the mind of my school-doctors; one key which is called 'Clavis ordinis,' having authority to bind and loose, but not over the persons whom they bind and loose; and this authority they take not immediately of Christ, but mediately by me the vicar of Christ. The other key is called 'Clavis jurisdictionis,' which I the vicar of Christ take immediately of him, having not only authority to bind and loose, but also dominion over them on whom this key is exercised. By the jurisdiction of which key the fulness of my power is so great, that whereas all others are subjects, [168]yea and emperors themselves, ought to subdue their executions to me; only I am a subject to no creature, [169]no, not to myself, except I list; 'in foro pœnitentiæ,' to my ghostly father submitting myself as a sinner, but not as pope; so that my papal majesty ever remaineth unminished; superior to all men; [170]whom all persons ought to obey, [171]and follow, [172]whom no man must judge or accuse of any crime, either of murder, adultery, simony, or such like; [173]no man depose, but I myself. [174]No man can excommunicate me, yea though I communicate with the excommunicated, for no canon bindeth me: whom no man must lie to, [175]for he that lieth to me is a church robber, [176]and who obeyeth not me, is a heretic, and an excommunicated person. [177]For, like as all the Jews were commanded to obey the high priest of the Levitical order, o. what state or condition soever they were, so are all christian men more and less bound to obey me, Christ's lieutenant on earth: concerning the obedience or disobedience of whom ye have in Deut. xvii.; [178]where the common gloss saith, that he who denieth to the high priest 'obedientiam,' lieth under the sentence of condemnation, as much as he that denieth to God his 'omnipotentiam.'

Thus then it appeareth, that the greatness of my priesthood [179]began in Melchisedec, was solemnized in Aaron, continued in the

(164) Dist. 20. Decretales. (165) Dist. 19. 'Si Romanorum.'
(166) Gabriel Biel, lib. iv. Dist. 19. (167) Petrus de Palude.
(168) Dist. 95. c. 'Imperator.' (169) Gabriel. lib. iv. Dist. 19.
(170) P. Nicholaus Dist. 19 c. 'Si Romanorum in Glossa.' (171) Item 24. q. 1. Hæc est.
(172) Dist. 40, c. 'Si Papa.' (173) 2. q. 7. 'Nos si' in Glossa.
(174) Extravag. de. elect. Innotuit. (175) De pœnitentia, dist. 1. c. 'Serpens' in Glossa.
(176) Dist. 19. c. 'Nulli.' (177) August. de Ancho. (178) Glossa 'Ordinaris.'
(179) Antoninus.

Ecclesiastical History.

children of Aaron, perfectionated in Christ, represented in Peter, exalted in the universal jurisdiction, and manifested in Silvester, &c. So that through this pre-eminence of my priesthood, having all things subject to me, [180]it may seem well verified in me that was spoken of Christ [Psalm viii.], "Omnia subjecisti sub pedibus ejus, oves et boves, et universa pecora campi; volucres cœli et pisces maris," &c. i.e. "Thou hast subdued all things under his feet, sheep and oxen, and all cattle of the field, the birds of heaven, and fish of the sea," &c.; [181]where it is to be noted, that by oxen, Jews and heretics; by cattle of the field, Pagans be signified. For although as yet they be out of the use of my keys of binding and loosing, yet they be not out of the jurisdiction of my keys, but if they return, I may absolve them. [182]By sheep and all cattle, are meant all christian men both great and less, whether they be emperors, princes, prelates, or others. By birds of the air you may understand the angels and potestates of heaven, who be all subject to me, in that I am greater than the angels; and that in four things, as is afore declared; and have power to bind and loose in heaven, [183]and to give heaven to them that fight in my wars. [184]Lastly, by the fishes of the sea, are signified the souls departed in pain or in purgatory, as Gregory, by his prayer, delivered the soul of Trajan out of hell, and I have power to deliver out of purgatory whom I please. [185]Lastly, by the fishes of the sea, are signified such as be in purgatory, insomuch that they stand in need and necessity of other men's help, and yet be in their journey 'viatores, et de foro pape,' that is, passengers and belonging to the court of the pope: therefore they may be relieved out of the store-house of the church, by the participation of indulgence. And forasmuch as some do object that my pardons cannot extend to them that be departed, for that it was said to Peter, "Whatsoever thou shalt loose upon earth;" and therefore seeing they are not upon earth, they cannot be loosed of me: here I answer again by my doctors, that this word 'super terram,' &c. i.e. 'upon the earth,' may be referred two manner of ways; first to him that is the looser, so that he who shall loose, shall be upon the earth; and so I grant that the pope being dead, can loose no man. Also it may be referred to him that is loosed, so that whosoever is loosed, must be upon the earth, or about the earth; and so the souls in purgatory may be loosed, which albeit they are not upon the earth, yet they are about the earth: at least they be not in heaven.

Antoninus August. de Ancho. Th. Part 4.

And because ofttimes one question may rise upon another, and the heads of men now-a-days are curious, a man hearing now that I can deliver out of purgatory, will ask here a question, whether I be able also to empty all purgatory at once, or not? To whom my canonist Augustine doth answer by a triple distinction: "Quantum ad absolutam meam jurisdictionem, quantum ad ordinatam executionem, quantum ad divinam acceptationem." First, touching my absolute jurisdiction, he saith, I am able to rid out all purgatory together, for as many as be under my jurisdiction, as all be, except only infants unbaptized 'in limbo,' and men departed only, 'cum baptismo flaminis,' that is, with the baptism of the Spirit, and such as

August. de Ancho. 'An Papa possit totum purgatorium expoliare.' Absoluta jurisdictio. Doctors agree in purgatory. August. de Ancho. Antoninus.

(180) Antoninus, Summæ majoris 3. part. Dist. 22. (181) Ibid.
(182) Ibid. (183) 23 q. c. 'Omnium.' (184) Idem Antoninus in ibid. (185) Ibid.

have no friends to do for them that, where-for pardons be given, these only excepted. For all others besides, the pope (he saith) hath power to release all purgatory at once, as touching his absolute jurisdiction: albeit Thomas Aquinas (part iv.) denieth the same, forasmuch as Christ himself (he saith) when he came down, did not utterly at once release all purgatory. As touching my ordinary execution they hold, that I may if I will, but I ought not to do it. Thirdly, as concerning the divine acceptation, that is, How God would accept it if I did it, that (they say) is unknown unto them, and to every creature, yea, and to the pope himself.

Ordinata executio: Divina acceptatio.

And to the intent I would all men to see and understand that I lack not more witnesses besides these, if I list to bring them out, you shall hear the whole choir of my divine clergy brought out, with a full voice testifying in my behalf, in their books, tractations, distinctions, titles, glosses, and summaries, as by their own words here followeth.[aa] The pope (say they), being the vicar of Jesu Christ through the whole world, instead of the living God, hath that dominion and lordship which Christ here in earth would not have, although he had it 'in habitu,' but gave it to Peter 'in actu;' that is, the universal jurisdiction both of spiritual things, and also of temporal: which double jurisdiction was signified by the two swords in the gospel, and also by the offering of the wise men, who offered not only incense, but also gold; to signify not only the spiritual dominion, but also the temporal, to belong to Christ and to his vicar. For, as we read, "The earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof;" and as Christ saith, "All power is given to him both in heaven and earth:" so it is to be affirmed inclusive, that the vicar of Christ hath power on things celestial, terrestrial, and infernal; which he took immediately of Christ: all others take it immediately by Peter and the pope. Wherefore such as say that the pope hath dominion only of spiritual things in the world, and not of temporal, may be likened to the counsellors of the king of Syria [1 Kings xx.], who said, "The gods of the mountains be their gods, and therefore they have overcome us; but let us fight against them in the low meadows, and in valleys where they have no power, and so we shall prevail over them." So evil counsellors now-a-days, through their pestiferous flattery, deceive kings and princes of the earth, saying: "Popes and prelates be

(aa) *An Alphabetical List of the Authorities here alluded to.*

Antonin. in Summulis.
Augustinus de Ancho in Decre:
Astesanus Midorita
Baptista de Salvin. sua.
Baptistiniana.
Bonaventura.
Campensis, lib. controversiarum.
Cochæus.
Durandus in speculo.
Dreide. de eccle. Scripturis et dogmat.
Edwardus Pevellus, Anglus, contra Luthe.
Echius in Enchir.
Franciscus.
Fulgo.
Gabriel. Biel. Spica.
Gaspar.
Gratianus in Decretis.
Gerson, doctor illuminatissimus ecclesiastica postestate.
Hugo Cardinalis in postilla.
Hostiensis.
Holkot.
Hosius.
Johannes Andrea.
Innocentius.
Johan. de Turre Cremata de ecclesia summa.
Lanfrancus contra Wiclif.
Lilius Historicum Anglus.
Lapus
Laurentius.
Magister sententiarum.
Nicolaus.
Ockam in dialogo, parte I. lib. v.
Oytanus.
Petrus de Palude.
Petrus de Tharam.
Petrus de Aliaco.
Panormitanus Alexander de Alex.
Raymundus in summa de casibus.
Richardus.
Rabanus, sup. Mat. cap. xvi.
Rupertus Tuitiensis.
Scotus doctor subtilis.
Thomas Aquin.
Ulricus.
Waldenus, confessionate, et de Sacramentis.

Ecclesiastical History.

gods of mountains, that is, of spiritual things only, but they be not gods of valleys; that is, they have no dominion over temporal things, and therefore let us fight with them in the valleys, that is, in the power of the temporal possessions, and so we shall prevail over them." But let us hear what saith the sentence of God to them. "Because," saith he, "the Syrians say that the god of mountains is their god, and not the god of valleys, therefore I will give all this multitude into your hand, and ye shall know that I am the Lord." What can be more effectually spoken to set forth the majesty of my jurisdiction, which I received immediately of the Lord? of the Lord, I say, and of no man. For, whereas Constantine the emperor gave to Silvester, enduing him with this possession and patrimony; that is so to be expounded and taken not so much for a donation, as to be counted for a restitution made of that which tyrannously was taken from him before.

And again: whereas I have given at sundry times to Ludovicus and other emperors, of my temporal lands and possessions, yet that was done not so much for any recognising of homage to them, as for keeping peace with them: for I owe to emperors no due obedience that they can claim; but they owe to me, as to their superior; and, therefore, for a diversity betwixt their degree and mine, in their consecration they take the unction on their arm, I on the head. And as I am superior to them, so am I superior to all laws, and free from all constitutions; who am able of myself, and by my interpretation, to prefer equity not being written, before the law written; having all laws within the chest of my breast, as is aforesaid. And whatsoever this my see shall enact, approve, or disprove, all men ought to approve or reprove the same, without either judging, disputing, doubting, or retracting.

Such is the privilege given of Christ, in the behalf of Peter, to the church of Rome, [186] that what country soever, kingdom, or province, choosing to themselves bishops and ministers, although they agree with all other Christ's faithful people in the name of Jesu, that is, in faith and charity, believing in the same God, and in Christ, his true Son, and in the Holy Ghost; having also the same creed, the same evangelists and scriptures of the apostles: yet, notwithstanding, unless their bishops and ministers take their origin and ordination from this apostolic seat, they are to be counted not of the church; so that succession of faith only, is not sufficient to make a church, except the ministers take their ordination by them who have their succession from the apostles. So their faith, supremacy, the chair of Peter, keys of heaven, power to bind and loose, all these be inseparable to the church of Rome: so that it is to be presumed, that God always providing, and St. Peter helping the bishopric and diocese of Rome, it shall never fall from the faith.

And likewise it is to be presumed and presupposed that the bishop of that church is always good and holy. Yea, and though he be not always good, or be destitute of his own merits, yet the merits of St. Peter, predecessor of that place, be sufficient for him, who hath bequeathed and left a perpetual dowry of merits, with inheritance of innocency, to his posterity. [187] Yea, though he fall into homicide or

(186) Johan. Driedo. De dogmatibus variis, l. 4.
(187) Hugo, in glossa dist. 40. c. 'Non Not.'

adultery, he may sin, but yet he cannot be accused, but rather excused by the murders of Samson, the thefts of the Hebrews, the adultery of Jacob. [188]And likewise, if any of his clergy should be found embracing a woman, it must be expounded and presupposed that he doth it to bless her. *Ecclesiastical History.*

Furthermore, the pope (say they) hath all the dignities, and all power of all patriarchs. In his primacy, he is Abel; in government, the ark of Noah; in patriarchdom, Abraham; in order, Melchisedec; in dignity, Aaron; in authority, Moses; in seat judicial, Samuel; in zeal, Elias; in meekness, David; in power, Peter; in unction, Christ. My power (they say) is greater than all the saints; for whom I confirm, no man may infirm: I may favour and spare whom I please, [189]to take from one and to give to another. And if I be enemy to any man, all men ought to eschew that person forthwith, and not tarry and look while I bid them so to do. Nay, thou art Antichrist!

All the earth is my diocese; and I the ordinary of all men, having the authority of the King of all kings upon subjects. I am all in all, and above all, [190]so that God himself, and I the vicar of God, have both one consistory, [191]and I am able to do almost all that God can do, 'clave non errante!' [192]Item, It is said of me that I have a heavenly arbitrement, and therefore am able to change the nature of things, 'substantialia unius applicando alteri,' and of nothing to make things to be; and of a sentence that is nothing, to make it stand in effect; in all things that I list, my will to stand for reason: for I am able by the law to dispense above the law, and of wrong to make justice, in correcting laws and changing them.

You have heard hitherto sufficiently out of my doctors. Now you shall hear greater things out of mine own decrees.[193] Read there dist. 96. 'Satis.' [194]Also 12. Caus. 11. q. 1. cap. 'Sacerdotibus.' [195]Also 12. q. 1. cap. 'Futuram.' Do you not find there expressed, how Constantine the emperor, sitting in the general council at Nice, called us prelates of the church, all gods? [196]Again, read my canon decretal, De transl. episc. cap. 'Quanto.' Do you not see there manifestly expressed, how not man, but God alone separateth that which the bishop of Rome doth dissolve and separate? Wherefore, if those things that I do, be said to be done not of man, but of God; what can you make me but God?[aa] Again, if prelates of the church be called and counted of Constantine for gods, I then, being above all prelates, seem by this reason to be above all gods. Wherefore no marvel, if it be in my power to change time and times, to alter and abrogate laws, to dispense with all things, yea with the precepts of Christ: for, where Christ biddeth Peter put up his sword, and admonished his disciples not to use any outward force in revenging themselves, [197]do not I, Pope Nicholas, writing to the bishops of France, exhort them to draw out their material swords in pursuing their enemies, and recovering their possessions; setting against the precept

(188) Gloss. in caus. 11. q. 3. c. 'Absis.' (189) Gloss. in c. 11. q. 3. 'Si inimicus.'
(190) Hostiensis in c. 'Quanto de transl. præb.' (191) Ex summa casuum fratris Baptistæ.
(192) Ex Citatione Henr. Bulling. de fine Seculi. orat. prima. Item, ex Citatione Jacobi Andreæ, adversus Hossum, lib. v. Item, ex Citatione Jer. Marii in actis, 2 Divi.
(193) Pope Nicolaus Dist. 96. c. Satis. (194) 11. q. 11. 'Sacerdotibus.'
(195) 12. q. 1. 'Futurum.' (196) Decretal. de Transl. Epist. c. 'Quanto.'
(*aa*) Thus you may see it verified, that St. Paul prophesieth of the adversary sitting in the temple as God, and boasting himself above all that is named God, &c. 2 Thess. ii.
(197) Pope Nicolaus, Causa 15, q. 6. c. 'Autoritatem.'

Ecclesiastical History.

of Christ, the prophet saying, "Dissolve colligationes impietatis!" &c.

Item, whereas Christ was present himself at the marriage in Cana of Galilee, [198]do not I, pope Martin, in my distinction, inhibit the spiritual clergy to be present at marriage-feasts, and also to marry themselves? Item, where matrimony, by Christ, cannot be loosed but only for whoredom, [199]do not I, pope Gregory junior, writing to Boniface, permit the same to be broken for impotency or infirmity of body? [200]Item, against the express caution of the gospel, do not I, Innocent IV., permit 'vim vi repellere?' [201]Likewise, against the Old Testament, I do dispense in not giving tithes. [202]Item, against the New Testament in swearing, and that in these six causes, [203]Pax, fama, fides, reverentia, cautio damni, defectus veri, poscunt sibi magna caveri; wherein two kinds of oaths are to be noted, whereof some be 'promissoria,' some be 'assertoria,' &c. [204]Item, in vows, and that 'ex toto voto,' whereas other prelates cannot dispense 'ex toto a voto,' I can deliver 'ex toto a voto,' like God himself. [205]Item, in perjury if I absolve, my absolution standeth: [206]where also note, that in all swearing, always the authority of the superior is excepted. [207]Moreover, where Christ biddeth to lend without hope of gain, do not I, pope Martin, give dispensation for the same? and notwithstanding the council of Thuron enacted the contrary, yet with two bulls I disannulled that decreement!

[208]What should I speak of murder, making it no murder nor homicide to slay them that be excommunicated? [209]likewise against the law of nature; [210]item, against the apostles: [211]also against the canons of the apostles, I can and do dispense; for where they, in their canon, command a priest for fornication to be deposed, I, through the authority of Silvester, do alter the rigour of that constitution, [212]considering the minds and bodies also of men now to be weaker than they were then.

[213]Briefly, against the universal state of the church I have dispensation, "scilicet quando status ecclesiæ non decoloratur;" and for marriage in the second degree of consanguinity and infinity; "in collateralibus æquali linea;" that is, between the brethren's children, although not 'inæquali linea,' so that the uncle may not marry his niece, unless for an urgent and weighty cause. As for all such contracts betwixt party and party, where matrimony is not yet consummated by carnal connexion, it is but a small matter for me to dispense withal.

In summa: if ye list briefly to hear the whole number of all such cases as properly do appertain to my papal dispensation, which come to the number of one and fifty points, that no man may meddle

(198) Pope Martin Dist. 14. c. 'Lector.'
(199) Pope Greg. Junior, 32. q. 7. c. 'Quod proposuisti.'
(200) Pope Inno. IV. Sect. Decret. de sententia excom. c. 'Dilecto.'
(201) Pope Alexander III., De decimis, c. 'Ex parte.'
(202) Pope Nicolaus, 15. q. 6. 'Autoritatem.'
(203) De elect. et elect. potestate. Significasti in Glossa.
(204) Baptista de Salis, in Summa casuum ex Panormitano
(205) Pope Inno. IV. De elect. Venerabilem.
(206) Ext. De Jure-jurando cap. Venientes. Item Dist. De Elect. Significasti in Glossa.
(207) Pope Martinus V. Extra. c. 'Regimini Universalis Ecclesiæ.'
(208) Pope Urbanus II. Caus. 23. q. 5. c. 'Excommunicatorum.'
(209) Pope Nicolaus, caus. 15. q. 6. 'Autoritatem.' (210) Ibid.
(211) Dist. 82. 1. Præsbyter. (212) Pope Pelagius, Dist. 34. c. 'Fraternitatis
(213) Baptista de Salis, fol. *

withal but only I myself alone, I will recite them first in Latin, then in English, as they be set forth in my canonical doctors. *Ecclesiastical History.*

Casus Papales LI. apud Fratrem Astesanum, sive de Ast. Doctorem solemnem in summa confessionis. Item apud Hostiensem, de offic. legat. reperti et his versibus comprehensi.

Si sit catholicus, Papam non judicat ullus.
Erigit et subdit cathedras; dividit, unit,
i.e. *votum terræ sanctæ.* i.e. *degradatos.* i.e. *episcopos et alios.*
Mutat vota crucis. Restituit. Eximit. Ad se
Majores causæ referuntur. Legitimatque,
i.e. *insufficientes.* i.e. *intrantes religionem.*
Promovet, appellare vetat, prohibet profiteri.
i.e. *defectum regi vacante regno*
Deponit, transfert, suppletque, renunciat illi
Symônia, juramentum, excommunicatio à Papa facta
Præsul, et exemptus. Simon, jurans, anathema,
tam Papa quam legati.
Vel proprium, vel legati, vel lex utriusque.
i.e. *solvitur Papa.*
Tum neque participans: etsi quem sponte salutat,
Quem canon damnat, sibi soli quando reservat,
qui irregularitatem incurrit.
Solvitur a Papa nec non quem regula damnat.
scilicet, addas.
Addas suspensum, causam, cum fertur ad ipsum.
i.e. *Addas.* i.e. *Pluralitatem beneficiorum.*
Rescriptum, fidei dubium: confert bona plura.
Irritat infectum, legem condit generalem.
i.e. *Imperatorem.*
Approbat imperium, firmat, deponit, et ungit.
canonizat.
Concilium generale facit. Sacrat quoque sanctos.
de aliquo facit nihil, *de nihilo aliquid.*
Ens non esse facit: non ens, fore. Pallia semper
Portat. Concedit, legi non subjacet ulli.
i.e. *immediate.*
Appellatur ad hunc medio sine, judiciumque
De monacho non monachum facit.
Est pro lege suum. Monachum revocat renuentem.
i.e. *incestum, &c.*
Majus adulterio solvit generaliter; arctat
i.e. *impedimentum matrimoniale.*
Et laxat quiquid sponsis nocet. Ordinat extra
i.e. *extra i. tempora.*
Tempora dando sacrum; promotum promovet idem.
Ordinat atque die qua consecratur et ipse.
i.e. *sacerdotium conferi nondum vacans.*
Viventisque locum concedit, jureque privat.
Insignia Episcopalia concedit. i.e. *decimis eximit.* i.e. *presbytero concedit infantes ungere.*
Insignit. Laico sacra donat; chrisma ministro.
Summa sede sedet, plenusque vicarius extat.
Si sit catholicus Papam non judicat ullus.

Ecclesiastical History.

Cases Papal, to the number of one and fifty, wherein the Pope only hath power to dispense, and none else besides, except by special license from him.

First: the determination of doubts and questions belonging to faith.[a]
Translation of a bishop, elect or confirmed: likewise of abbots exempted.[b]
Deposition of bishops.[c]
The taking of resignation of bishops.[d]
Exemptions of bishops, not to be under archbishops.[e]
Restitution of such as be deposed from their order.[f]
The judicial definition, or interpretation of his own privileges.[g]
Changing of bishoprics, or dimission of covents, &c. New correction of bishops' seats, or institution of new religions.[h]
Subjection or division of one bishopric under another.[i]
Dispensation for vowing to go to the Holy Land.[k]
Dispensation for the vow of chastity, or of religion, or of holy orders.[l]
Dispensation against a lawful oath, or vow made.[m]
Dispensation against divers irregularities, as in crimes greater than adultery, and in such as be suspended for simony.[n]
Dispensation in receiving into orders him that had two wives.[o]
Dispensing with such as, being within orders, do that which is above their order; as if a deacon should say mass, being not yet priest.[p]
To receive into orders such as be blemished or maimed in body.[q]
Dispensation for murder, or for such as willingly cut off any member of man's body.[r]
Dispensation to give orders to such as have been under the sentence of the greater curse or excommunication.[s]
Dispensation for such as being suspended with the greater curse do minister in any holy order.[t]
Dispensation for such as be unlawfully born to receive orders or benefices.[u]
Dispensation for pluralities of benefices.[x]
Dispensation to make a man bishop, before he be thirty years old.[y]
Dispensation to give orders under age.[z]
The pope only hath power to make and call a general council.[aa]
The pope only hath power to deprive an ecclesiastical person, and give away his benefice being not vacant.[bb]
The pope alone is able to absolve him that is excommunicated by name.[cc]
The pope only is able to absolve him, whom his legate doth excommunicate.[dd]
The pope both judgeth in the causes of them that appeal unto him, and where he judgeth, none may appeal from him.[ee]
Only he hath authority to make deacon and priest, whom he made subdeacon, either upon Sundays, or upon other feasts.[ff]
Only the pope, and none else, at all times, and in all places, weareth the pall.[gg]
The pope only dispenseth with a man, either being not within orders, or being unworthy to be made bishop.[hh]
He only either confirmeth or deposeth the emperor when he is chosen.[ii]
A man being excommunicated, and his absolution referred to the pope, none may absolve that man but the pope alone.[kk]
The same hath authority in any election, before it be made, to pronounce it none, when it is made.[ll]

(*a*) 24. q. 1. 'Quoties.' (*b*) Extr. de transl. c. 'Intor.'
(*c*) 3. q. 6. 'Quamvis.' (*d*) 9. q. 3. 'Denique.' (*e*) 16. q. 1. 'Frater.'
(*f*) 2. q. 6. 'Ideo.' (*g*) Extr. de rest. ca. 'cum venis.' 7. q. 1. 'temporis.'
(*h*) 16. q. 1. 'Felix.' (*i*) 16. q. 1. 'Et Christ.' (*k*) Extr. de vota. Ex multa.
(*l*) Extr. de statu Monachi c. 'Cum ad.' (*m*) Extr. de juramento c. 'Veniontes.'
(*n*) Extr. de judicio, c. 'At si clerici.' (*o*) Extr. de Bigamia, c. 'nuper.'
(*p*) Extr. de clerico non ord. ministrante. (*q*) Extr. de corpore vitiatis et di. 55.
(*r*) Dist. 50. 'Miror.' (*s*) Extr. de sententia et excom. c. 'cum illorum.'
(*t*) Ibid. (*u*) Extr. de filiis Presbyt. c. 'Is qui.' (*x*) Extr. de Prebend. cap. 'de multa.'
(*y*) Extr. de elect. c. 'Cum nobis.' (*z*) Extr. de ætate et qualit. generalem.
(*aa*) Dist. 15. per tot. (*bb*) 9. q. 3. Per principale. (*cc*) De elect. c. 'Venerabilem.'
(*dd*) Extr. de officio legati, c. 'querenti.' (*ee*) 9. q. 3. Aliorum.
(*ff*) Extr. de Templi ordine. c. 'Cum in distrib.' (*gg*) Extr. de usu Pallii. c. 'ad honorem.
(*hh*) Extr. de elect. c. 'Dudum.' (*ii*) Extr. de elect. c. 'Venerabilem.'
(*kk*) Tractatu. de sensuris. (*ll*) Extr. de elect. c. 'Innocuit.'

He doth canonize saints, and none else but he.[mm]
Dispensation to have many dignities and personages in one church, and without charge and cure of soul, belongeth only to the pope.[nn]
To make that effectual which is of no effect, and contrariwise, belongeth only to the pope.[oo]
To pluck a monk out of his cloister both against his own will and the abbot's, pertaineth only to the pope.[pp]
His sentence maketh a law.[qq]
The same day in which the pope is consecrated, he may give orders.[rr]
He dispenseth in degrees of consanguinity and affinity.[ss]
He is able to abolish laws, 'quoad utrumque forum;' that is, both civil and canon, where danger is of the soul.[tt]
It is in his dispensation to give general indulgences to certain places or persons.[uu]
Item, To legitimate what persons soever he please, as touching spiritualties; in all places, as touching temporalties, as honours, inheritance, &c.[xx]
To erect new religions, to approve or reprove rules or ordinances, and ceremonies in the church.[yy]
He is able to dispense with all the precepts and statutes of the church.[zz]
Item, To dispense and to discharge any subject from the bond of allegiance, or oath made to any manner of person.
No man may accuse him of any crime, unless of heresy; and that neither, except he be incorrigible.
The same is also free from all laws, so that he cannot incur[aaa] into any sentence of excommunication, suspension, irregularity, or into the penalty of any crime, but into the note of crime he may well.[bbb]
Finally he, by his dispensation, may grant, yea, to a simple priest, to minister the sacrament of confirmation to infants; also to give lower orders, and to hallow churches and virgins, &c.[ccc]
These be the cases wherein I only have power to dispense, and no man else; neither bishop, nor metropolitan, nor legate, without a license from me.

The riches and possessions of the pope.

After that I have now sufficiently declared my power in earth, in heaven, and in purgatory, how great it is, and what is the fulness thereof, in binding, loosing, commanding, permitting, electing, confirming, deposing, dispensing, doing and undoing, &c. I will entreat now a little of my riches likewise, and great possessions, that every man may see, by my wealth and abundance of all things, rents, tithes, tributes, my silks, my purple mitres, crowns, gold, silver, pearls and gems, lands and lordships, how God there prospereth and magnifieth his vicar in the earth. For to me pertaineth first the imperial city of Rome; the palace of Lateran; the kingdom of Sicily is proper to me, Apulia and Capua be mine. Also the kingdom of England and Ireland, be they not, or ought they not to be tributaries to me?[214]

To these I adjoin also, besides other provinces and countries both in the Occident and Orient, from the north to the south, these dominions by name:[215] Soriano, Monte Albodo, Rocca de Sintra, the

(*mm*) Extr. de religione et veneratione. Sanct. c. 1. (*nn*) Extr. de Prebend. c. 'de multa.'
(*oo*) Extr. Qui. si. sint. leg. c. 'Tanta.'
(*pp*) 9. q. 3. c. 'Ultimo.' (*qq*) Extr. de sentent. et re judic. c. 'in causis.'
(*rr*) Extr. de elect. cap. 'Quod sicut.' (*ss*) Extr. de restit. spo. Literas.
(*tt*) Ext. de præscript. cap. ult. et de judicio c. 'Novit.' (*uu*) Thomas.
(*xx*) Extr. Qui si. sint. legit. c. 'Per venerabilem.' (*yy*) Petrus de Palude, lib. iv.
(*zz*) Secundum Thomam in 4. 7. q. 3. Per principalem. Dist. 40. 'Si Papa.'
(*aaa*) 'Incur,' fall under.—Ed. (*bbb*) Ibid. (*ccc*) Dist. 32. c. 'præter hoc' Verum.
(214) Dist. 96. Constantinus.
(215) Ex Commentariis Theoderici Niemi. quem citat Illyricus [Flacius] in Catalogo testium, fol. 228. [The editor has endeavoured to select from the best authorities the English names of the places contained in the following sentence, copied verbatim from the original. A few names, which are more difficult to explain, and distinguished with asterisks, are left in the text nearly in the form in which Foxe gives them; the Case only being altered from the accusative to the nominative. The authority upon which the alteration from ancient to modern orthography is made is principally Monsieur Baudrand. "Surianum, Montembordon, et Lunæ insulam, Corsicæ Regnum, Parvam Mantuam, Montemselete, Insulam Venetiarum, Ducatum Ferrariæ, Canellum, Caniodam, Duca-

kingdom of Corsica, Little Mantua, Monselice, Venice, the duchy of Ferrara, Canelli, Canioda,* the duchy of Histria, Dalmatia, the Exarchate of Ravenna, Faventia, Cesena, Castro, Tiberiatus,* Rocca, Milan, Ceperano, Cudelaff,[216] Imola, Rimini, Centa, Montferrat, Il Monte Olympe, Castrum Exforii,* Ruvo,[217] Gubio, Urbino, Fossombrone, Il Galli, Senigaglia, Ancona, Gosa,* the duchy of Perugia, Orvietto, Todi, Segnino, the duchy of Spoleto, Tiano, Calabria, the duchy of Naples, the duchy of Benevento, Salerno, the promontory of Lorento, Sardinia, the isle of Ansa, the territory of Cutisa,* the territory of Præneste, Silandum, Chiusi, Fondi, Terra Vegeta,* Terra Claudia,* Camerino, Fabrianese, Siros, Porto with the island Archis,* Ostia with its ports; the state of Aquino, the state of Lamentano, Civita Castellana, Fidenæ, Farento, Celano, Naples, and Gallipolis, with divers others more,[218] which Constantine the emperor gave unto me. Not that they were not mine before he did give them;[219] for in that I took them of him, I took them not as a gift (as is before mentioned), but as a restitution; and in that I rendered them again to Otho, I did it not for any duty to him, but only for peace sake.

What should I speak here of my daily revenues, of my first-fruits, annates, palls, indulgences, bulls, confessionals, indults and rescripts, testaments, dispensations, privileges, elections, prebends, religious houses, and such like, which come to no small mass of money? insomuch that, for one pall to the archbishop of Mentz, which was wont to be given for 10,000 florins,[220] now it is grown to 27,000 florins, which I received of Jacobus the archbishop, not long before Basil council; besides the fruits of other bishoprics in Germany, coming to the number of fifty, whereby what vantage cometh unto my coffers, it may partly be conjectured. But what should I speak of Germany,[221] when the whole world is my diocese, as my canonists do say, and all men are bound to believe;[222] except they will imagine (as the Manichees do) two beginnings; which is false and heretical? For Moses saith, In the beginning God made heaven and earth, and not in the beginnings.[223] Wherefore as I began, so I conclude, commanding, declaring, and pronouncing, to stand upon necessity of salvation, for every human creature to be subject to me.

Above fifty bishoprics in Germany. Æneas Sylvius.

tum Histriæ, Dalmatiam, Exarchatum Ravennæ, Faventiam, Cesenam, Castrum, Tiberiatus, Roccam Mediolanum, Castrum Ceperianum, Castrum Cusianum, Terram Cornulariam, Ducatum Arimini, Contam, Montem Ferretum, Montem Capiniæ seu Olympicum, Castrum Exforii, Robin. Eugubin [bigium,] Urbin [um.] Forum Sempronii, Gallii, et Senogalli, Anconam, Gosam, Ducatum Perusii, Urbenetam, et Tudertum, Castrum Sinianum, Ducatum Spoletanum, Theanum, Calabriam, Ducatum Neapolim, Ducatum Beneventi, Solernum, Sorenti insulam, Cardiniam insulam, Anciæ insulam, Territorium Cutisan, Territoriam Prænestinum, Terram Silandis, Terram Clusium, [camirinon], Terram Fundan, Terram Vegetan, Terram Claudianan, Terram Camisinam, Terram Fab[r]iensem, Terram Siram, Terram Portuensem, cum insula Archis, Terram Ostiensem cum maritimis, Civitatem Aquinensem, Civitatem Lamentum et Sufforariam, Civitatem Falisenam, Fidenam, Feretrum, Cliternam, Neapolim, Galiopolim."—Ed.]

(216) Cusi or Cudelaff. (217) Rubi in Apulia, now Ruvo.
(218) Dist. 96 'Constantinus.' (219) Antoninus. In Summa majore 3. part.
(220) Ex lib. Gra. nominum nationis Germanicæ.
(221) Sext. decret. De penis c. 'Felicis,' in Glossa. Item de privilegiis, c. 'Autoritatem,' in Glossa.
(222) Pope Bonifacius 8. Extr. de Majo. et obed. c. Unamsanctam.' (223) Ibid.

END OF BOOK THE SIXTH.

KING HENRY THE EIGHTH, IN COUNCIL.

ACTS AND MONUMENTS.

BOOK VII.

PERTAINING TO

THE LAST THREE HUNDRED YEARS FROM THE LOOSING OUT OF SATAN.

HENRY THE EIGHTH.[1]

NOTES SUMMARILY COLLECTED AND REPEATED OF THINGS DONE IN THE TIME OF KING HENRY VII.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1509.

As touching the civil state and administration of the commonwealth, and likewise of the state of the church under the reign of king Henry VII.; how he entered first into possession of the crown; how the two houses of York and Lancaster were in him conjoined through marriage with Elizabeth, the eldest daughter to king Edward IV., by the prudent counsel of John Morton, then bishop of Ely, after archbishop of Canterbury, and cardinal; how long the said king reigned, and what persecution was in his time for lack of search and knowledge of God's word, both in the diocese of Lincoln under bishop Smith (who was rector of the house of Brazennose in Oxford), as also in the diocese of Coventry, and other places more: and further, what punishment and alteration God commonly sendeth upon cities and realms public, for neglecting the safety of his flock, sufficiently in the former book hath been already specified; wherein many things more amply might have been added, incident in the reign of this prince, which we have for brevity pretermitted. For he that studieth to comprehend in story all things which the common course and use of life may offer to the writer, may sooner find matter to occupy himself, than to profit others. Otherwise I might have inferred mention of the seditious tumult of Perkin Warbeck, with his retinue, A.D. 1494, also of Blackheath field by the blacksmith, A.D. 1496. I might also have recited the glorious commendation of George Lily[2] in his Latin chronicle, testifying of king Henry VII., how he sent three solemn orators to pope Julius II., to yield his obedience to the see of Rome, A.D. 1506; and likewise how pope Alexander IX., Pius III., and Julius II., sent to the said king

Perkin Warbeck who feigned himself to be king Edward's son.

Black heath field.

(1) Edition 1563, p. 373. Ed. 1570, p. 935. Ed. 1576, p. 773. Ed. 1583, p. 799. Ed. 1596, p. 735. Ed. 1684, vol. ii. p. 1.—Ed.

(2) Chronicon Regum Angliæ; 8vo. Basileæ, 1561.—Ed.

Henry VIII. A. D. 1509.

Henry VII., three sundry famous ambassadors, with three swords and three caps of maintenance, electing and admitting him to be the chief defender of the faith: the commendation of which fact, how glorious it is in the eyes of George Lily and Fabian, that I leave to them. This I suppose, that when king Henry sent to pope Julius three orators with obedience, if he had sent him three thousand harquebussiers to furnish his field against the French king fighting at Ravenna, he had pleased pope Julius much better. If George Lily had been disposed to illustrate his story with notes, this had been more worthy the noting, how Ludovic XII., the French king, calling his parliament, moved this question against pope Julius, whether a pope might invade any prince by warlike force without cause, and whether the prince might withdraw his obedience from that pope or not? And it was concluded in the same parliament with the king, against the pope.[1] Also it was concluded the same time (which was in the reign of this king Henry VII.), that the Pragmatical Sanction[2] should be received in full force and effect through all the realm of France.

Note God's plagues following the burning of his people.

And forasmuch as we are fallen into the mention of George Lily, this in him is to be found not unworthy noting, how, after the burning of Thomas Noris above mentioned,[3] at the city of Norwich, the same year followed such a fire in Norwich, that the whole city well near was therewith consumed. Like as also after the burning of the aforesaid good aged father in Smithfield the same year, A.D. 1500, we read in the chronicle of Fabian, that a great plague fell upon the city of London, to the great destruction of the inhabitants thereof: wherein again is to be noted, as is aforesaid, that according to the state of the church the disposition of the commonwealth commonly is guided, either to be with adversity afflicted, or else in prosperity to flourish. But after these notes of king Henry VII., now to the story of king Henry VIII.

Children of king Henry VII. Marriage of lady Margaret and of lady Mary.

This king Henry VII., finishing his course in the year abovesaid, which was 1509, had, by Elizabeth his wife abovenamed, four men-children, and of women-children as many; of whom three only survived, to wit, prince Henry, lady Margaret, and lady Mary: of whom, king Henry VIII. succeeded his father; lady Margaret was married to James IV., king of Scots; lady Mary was affianced to Charles king of Castile.

Prince Arthur marries lady Katharine. His death. King Henry marrieth lady Katharine, his brother's wife. Blind dispensations of the pope.

Not long before the death of king Henry, prince Arthur his eldest son had espoused lady Katharine, daughter to Ferdinand, being of the age of fifteen years, and she about the age of seventeen; and shortly after his marriage, within five months he departed at Ludlow, and was buried at Worcester. After his decease, the succession of the crown fell next to king Henry VIII., who, being of the age of eighteen years, entered his reign A.D. 1509, and shortly after married with the aforesaid Katharine, his late brother prince Arthur's wife, to the end that her dowry, being great, should not be transported out of the land; in the which his marriage (being more politic than scripture-like), he was dispensed with by pope Julius, at the request of Ferdinand her father. The reign of this king continued

(1) Ex Masseo, lib. 30.

(2) Pragmatica Sanctio, was a practising or a determination of a certain parliament in France against the bishop of Rome, in defence of certain matters of religion concluded in the council of Basil.

(3) See vol. iv. p. 126.—Ed.

with great nobleness and fame the space of thirty-eight years; during whose time and reign was great alteration of things, as well to the civil state of the realm, as especially to the state ecclesiastical, and matters to the church appertaining. For by him was exiled and abolished out of the realm the usurped power of the bishop of Rome, idolatry and superstition somewhat repressed, images and pilgrimages defaced, abbeys and monasteries pulled down, sects of religion rooted out, Scriptures reduced to the knowledge of the vulgar tongue, and the state of the church and religion redressed. Concerning all which things, in the process of the volumes here following, we will endeavour (Christ willing) particularly and in order to discourse; after that first, we shall comprehend a few matters, which, within the beginning of his reign, are to be noted and collected: where (leaving off to write of Empson and Dudley, who, in the time of king Henry VII., being great doers in executing the penal laws over the people at that time, and purchasing thereby more malice than lands, with that which they had gotten, were, shortly after the entering of this king, beheaded, the one a knight, the other an esquire: leaving also to intermeddle with his wars, triumphs, and other temporal affairs), we mean in these volumes principally to bestow our travail in declaration of matters concerning most chiefly the state of the church and of religion, as well in this church of England, as also of the whole church of Rome. *Henry VIII.* A.D. 1509.

Herein first cometh to our hands a turbulent tragedy, and a fierce contention, which long before had troubled the church, and now this present year, 1509, was renewed afresh between two certain orders of Begging Friars, to wit, the Dominic Friars and the Franciscans, about the conception of the Virgin Mary, the mother of Christ.

The Franciscans were they who did hold of St. Francis, and followed the rule of his testament, commonly called Grey Friars or Minorites. Their opinion was this, that the Virgin Mary, prevented by the grace of the Holy Ghost, was so sanctified, that she was never subject one moment in her conception to original sin. The Dominic Friars were those, who, holding of Dominic, were commonly called Black Friars, or preaching friars. Their opinion was this: that the Virgin Mary was conceived as all other children of Adam be; so that this privilege only belongeth to Christ, to be conceived without original sin: notwithstanding, the said blessed virgin was sanctified in her mother's womb, and purged from her original sin, so as was John Baptist, Jeremy, or any other privileged person. This frivolous question kindling and engendering between these two sects of friars, burst out into such a flame of parts and sides-taking, that it occupied the heads and wits, schools and universities, almost through the whole church; some holding one part with Scotus, some the other part with Thomas Aquinas. The Minorites holding with Scotus their master, disputed and concluded, that she was conceived without all spot or note of original sin; and thereupon caused the feast and service of the conception of St. Mary the Virgin, to be celebrated and solemnized in the church. Contrary, the Dominic friars, taking side with Aquinas, preached, that it was heresy to affirm that the blessed virgin was conceived without the guilt of original sin; and that those who did celebrate the feast of her conception, or said any masses thereof, did sin grievously and mortally.

Franciscan friars.

Dominic.

Troublous dissension in the church, for the conception of the Virgin Mary.

Henry VIII. A. D. 1509.

In the mean time, as this fantasy waxed hot in the church, the one side preaching against the other, came pope Sixtus IV., A.D. 1476, who, joining side with the Minorites or Franciscans, first sent forth his decree by authority apostolic, willing, ordaining, and commanding all men to solemnize this new-found feast of the conception, in holy church for evermore: offering to all men and women, who, devoutly frequenting the church, would hear mass and service from the first even-song of the said feast, to the octaves of the same, as many days of pardon, as pope Urban IV., and pope Martin V., did grant for hearing the service of Corpus Christi day, &c. And this decree was given and dated at Rome, A.D. 1476.

A new-found feast of the conception of the Virgin.

Moreover the same pope, to the intent that the devotion of the people might be the more encouraged to the celebration of this conception, added a clause more to the Ave Maria, granting great indulgence and release of sins to all such as would invocate the blessed Virgin with the same addition, saying thus: "Ave Maria gratia plena, Dominus tecum, benedicta tu in mulieribus, et benedictus fructus ventris tui, Jesus Christus; et benedicta sit Anna mater tua, de qua, sine macula, tua processit caro virginia. Amen." That is, "Hail! Mary, full of grace, the Lord is with thee; blessed art thou among women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb, Jesus Christ; and blessed is Anna thy mother, of whom thy virgin's flesh hath proceeded without blot of original sin. Amen."

A new Ave Maria of the pope's making. He addeth to the words of Scripture.

Three absurdities to be noted.

Wherein thou mayest note, gentle reader! for thy learning three things: First, how the pope turneth that improperly into a prayer, which properly was sent of God for a message or tidings. Secondly, how the pope addeth to the words of the Scripture, contrary to the express precept of the Lord. Thirdly, how the pope exempteth Mary the blessed Virgin, not only from the seed of Abraham and Adam, but also from the condition of a mortal creature. For if there be in her no original sin, then she bareth not the image of Adam, neither doth she descend of that seed, of whose seed evil proceedeth upon all men and women, to condemnation; as St. Paul doth teach, Rom. v. Wherefore if she descend of that seed, then the infection of original evil must necessarily proceed unto her. If she descend not thereof, then cometh she not of the seed of Abraham, nor of the seed of David, &c. Again, seeing that death is the effect and stipend of sin, by the doctrine of St. Paul [Rom. vi.], then had her flesh injury by the law, as Christ himself had, to suffer the malediction and punishment of death; and so should she never have died, if original sin had no place in her, &c. But to return unto our story: This constitution of the pope being set forth for the conception of the blessed Virgin, which was A.D. 1476, it was not long after but the said pope Sixtus, perceiving that the Dominic friars with their complices would not conform themselves hereunto, directed forth, by the authority apostolical, a bull in effect as followeth:[1]

The tenor of the Pope's Bull, for the conception of the Virgin to be without original Sin.

Whereas the holy church of Rome hath ordained a special and proper service for the public solemnizing of the feast of the conception of the blessed Virgin

(1) Sanè cum sancta Romana Ecclesia de intemeratæ, sempérque virginis, &c

Mary; certain orders of the Black Friars, in their public sermons to the people in divers places, have not ceased hitherto to preach, and yet daily do, that all those who hold or affirm the said glorious Virgin to have been conceived without original sin, be heretics; and those who celebrate the service of the said her conception, or do hear the sermons of those who do so affirm, do sin grievously: Also, not contented herewith, they do write and set forth books moreover, maintaining their assertions, to the great offence and ruin of godly minds: We, therefore, to prevent and withstand such presumptuous and perverse assertions as have arisen, and more hereafter may arise, by such opinions and preachings aforesaid, in the minds of the faithful; by the authority apostolical, do condemn and reprove the same; and by the motion, knowledge, and authority aforesaid, decree and ordain, That the preachers of God's word, and all other persons, of what state, degree, order, or condition soever they be, who shall presume to dare affirm, or preach to the people these aforesaid opinions and assertions to be true, or shall read, hold, or maintain any such books for true, having before intelligence hereof, shall incur thereby the sentence of excommunication, from which they shall not be absolved otherwise than by the bishop of Rome; except only in the time of death.

Henry VIII. A. D. 1509.

This bull, being dated A.D. 1483, gave no little heart and encouragement to the Grey Friars Franciscan, who defended the pure conception of the holy Virgin against the Black Dominic friars, with their confederates, holding the contrary side; by the vigour of which bull, the grey order had got such a conquest of the black guard of the Dominics, that the said Dominics were compelled at length, for a perpetual memorial of the triumph, both to give to the glorious Virgin every night an anthem in praise of her conception, and also to subscribe unto their doctrine; in which doctrine these, with divers other points, be contained.

I. That blessed Mary the Virgin suffered the griefs and adversities in this life, not for any necessity inflicted for punishment of original sin, but only because she would conform herself to the imitation of Christ.[1]

II. That the said Virgin, as she was not obliged to any punishment due for sin, as neither was Christ her Son, so she had no need of remission of sins; but instead thereof had the divine preservation of God's help, keeping her from all sin, which grace only she needed, and also had it.

Filthy absurdities in the pope's doctrine.

III. Item, That whereas the body of the Virgin Mary was subject to death, and died; this is to be understood to come not for any penalty due for sin, but either for imitation and conformity unto Christ, or else for the natural constitution of her body, being elemental, as were the bodies of our first parents: who, if they had not tasted of the forbidden fruit, should have been preserved from death, not by nature, but by grace, and strength of other fruits and meats in Paradise: which meats because Mary had not, but did eat our common meats, therefore she died, and not for any necessity of original sin.[2]

How the Virgin was subject to death, after the friars' opinions.

IV. The universal proposition of St. Paul, which saith, That the Scripture hath concluded all men under sin, is to be understood thus; as speaking of all those who be not exempted by the special privilege of God, as is the blessed Virgin Mary.

V. If justification be taken for reconciliation of him that was unrighteous before, and now is made righteous; then the blessed Virgin is to be taken, not for justified by Christ, but just from her beginning by preservation.

VI. If a Saviour be taken for him who saveth men fallen into perdition and condemnation; so is not Christ the Saviour of Mary, but is her Saviour only in this respect, for sustaining her from not falling into condemnation, &c.

VII. Neither did the Virgin Mary give thanks to God, nor ought so to do, for expiation of her sins, but for her conservation from case of sinning.

(1) Ex Jod. Clitovæo de puritate conceptionis, lib. ii.

(2) Clitovæus, lib. ii. cap. 2. ["Clitovæus," a Frenchman and canon of Chatres. His writings are enumerated in Ant. Possevini apparatus sacer; Col. Agrip. 1608: tom. i. p. 960: see also the Autographa Lutheri aliorumque; Brunsvigæ 1690, tom. i. p. 42.—Ed.]

Henry VIII. VIII. Neither did she pray to God at any time for remission of her sins, but only for the remission of other men's sins she prayed many times, and counted their sins for hers.

A. D. 1509. IX. If the blessed Virgin had deceased before the passion of her Son, God would have reposed her soul not in the place among the patriarchs, or amongst the just, but in the same most pleasant place of Paradise, where Adam and Eve were, before they transgressed.

Good stuff!

These were the doting dreams and fantasies of the Franciscans, and of other papists, commonly then holden in the schools, written in their books, preached in their sermons, taught in churches, and set forth in pictures.[1] So that the people were taught nothing else almost in the pulpits all this while, but how the Virgin Mary was conceived immaculate and holy, without original sin, and how they ought to call to her for help, whom they with special terms do call, 'the way of mercy,' 'the mother of grace,' 'the lover of piety,' the comforter of mankind,' 'the continual intercessor for the salvation of the faithful,' and 'an advocate to the King her Son that never ceaseth,' &c.[2] And although the greatest number of the school-doctors were of the contrary faction, as Peter the Lombard, Thomas Aquinas, Bernard, Bonaventure, and others; yet these new papists shifted off their objections with frivolous distinctions and blind evasions, as thus: "Peter the Lombard," they said, "is not received nor holden in the schools as touching this article, but is rejected."[3]

Idolatry to the blessed Virgin.

Bernard,[4] although he seemeth to deny the conception of the blessed Virgin to be void of original sin, saying, that she could not be holy when she was not, and lived not: to this they answer, that albeit she was not yet in essence, yet she was holy in her conception, and before conception, in the divine prescience of God, who had chosen and pre-elected her before the worlds, to be the mother of the Lord.

Objections popishly saluted.

Again; where Bernard doth argue, that she was not without original sin conceived, because she was not conceived by the Holy Ghost: to this they answer, that the Holy Ghost may work two ways in conception; either without company of man, and so was Christ only conceived; or else with company and help of man, and thus was the blessed Virgin conceived.[5]

Popish belief and doctrine goeth by time.

Bonaventure (say they) was a holy father, but he spake then after the custom and manner of his time, when the solemnity and purity of this conception was not yet decreed nor received by the public consent and authority of the church. Now, seeing the authority of the church of Rome hath established the same, it ought not to be contraried, nor can, without dangerous disobedience. In all men's actions diligent respect of time must be had. That which bindeth not at one time, afterwards the same by law being ratified, may bind at another.[6]

Verity consisteth not in number of voices, nor vic-

Finally, for the number and multitude on the contrary side, thus they answer for themselves, as we now in these our days likewise, in defence of the truth, may well answer against the pope, and all his popish friars, turning their own weapons against themselves "Mul-

(1) The Grey Friars had made a picture of Joachim and Anna kissing, by which kiss Anna was conceived with Mary. Ex Rob. Lycio Minorita.
(2) Verba papæ Sexti in decret. (3) Clitovæus, lib. ii. cap. 15.
(4) In Epist. ad Lugdunens. (5) Clit. lib. ii. cap. 14. (6) Ibid.

titude," say they, "ought not to move us; victory consisteth not in number and heaps, but in fortitude and hearts of soldiers; yea, rather fortitude and stomach cometh from heaven, and not of man. Judas Maccabeus, with a little handful, overthrew the great army of Antiochus. Strong Samson, with a poor ass's bone, slew a thousand Philistines. David had no more but a silly sling, and a few stones, and with these struck down terrible Goliath the giant,"[1] &c. *Henry VIII.* A.D. 1509. Victory in multitude of soldiers.

With these and other like reasons the grey Franciscans voided their adversaries, defending the conception of the Virgin Mary to be unblemished, and pure from all contagion of original sin. Contrariwise, the black guard of the Dominic friars, for their parts, were not all mute, but laid lustily from them again, having great authorities, and also the Scripture on their side. But yet the others, having the see apostolical with them, had the better hand, and in fine got the victory triumphantly over the others, to the high exaltation of their order. For pope Sixtus, as I said, by the authority apostolical, after he had decreed the conception-day of the Virgin perpetually to be sanctified, and also, with his terrible bull, had condemned for heretics all those who withstood the same; the Dominic friars, with authority oppressed, were driven to two inconveniences: the one was, to keep silence; the other was, to give place to their adversaries the Franciscans. Albeit, where the mouth durst not speak, yet the heart would work; and though their tongues were tied, yet their goodwill was ready by all means possible to maintain their quarrel and their estimation. The pope's side stronger than the Scriptures.

Whereupon it happened the same year, A.D. 1509, after this dissension between the Dominic friars and the Franciscans, that certain of the Dominics, thinking by subtle sleight to work in the people's heads that which they durst not achieve with open preaching, devised a certain image of the Virgin[2] so artificially wrought, that the friars, by privy gins, made it to stir, and to make gestures, to lament, to complain, to weep, to groan, and to give answers to them that asked; insomuch that the people therewith were brought in a marvellous persuasion, till at length the fraud being espied, the friars were taken, condemned, and burnt at Berne, in the year above-mentioned.[3] Four friars burnt at Berne.

In the story of John Stumsius, this story aforesaid doth partly appear: but in the registers and records of the city of Berne, the order and circumstance thereof is more fully expressed and set forth both in metre and prose, and is thus declared:

In the city of Berne[4] there were certain Dominic friars, to the number chiefly of four principal doers and chieftains of that order, who had inveigled a certain simple poor friar, who had newly planted himself in the cloister; whom the aforesaid friars had so infatuated with sundry superstitions, and feigned apparitions of St. Mary, St. Barbara, and St. Katharine, and with their enchantments, and imprinting, moreover, in him the wounds of St. Francis, that he believed plainly that the Virgin Mary had appeared to him, and had offered

(1) Lib. eod. cap. 13.

(2) Ex Casparo Peucero [Chronicon Carionis auct. Casp. Peucero: Witeb. 1566; tom. iv. p. 330.—Ed.] Sebast. Munster. Cosmog. lib. iii.

(3) Ex Peucer. Sebast. Munstero, Carione, et aliis. In the Centuries of John Bale I find their names to be, John Vetter, Francis Uliscus, Stephen Bolizhorst, and Henry Steinegger.

(4) Ex Historia Bernensi conscripta vulgari et Latino sermone. [See also the "Tragical History of Jetzer," &c. fol. London: 1679; also "Protestant Journal," 1836, p. 124.—Ed.]

Henry VIII. A. D. 1509.

him a red host consecrated with the blood also of Christ miraculous; which blessed Virgin also had sent him to the senators of Berne, with instructions, declaring unto them from the mouth of the Virgin, that she was conceived in sin; and that the Franciscan friars were not to be credited, nor suffered in the city, who were not yet reformed from that erroneous opinion of her conception. He added moreover, that they should resort to a certain image there of the Virgin Mary (which image the friars by engines had made to sweat), and should do their worship, and make their oblations to the same, &c.

This feigned device was no sooner forged by the friars, but it was as soon believed of the people; so that a great while the red-coloured host was undoubtedly taken for the true body and blood of Christ, and certain coloured drops thereof sent abroad to divers noble personages and states for a great relic; and that, not without great recompense. Thus the deceived people in great numbers came flocking to the image, and to the red host and coloured blood, with manifold gifts and oblations. In brief, the Dominic friars so had wrought the matter, and had so swept all the fat to their own beards from the order of the Franciscans, that all the alms came to their box. The Franciscans, seeing their estimation to decay, and their kitchen to wax cold, and their paunches to be pinched, not able to abide that contumely, and being not ignorant or unacquainted with such counterfeited doings (for as the proverb saith, "It is ill, halting before a cripple"), eftsoons espied their crafty juggling, and detected their fraudulent miracles. Whereupon the four chief captains above-named were apprehended, and put to the fire, of whom the provincial of that order was one.

Friars neither can agree with themselves, nor yet do disagree but in vain trifles.

And thus much touching the beginning and end of this tumultuous and popish tragedy, wherein evidently it may appear to the reader, how neither these turbulent friars could agree among themselves, and yet in what frivolous trifles they wrangled together. But to let these ridiculous friars pass with their trifling fantasies, most worthy to be derided of all wise men, in the mean time this is to be lamented, to behold the miserable times of the church, in which the devil kept the minds of Christ's people so attentive, and occupied in such friarly toys, that nothing else almost was taught or heard in the church, but only the commendation and exaltation of the Virgin Mary: but of our justification by faith, of grace, and of the promises of God in Christ, of the strength of the law, of the horror of sin, of difference between the law and the gospel, of the true liberty of conscience, &c., no mention, or very little, was heard. Wherefore in this so blind a time of darkness it was much needful and requisite, that the Lord of his mercy should look upon his church, and send down his gracious reformation, which also he did: for shortly upon the same, through the gracious excitation of God, came Martin Luther, of whom the order of story now requireth that we should, and will entreat (Christ willing), after the story of Richard Hun, and a few other things premised, for the better opening of the story to follow.

Pope Julius playeth the warrior.

Mention was made sufficiently before of the doings of pope Julius, and of his warlike affairs, for which he was condemned, and not unjustly, in the council of Tours in France, A. D. 1510, and yet all this

could not assuage the furious affection of this pope, but the same year he invaded the cities of Modena and Mirandola in Italy, and took them by force of war. This pope Julius not long after, A.D. 1512, refusing peace offered by Maximilian the emperor, was encountered by Louis the French king about Ravenna, upon Easter-day, where he was vanquished, and had of his army slain to the number of sixteen thousand.[1] And the year next following, A.D. 1513, this apostolical warrior, who had resigned his keys unto the river Tibur before, made an end together both of his fighting and living, after he had reigned and fought ten years. After whom succeeded next in the see of Rome, pope Leo X.; about the compass of which time great mutations and stirs began to work, as well in states temporal, as especially in the state of the church.

Henry VIII.

A.D. 1509.

The pope overcome in battle.

The death of pope Julius.

The State and Succession of Princes.

			YEARS
Pope Leo X., in Rome	A.D. 1513	reigned	9
Charles V., emperor of Germany	1519		39
Francis, king of France	1515		32
Henry VIII., king of England	1509		38
James V., king of Scotland	1514		29

In the time of which pope, emperor, and kings of England, France, and Scotland, great alterations, troubles, and turns of religion were wrought in the church, by the mighty operation of God's hand, in Italy, France, Germany, England, and all Europe; such as have not been seen (although much groaned for) many hundred years before: as in further discourse of this history, Christ willing, shall more manifestly appear.

But before we come to these alterations, taking the time as it lieth before us, we will first speak of Richard Hun, and certain other godly minded persons here in England, afflicted for the word of Christ's gospel in great multitudes, as they be found and taken out of the registers of Fitzjames, bishop of London, by the faithful help and industry of R. Carket, citizen of London.

THE HISTORY OF DIVERS GOOD MEN AND WOMEN, PERSECUTED FOR RELIGION IN THE CITY AND DIOCESE OF THE BISHOP OF LONDON; BRIEFLY EXTRACTED OUT OF THE REGISTERS OF RICHARD FITZJAMES.

Amongst and besides the great number of the faithful martyrs and professors of Christ, that constantly, in the strength of the Holy Ghost, gave their lives for the testimony of his truth, I find recorded in the register[2] of London, between the years of our Lord 1509 and 1527, the names of divers other persons, both men and women, who, in the fulness of that dark and misty time of ignorance, had also some portion of God's good Spirit, which induced them to the knowledge of his truth and gospel, and were diversely troubled, persecuted, and imprisoned for the same. Notwithstanding by the proud, cruel, and bloody rage of the Catholic seat, and through the weakness and frailty of their own nature (not then fully strengthened in God), it was again

A.D. 1509 to 1518.

(1) Ex Chron. Carion. (2) Ex Registris Fitzjames.

Henry VIII. A. D. 1509 to 1518.

in them for the time suppressed and kept under, as appeareth by their several abjurations made before Richard Fitzjames, then bishop of London (in his time a most cruel persecutor of Christ's church), or else before his vicar-general, deputed for the same. And forasmuch as many of the adversaries of God's truth have of late days disdainfully and braggingly cried out, and made demands in their public assemblies, and yet do, asking, Where this our church and religion was within these fifty or sixty years? I have thought it not altogether vain, somewhat to stop such lying crakers, both by mentioning their names, and likewise opening some of the chief and principal matters for which they were so unmercifully afflicted and molested: thereby to give to understand, as well the continuance and consent of the true church of Christ in that age, touching the chief points of our faith (though not in like perfection of knowledge and constancy in all), as also by the way something to touch what fond and frivolous matters the ignorant prelates shamed not in that time of blindness to object against the poor and simple people, accounting them as heinous and great offences, yea, such as deserved death both of body and soul. But lest I should seem too prolix and tedious herein, I will now briefly proceed with the story, and first begin with their names, which are these:

The profession of the Protestants no new doctrine.

A. D. 1510.[1]
Joan Baker.
William Pottier.
John Forge.
Thomas Goodred.
Thomas Walker, alias Talbot.
Thomas Forge.
Alice Forge.
John Forge, their son.
William Cowper.
John Calverton.
John Woodrof.
A. D. 1511.
Richard Woolman.
Roger Hilliar.
Alice Cowper.
Thomas Austy.
Joan Austy.
Thomas Grant.
John Garter.
Christopher Ravins.
Dyonise Ravins.
Thomas Vincent.
Lewis John.
Joan John.
A. D. 1512.
John Webb, alias Baker.
A. D. 1517.
John Houshold.
Robert Rascal.
A. D. 1518.
Elizabeth Stanford.
George Browne.
John Wikes.
John Southake.
Richard Butler.
John Samme.
A. D. 1521.
William King.
Robert Durdant.
Henry Woolman.
Edmund Spilman.
A. D. 1523.
John Higges, alias Noke, alias Johnson.
A. D. 1526.
Henry Chambers.
John Higgins.
A. D. 1527.
Thomas Egleston.

THE PARTICULAR EXAMINATION OF ALL THOSE ABOVE NAMED HERE FOLLOWETH.

To these were divers and sundry particular articles (besides the common and general sort accustomably used in such cases) privately objected; even such as they were then accused of either by their curate, or others their neighbours. And because I think it somewhat superfluous to make any large recital of all and every part of their several process, I mind therefore briefly only to touch so many of their articles as may be sufficient to induce the christian reader to judge the sooner of the rest; being (I assure you) of no greater importance than these that follow: except that sometimes they were charged, most slanderously, with horrible and blasphemous lies against the majesty and truth of God; which as they utterly denied, so do I now for this present keep secret in silence, as well for brevity's sake,

(1) Ex Regist. R. Fitzjames.

as also somewhat to colour and hide the shameless practices of that lying generation. But to our purpose. *Henry VIII.*

A. D. 1509 to 1518.

Joan Baker and thirty-nine others.

The chief objections against Joan Baker were as follows: That she would not only herself not reverence the crucifix, but had also persuaded a friend of hers, lying at the point of death, not to put any trust or confidence in the crucifix, but in God who is in heaven, who only worketh all the miracles that be done, and not the dead images, which be but stocks and stones; and therefore she was sorry that ever she had gone so often on pilgrimage to St. Saviour and other idols. Also, that she did hold opinion, that the pope had no power to give pardons, and that the lady Young (who was not long before that time burned) died a true martyr of God; and therefore she wished of God, that she herself might do no worse than the said lady Young had done.

Against worshipping of the crucifix or cross.

Testimony for the lady Young, martyr.

Unto William Pottier, besides divers other false and slanderous articles (as that he should deny the benefit and effect of Christ's passion) it was also alleged as under: That he should affirm there were six Gods: the first three were the holy Trinity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; the fourth was a priest's concubine being kept in his chamber; the fifth was the Devil; and the sixth, that thing that a man setteth his mind most upon.

William Pottier. False slander of the adversaries.

The first part of this article he utterly denied, confessing most firmly and truly, the blessed Trinity to be only one God in one unity of Deity. As to the other three he answered, that a priest delighting in his concubine, made her as his God: likewise a wicked person, persisting in his sin without repentance, made the devil his God: and lastly, he granted, that he once, hearing of certain men, who by the singing and chattering of birds would seek to know what things were to come either to themselves or others, said, That those men esteemed their birds as gods; and otherwise he spake not.

Answer.

Amongst the manifold and several articles objected against Thomas Goodred, Thomas Walker, Thomas Forge, Alice Forge his wife, John Forge their son, John Calverton, John Woodrof, Richard Woolman, and Roger Hilliar (as that they should speak against pilgrimages, praying unto saints, and such like), this principally was propounded: That they all denied the carnal and corporal presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament of the altar; and further, had concealed and consented unto their teachers and instructors in that doctrine, and had not, according to the laws of the church, accused and presented them unto the bishop or his ordinary.

Thomas Goodred, Thomas Walker, Thomas Forge, and others.

Against transubstantiation and corporal presence.

Also great and heinous displeasure was conceived against Richard Woolman, for that he termed the church of Paul's a house of thieves, affirming, that the priests and other ecclesiastical persons there were not liberal givers unto the poor (as they ought to be) but rather takers-away from them of what they could get.

Likewise as Thomas Austy, Joan Austy his wife, Thomas Grant,

Henry VIII. A. D. 1509 to 1518.

John Garter, Christopher Ravins, Dyonise Ravins his sister, Thomas Vincent, Lewis John, Joan John his wife, and John Webb, were of one fellowship and profession of faith with divers of the last before recited; so were they almost all apprehended about one time, and chiefly burdened with one opinion of the Sacrament: which declareth evidently, that notwithstanding the dark ignorance of those corrupted times, yet God did ever in mercy open the eyes of some to behold the manifest truth, even in those things whereof the papists make now greatest vaunt, and brag of longest continuance.

Furthermore, many of them were charged to have spoken against pilgrimages, and to have read and used certain English books repugning the faith of the Romish church, as the four Evangelists, Wickliff's Wicket, a Book of the Ten Commandments of Almighty God, the Revelation of St. John, the Epistles of Paul and James, with other like, which those holy ones could never abide. And good cause why: for as darkness could never agree with light, no more can ignorance, the maintainer of that kingdom, with the true knowledge of Christ and his gospel.

It was further particularly objected against Joan John, the wife of Lewis John, that (besides the premises) she learned and maintained, that God commanded no holy days to be kept, but only the Sabbath-day, and therefore she would keep none but it; nor any fasting days, affirming, that to fast from sin, was the true fast. Moreover, that she had despised the pope, his pardons and pilgrimages; insomuch that when any poor body asked an alms of her in the worship of the Lady of Walsingham, she would strait answer in contempt of the pilgrimage, "The Lady of Walsingham help thee:" and if she gave any thing unto him, she would then say, "Take this in the worship of our Lady in heaven, and let the other go." Which declareth, that for lack of better instruction and knowledge, she yet ignorantly attributed too much honour to the true saints of God departed, though otherwise she did abhor the idolatrous worshipping of the dead images. By which example, as also by many others (for shortness' sake at this present omitted), I have just occasion to condemn the wilful subtlety of those, who, in this bright shining light of God's truth, would yet, under colour of godly remembrance, still maintain the having of images in the church, craftily excusing their idolatrous kneeling and praying unto them, by affirming, that they never worshipped the dead images, but the things that the images did represent. But if that were their only doctrine and cause of having of them, why then would their predecessors so cruelly compel these poor simple people thus openly, in their recantations, to abjure and revoke their speaking against the gross adoration of the outward images only, and not against the thing represented; which many of them (as appeareth partly by this example), in their ignorant simplicity, confessed might be worshipped? Howbeit, God be thanked (who ever in his mercy continue it!) their colourable and hypocritical excuses cannot now take such place in the hearts of the elect of God as they have done heretofore, especially seeing the word of God doth so manifestly forbid as well the worshipping of them, as also the making or having of them for order of religion.

Holy-days.

Against pilgrimages, and adoration of images.

It was alleged against William Cowper, and Alice Cowper his wife, as follows: That they had spoken against pilgrimages, and worshipping of images; but chiefly the woman, who, having her child, on a time, hurt by falling into a pit or ditch, and being earnestly persuaded by some of her ignorant neighbours to go on pilgrimage to St. Laurence for help for her child, said, That neither St. Laurence, nor any other saint could help her child, and therefore none ought to go on pilgrimage to any image made with man's hand, but only to Almighty God; for pilgrimages were nothing worth, saving to make the priests rich. *Henry VIII.* A.D. 1509 to 1518. Against invocation of dead images.

Unto John Houshold, Robert Rascal, and Elizabeth Stamford, as well the article against the sacrament of the altar was objected, as also that they had spoken against praying to saints, and had despised the authority of the bishop of Rome, and others of his clergy. But especially John Houshold was charged to have called them antichrists and fornicators, and the pope himself a strong strumpet, and a common scandal unto the world, who with his pardons had drowned in blindness all christian realms; and that for money. Against transubstantiation and authority of the pope.

Also among divers other ordinary articles propounded against George Browne, these were counted very heinous and heretical: First, that he had said, that he knew no cause why the cross should be worshipped, seeing that the same was a hurt and pain unto our Saviour Christ in the time of his passion, and not any ease or pleasure; alleging for example, that if he had had a friend hanged or drowned, he would ever after have loved that gallows or water, by which his friend died, rather worse for that, than better. Another objection was, that he had erroneously, obstinately, and maliciously said (for so are their words), that the church was too rich. This matter, I may tell you, touched somewhat the quick, and therefore no marvel that they counted it erroneous and malicious; for take away their gain, and farewell their religion. They also charged him to have refused holy water to be cast about his chamber, and likewise to have spoken against priests, with other vain matters. George Browne. Against adoration of the cross. Immoderate riches of the pope's clergy.

The greatest matter wherewith they burdened John Wikes was, that he had often and of long time kept company with divers persons suspected of heresy (as they termed them), and had received them into his house, and there did suffer and hear them sundry times read erroneous and heretical books, contrary to the faith of the Romish church; and did also himself consent unto their doctrine, and had many times secretly conveyed them from the taking of such as were appointed to apprehend them. John Wikes.

Like as the greatest number of those before-mentioned, so were also John Southake, Richard Butler, John Sam, William King, Robert Durdant, and Henry Woolman, especially charged with speaking words against the real presence of Christ's body in the sacrament of the altar, and also against images, and the rest of the seven sacraments. Howbeit they burdened the last five persons with the reading of certain English heretical books, accounting most blasphemously the gospel of Jesus Christ, written by the four evangelists, to be of John Southake, Richard Butler, and others. Against the real presence

Henry VIII. A.D. 1509 to 1518.

that number, as appeareth evidently by the eighth article objected by Thomas Bennet, doctor of law, chancellor and vicar-general unto Richard Fitzjames, then bishop of London, against the said Richard Butler; the very words of which article, for a more declaration of truth, I have thought good here to insert, which are these:

'Also we object to you, that divers times, and especially upon a certain night, about the space of three years last past, in Robert Durdant's house of Iver-court, near unto Staines, you erroneously and damnably read in a great book of heresy of the said Robert Durdant's, all that same night, certain chapters of the evangelists in English, containing in them divers erroneous and damnable opinions and conclusions of heresy, in the presence of the said Robert Durdant, John Butler, Robert Carder, Jenkin Butler, William King,[1] and divers other suspected persons of heresy, then being present, and hearing your said erroneous lectures and opinions.'

To the same effect and purpose tended the tenor of some of the articles propounded against the other four; whereby (as also by other like ones before specified) we may easily judge what reverence those, who yet will be counted the true and only church of Christ, did bear to the word and gospel of Christ; who shamed not to blaspheme the same with most horrible titles of erroneous and damnable opinions and conclusions of heresy. But why should we marvel thereat, seeing the Holy Ghost, in sundry places of the Scripture, doth declare, that in the latter days there should come such proud and cursed speakers, who shall speak lies through hypocrisy, and have their consciences marked with a hot iron? Let us therefore now thank our heavenly Father for revealing them unto us; and let us also pray him, that of his free mercies in his Son Christ Jesus, he would (if it be to his glory) either turn and mollify all such hearts, or else (for the peace and quietness of his church) he would, in his righteous judgment, take them from us.

Death of Richard Fitzjames, bishop of London. Cuthbert Tunstall.

About this time Richard Fitzjames ended his life, after whose death Cuthbert Tunstall (afterwards bishop of Durham) succeeded in the see and bishopric of London; who soon, upon his first entry into the room, minding to follow rightly the footsteps of his predecessor, caused Edmund Spilman, priest, Henry Chambers, John Higgins, and Thomas Eglestone to be apprehended, and so to be examined upon sundry like articles as before are expressed; and in the end, either for fear of his cruelty, and the rigour of death, or else through hope of his flattering promises (such was their weakness), he compelled them to abjure and renounce their true professed faith touching the holy sacrament of Christ's body and blood; which was, that Christ's corporal body was not in the sacrament, but in heaven; and that the sacrament was a figure of his body, and not the body itself.

The real presence denied.

Against priests to have two benefices.

Moreover, about the same time there were certain articles objected against John Higges, alias Noke, alias Johnson, by the said bishop's vicar-general, amongst which were these: First, that he had affirmed, that it was as lawful for a temporal man to have two wives at once, as for a priest to have two benefices. Also, that he had in his custody a book of the four evangelists in English, and did often read therein;

Testimony

(1) Of these men see more hereafter in the table following, page 221.

and that he favoured the doctrines and opinions of Martin Luther, openly pronouncing, that Luther had more learning in his little finger, than all the doctors in England in their whole bodies; and that all the priests in the church were blind, and had led the people the wrong way. Likewise it was alleged against him, that he had denied purgatory, and had said, that while he was alive he would do as much for himself as he could, for after his death he thought that prayers and alms-deeds could little help him. *Henry VIII.* A. D. 1509 to 1518. for Luther.

These and such like matters were those wherewith these poor and simple men and women were chiefly charged, and as heinous heretics excommunicated, imprisoned, and at last compelled to recant: and some of them, in utter shame and reproach (besides the ordinary bearing of faggots before the cross in procession, or else at a sermon) were enjoined for a penance, as they termed it, as well to appear once every year before their ordinary, as also to wear the sign of a faggot painted upon their sleeves, or other part of their outward garment; and that, during all their lives, or so often and long as it pleased their ordinary to appoint. By which long, rigorous, and open punishing of them, they meant, as it should seem, utterly to terrify and keep back all others from the true knowledge of Jesus Christ and his gospel. But the Lord be evermore praised, what effect their wicked purposes therein have taken, these our most lightsome days of God's glorious gospel do most joyfully declare. The manner of popish penance.

There were also troubled, besides these, certain others more simple and ignorant, who, having but a very small smack or taste of the truth, did yet at first (as it may seem) gladly consent unto the same; but, being apprehended, they quickly again yielded, and therefore had only assigned them for their penance, the bearing of a little candle before the cross, without any further open abjuring or recanting. Amongst these I find two especially; the one a woman called Ellen Heyer, to whom it was objected, that she had neither confessed herself unto the priest, nor yet received the sacrament of the altar by the space of four years; and notwithstanding, had yearly eaten flesh at Easter, and after, as well as others that had received the same, contrary to the usual manner and conversation of all other christian people. The troubles of Ellen Heyer and Robert Berkeway.

The other was a man named Robert Berkeway, who (besides most wicked blasphemies against God which he utterly denied) was charged to have spoken heinous words against the pope's holy and blessed martyr, Thomas Becket, calling him micher[1] and thief, for that he wrought by crafts and imaginations.

Thus have I, as briefly as I could, summarily collected the principal articles objected against these weak, infirm, and earthy vessels; not minding hereby to excuse or condemn them in these their fearful falls and dangerous defections: but, leaving them unto the unmeasurable rich mercies of the Lord, I thought only to make manifest the unsatiable bloody cruelty of the pope's kingdom against the gospel and true church of Christ; nothing mitigating their envious rage, no, not against the very simple idiots; and that sometimes in most frivolous

(1) "Micher," a covetous man.—Ed.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1509 to 1518.

and irreligious cases. But now, leaving to say any further herein, I will, by God's grace, go forward with other somewhat more serious matters.

The Death and Martyrdom of William Sweeting, and John Brewster.

In searching and perusing of the register, for the collection of the names and articles before recited, I find that within the compass of the same years there were also some others, who, after they had once showed themselves as frail and inconstant as the rest (being either therewith pricked in conscience, or otherwise zealously overcome with the manifest truth of God's most sacred Word), became yet again as earnest professors of Christ as ever they were before; and for the same profession were the second time apprehended, examined, condemned, and in the end were most cruelly burned. Of this number were William Sweeting, and John Brewster, who were both burned together in Smithfield, the 18th day of October, A. D. 1511.

Against transubstantiation and corporal presence.

The chief case of religion alleged against them in their articles, was their faith concerning the sacrament of Christ's body and blood, which, because it differed from the absurd, gross and Capernaitical opinion of the new schoolmen, was counted as most heinous heresy. There were other things besides objected against them, as the reading of certain forbidden books, and accompanying with such persons as were suspected of heresy. But one great and heinous offence counted amongst the rest, was their putting and leaving off the painted faggots, which they were at their first abjuring enjoined to wear as badges during their lives, or so long as it should please their ordinary to appoint, and not to leave them off upon pain of relapse, until they were dispensed withal for the same. The breach of this injunction was esteemed to be of no small weight, and yet the matter well and thoroughly considered, it seemeth by their confessions, they were both thereunto by necessity enforced. For the one, named Sweeting, being for fear of the bishop's cruelty constrained to wander the countries to get his poor living, came at length unto Colchester, where, by the parson of the parish of Mary Magdalen, he was provoked to be the holy water clerk, and in that consideration had that infamous badge first taken away from him. The other (who was Brewster) left off his at the commandment of the comptroller of the earl of Oxford's house, who, hiring the poor man to labour in the earl's household business, would not suffer him, working there, to wear that counterfeit cognizance any longer: so that, as I said, necessity of living seemeth to compel both of them at first to break that injunction. And therefore, if charity had borne as great sway in the hearts of the pope's clergy, as did cruelty, this trifle would not have been so heinously taken, as to be brought against them for an article, and cause of condemnation to death. But where tyranny once taketh place, as well all godly love, as also all human reason and duties, are quite forgotten.

Cruel rigour of the catholic clergy against the professors of the gospel.

Well, to be short, what for the causes before recited, as also for that they had once already abjured, and yet, as they term it, fell again into relapse, they were both, as you have heard, in the end

burned together in Smithfield; although the same parties, as the register recordeth, did again, before their death, fearfully forsake their former revived constancy, and submitting themselves unto the discipline of the Romish church, craved absolution from their excommunication. Howbeit, because many of the registers' notes and records in such cases may rightly be doubted of, and so called into question, I refer the certain knowledge hereof unto the Lord (who is the trier of all truths), and the external judgment unto the godly and discreet reader: not forgetting yet by the way (if that the report should be true) upon so just an occasion, to charge that catholic clergy, and their wicked laws, with a more shameless tyranny and uncharitable cruelty than before: for if they nothing stay their bloody malice towards such as so willingly submit themselves unto their mercies; what favour may the faithful and constant professors of Christ look for at their hands? I might here also ask of them, how they follow the pitiful and loving admonition (or rather precept) of our Saviour Christ (whose true and only church they so stoutly brag to be), who in Luke xvii. saith, "Though thy brother sin against thee seven times in a day, and seven times in a day turn to thee, saying, It repenteth me; thou shalt forgive him." But what go I about to allure them unto the following of the rule and counsel of Him, unto whose word and gospel they seem most open and utter enemies? Wherefore not purposing to stay any longer thereupon, I will leave them unto the righteous revengement of the Lord.

Henry VIII. A. D. 1509 to 1518.

Submission would not be taken of the charitable catholics.

No mercy in the pope's church.

Hereunto let us now adjoin the story of one John Browne, a good martyr of the Lord, burnt at Ashford about this fourth year of king Henry VIII., whose story hereunder followeth.

John Browne, Martyr.[1]

The occasion of the first trouble of this John Browne, was by a priest sitting in a Gravesend barge. John Browne, being at the same time in the barge, came and sat hard by him; whereupon, after certain communication, the priest asked him; "Dost thou know," said he, "who I am? thou sittest too near me, thou sittest on my clothes:" "No, sir," said he, "I know not what you are." "I tell thee I am a priest." "What, sir! are you a parson, or vicar, or a lady's chaplain?" "No," quoth he again, "I am a soul-priest, I sing for a soul," saith he. "Do you so, sir?" quoth the other, "that is well done; I pray you sir," quoth he, "where find you the soul when you go to mass?" "I cannot tell thee," said the priest. "I pray you, where do you leave it, Sir, when the mass is done?" "I cannot tell thee," said the priest. "Neither can you tell where you find it when you go to mass, nor where you leave it when the mass is done; how can you then have the soul?" said he. "Go thy ways," said the priest, "thou art a heretic, and I will be even with thee." So at the landing, the priest, taking with him Walter More, and William More, two gentlemen, brethren, rode straightways to the archbishop Warham. Hereupon the said John Browne within three days

(1) This John Browne was father to Richard Browne, who was in prison in Canterbury, and should have been burned, with two more besides himself, the next day after the death of queen Mary, but that by the proclaiming of queen Elizabeth, they escaped.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1509 to 1518.

after, his wife being churched the same day, and he, bringing in a mess of pottage to the board to his guests, was sent for, and his feet bound under his own horse, and so brought up to Canterbury; neither his wife, nor he, nor any of his, knowing whither he went,[1] nor whither he should: and there continuing from Low-Sunday, till the Friday before Whitsunday (his wife not knowing all this while where he was), he was set in the stocks overnight, and on the morrow went to death, and was burned at Ashford, A. D. 1517. The same night, as he was in the stocks at Ashford, where he and his wife dwelt, his wife then hearing of him, came and sat by him all the night before he should be burned: to whom he, declaring the whole story how he was handled, showed and told, how that he could not set his feet to the ground, for they were burned to the bones; and told her, how by the two bishops, Warham and Fisher, his feet were heated upon the hot coals, and burned to the bones, "to make me," said he, "to deny my Lord, which I will never do; for if I should deny my Lord in this world, he would hereafter deny me." "I pray thee," said he, "therefore, good Elizabeth! continue as thou hast begun, and bring up thy children virtuously, and in the fear of God." And so the next day, on Whitsunday even, this godly martyr was burned. Standing at the stake, this prayer he made, holding up his hands:

John Browne burned in Ashford about the fourth year of Henry VIII.

'O Lord, I yield me to thy grace,
Grant me mercy for my trespass;
Let never the fiend my soul chase.
Lord, I will bow, and thou shalt beat,
Let never my soul come in hell-heat.'

'Into thy hands I commend my spirit; thou hast redeemed me, O Lord of truth.'

And so he ended.[2]

At the fire one Chilton, the baily-arrant, bade cast in Browne's children also, for they would spring, said he, of his ashes.

This blessed martyr, John Browne, had borne a faggot seven years before, in the days of king Henry VII.

As it is the property of Satan ever to malice the prosperous estate of the saints of God, and true professors of Christ; so ceaseth he not continually to stir up his wicked members to the effectual accomplishing of that which his envious nature so greedily desireth; if not always openly by colour of tyrannical laws, yet, at the leastwise, by some subtle practice of secret murder; which thing doth most plainly appear, not only in a great number of the blessed martyrs of Christ's church, mentioned in this book, but also and especially in the discourse of this lamentable history that now I have in hand, concerning the secret and cruel murdering of Richard Hun, whose story here consequently ensueth, decerped and collected partly out of the registers of London, partly out of a bill exhibited and denounced in the parliament-house.

(1) Chilton of Wey, a baily-arrant, and one Beare of Willesborough, with two of the bishop's servants, set him upon the horse, and so carried him away.

(2) Ex testimonio Aliciæ Browne, ejus filiæ, cujus mariti nomen dicebatur Strat. in parochia St. Pulcri.

The Story of Richard Hun, Martyr.[1]

Henry VIII. A. D. 1509 to 1518.

There was in the year of our Lord 1514, one Richard Hun, merchant-tailor, dwelling within the city of London, and freeman of the same, who was esteemed during his life, and worthily reputed, and taken not only for a man of true dealing and good substance, but also for a good catholic man. This Richard Hun had a child at nurse in Middlesex, in the parish of St. Mary Matsilon, which died; by the occasion whereof one Thomas Dryfield, clerk, being parson of the said parish, sued the said Richard Hun in the spiritual court, for a bearing-sheet, which the said Thomas Dryfield claimed unjustly to have of the said Hun, for a mortuary for Stephen Hun, son of the said Richard Hun; which Stephen being at nurse in the said parish, died, being of the age of five weeks, and not above. Hun answered him again, That forasmuch as the child had no propriety in the sheet, he therefore neither would pay it, nor the other ought to have it. Whereupon the priest, moved with a covetous desire, and loath to lose his pretended right, ascited him to appear in the spiritual court, there to answer the matter: whereupon the said Richard Hun, being troubled in the spiritual court, was forced to seek counsel of the learned in the law of this land, and pursued a writ of præmunire against the said Thomas Dryfield, and others his aiders, counsellors, proctors, and adherents, as by the process thereof is yet to be seen. Which when the rest of the priestly order heard of, greatly disdaining that any layman should so boldly enterprise such a matter against any of them, and fearing also, that if they should now suffer this priest to be condemned at the suit of Hun, there would be thereby ever after a liberty opened unto all others of the laity to do the like with the rest of the clergy in such like cases, they straightways, both to stop this matter, and also to be revenged of him for that he had already done, sought all means they possibly could how to entrap and bring him within the danger of their own cruel laws. And thereupon making secret and diligent inquisition, and seeking all corners they could against him, at length they found a means how to accuse him of heresy unto Richard Fitzjames then bishop of London, and so did; who (desirous to satisfy the revenging and bloody affection of his chaplains), caused him thereupon to be apprehended and committed unto prison within the Lollards' tower at Paul's, so that none of his friends might be suffered to come to him. Thus Richard Hun, being clapt in the Lollards' tower, shortly after, at the earnest instigation of Dr. Horsey, the bishop's chancellor (a man more ready to prefer the clergy's cruel tyranny, than the truth of Christ's gospel), was brought before the bishop at his manor of Fulham, the 2d day of December, in the year before mentioned, where, within his chapel, he examined him upon these articles following, collected against him by the said Horsey and his accomplices:

The despiteful demeanour of the pope's holy catholics to be noted.

Hun committed to Lollards' tower.

Articles objected against Richard Hun.

I. That he had read, taught, preached, published, and obstinately defended, against the laws of Almighty God, that tithes, or paying of tithes, was never ordained to be due, saving only by the covetousness of priests.

(1) The strenuous and successful efforts made by the leaders of the Popish party, and the disgraceful exposures which ensued, render the history of Richard Hun one of the most interesting on record.—Ed.

Henry VIII. A. D. 1509 to 1518.

II. Item, That he had read, taught, preached, published, and obstinately defended, that bishops and priests be the Scribes and Pharisees that did crucify Christ, and damned him to death.

III. Item, That he had read, taught, preached, &c., that bishops and priests be teachers and preachers, but no doers, neither fulfillers of the law of God; but catching, ravening, and all things taking, and nothing ministering, neither giving.

IV. Item, Where and when one Joan Baker was detected and abjured of many great heresies (as it appeareth by her abjuration), the said Richard Hun said, published, taught, preached, and obstinately took upon him, saying, that he would defend her and her opinions, if it cost him five hundred marks.

V. Item, afterwards, where and when the said Joan Baker, after her abjuration, was enjoined open penance according to her demerits, the said Richard Hun said, published, taught, and obstinately did defend her, saying, 'The bishop of London and his officers have done open wrong to the said Joan Baker, in punishing her for heresy; for her sayings and opinions be according to the laws of God: wherefore the bishop and his officers are more worthy to be punished for heresy than she is.'

VI. Item, That the said Richard Hun hath in his keeping divers English books prohibited and damned by the law; as the Apocalypse in English, epistles and gospels in English, Wickliff's damnable works, and other books containing infinite errors, in which he hath been a long time accustomed to read, teach, and study daily.

Particular answer unto these several objections in the register I find none, saving that next under them there is written in his name, with a contrary hand, these words following: "As touching these articles, I have not spoken them as they be here laid; howbeit unadvisedly I have spoken words somewhat sounding to the same, for which I am sorry, and ask God mercy, and submit me to my lord's charitable and favourable correction;" which they affirm to be written with Hun's own hand: but how likely to truth that is, let the discreet wisdom of the reader indifferently judge by the whole sequel of this process. And further, if it were his own act, what occasion then had they so cruelly to murder him as they did? seeing he had already so willingly confessed his fault, and submitted himself to the charitable and favourable correction of the bishop (for which, even by their own law, in cases of most heinous heresy, he ought to be again received and pardoned); except perhaps they will account horrible murder to be but the bishop's favourable correction. Again, it seems they had very few credible witnesses to prove certainly that this was his answer and hand-writing; for the registrar, or some other for him, appointed to record the same, hath certified it as of hearsay from others, and not of his own proper sight and knowledge, as the words noted in the margin of the book, adjoining to the aforesaid answer, plainly do declare, which are these: "Hoc fuit scriptum manu propria Ricardi Hunne, *ut dicitur*." Now if he had any sure ground to establish this certificate, I doubt not but he would, instead of "ut dicitur," have registered the names of the assistants at the time of his examination (which he confesseth to be many), as generally they do in all their acts, especially in cases of heresy, as they term it. But how scrupulous those good fellows that spared not so shamelessly to murder him, would be to make a lie of him that was already dead, let, as I said, the indifferent judgment of the godlywise discern.

This answer smelleth of forging and crafty packing.

Arguments and reasons proving this answer not to be of Hun.

This examination ended, the bishop sent him back again the same day unto the Lollards' tower; and then, by the appointment of Dr.

THE MURDER OF RICHARD HUN IN THE LOLLARDS' TOWER.

Horsey, his chancellor, he was colourably committed from the custody of Charles Joseph the sumner, unto John Spalding the bellringer, a man by whose simpleness in wit (though otherwise wicked) the subtle chancellor thought to bring his devilish pretended homicide the easier to pass; which most cruelly he did, by his ministers suborned, within two nights next then following accomplish, as is plainly proved hereafter, by the diligent inquiry, and final verdict of the coroner of London and his inquest, made by order of the laws in that behalf limited. But when this usual practice of the papists was once accomplished, there wanted then no secret shifts nor worldly wiles for the crafty colouring of this mischief; and therefore the next morning, after they had in the night committed this murder, Spalding (I doubt not but by the counsel of his master chancellor) gat himself out of the way into the city, and leaving the keys of the prison with one of his fellows, willed him to deliver them unto the sumner's boy who accustomably did use to carry Hun his meat and other necessaries that he needed: thinking that the boy, first finding the prisoner dead, and hanged in such sort as they left him, they might by his relation be thought free from any suspicion of this matter. Which thing happened in the beginning almost as they wished; for the boy, the same morning (being the 4th day of December), having the keys delivered to him, accompanied with two other of the bishop's sumners, went about ten o'clock into the prison, to serve the prisoner as he was wont to do; and when they came up, they found him hanged, with his face towards the wall. Whereupon they (astonished at this sight) gave knowledge thereof immediately unto the chancellor, being then in the church, and watching, I suppose, of purpose for such news; who forthwith got unto him certain of his colleagues, and went with them into the prison, to see that which his own wicked conscience knew full well before, as was afterwards plainly proved; although then he made a fair face to the contrary, blazing abroad among the people, by their officers and servants, that Hun had desperately hanged himself.[1] Howbeit the people having good experience as well of the honest life and godly conversation of the man, as also of the devilish malice of his adversaries the priests, judged rather, that by their procurement he was secretly murdered.

Crafty packing of the murdering papists.

Secret conveyance of the murdering of Hun.

Horsey the chancellor craftily practiseth.

The death of Hun suspected by the Londoners.

Hereof arose great contention; for the bishop of London, on the one side, taking his clergy's part, affirmed stoutly that Hun had hanged himself. The citizens again, on the other side, vehemently suspecting some secret murder, caused the coroner of London, according to law, to choose an inquest, and to take good view of the dead body, and so to try out the truth of the matter; whereby the bishop and his chaplains were then driven to extremity of shifts: and therefore, minding by some subtle show of justice to stop the mouths of the people, they determined that in the meanwhile, as the inquest was occupied about their charge, the bishop should for his part proceed 'ex officio,' in case of heresy against the dead person: supposing,

The coroner sitteth on the death of Hun.

(1) "Sed justissimus Dei Omnipotentis oculus, ubique præsens, rerumque omnium et testis et vindex, ut falli nullis potuit latebris, ita nec latere voluit tam sceleratam in virum probum, et innocentem crudelitatem. Nam præterquam quod Carolus ipsemet sceleris minister non potuit, non ream conscientiam Julianæ ancillæ suæ patefacere, tum præter ancillæ hujus confessionem accessit insuper, multiplex ex variis conjecturis existimatio." &c. See the Latin Edition; Basle, 1559, p. 120.—Ed.

Henry VIII. A. D. 1509 to 1518.

most likely, that if the party were once condemned of heresy, the inquest durst not then but find him guilty of his own death, and so clearly acquit them from all the former suspicion of privy murder. This determination of theirs they did immediately put in practice, in order as followeth:

Dr. Hed promoter of the dead.

First, besides the articles before mentioned, which they affirm were objected against him in his life-time, Dr. Hed did now also after his death collect certain others out of the prologue of his English Bible, remaining then in the bishop's hands, which he diligently perused, not to learn any good thing therein, but to get thereout such matter as he thought might best serve their cursed purpose; as appeareth by the tenor of the articles, which are these:[1]

New Articles commenced against Hun after his Death.

I. First, The said book damneth all holy canons, calling them ceremonies and statutes of sinful men and uncunning, and calleth the pope Satan, and Antichrist.

II. Item, It damneth the pope's pardons, saying they be but leasings.

III. Item, The said book of Hun saith, that kings and lords, called christian in name, and heathen in conditions, defile the sanctuary of God, bringing clerks full of covetousness, heresy, and malice, to stop God's law, that it cannot be known, kept, and freely preached.

IV. Item, The said book saith, that lords and prelates pursue full cruelly them that would teach truly and freely the law of God, and cherish them that preach sinful men's traditions and statutes; by which he meaneth the holy canons of Christ's church.

V. Item, That poor men and idiots have the truth of the holy Scriptures, more than a thousand prelates, and religious men, and clerks of the school.

VI. Item, That christian kings and lords set up idols in God's house, and excite the people to idolatry.

VII. Item, That princes, lords, and prelates so doing, be worse than Herod that pursued Christ, and worse than Jews and heathen men that crucified Christ.

VIII. Item, That every man, swearing by our lady, or any other saint or creature, giveth more honour to the saints than to the Holy Trinity; and so he saith they be idolaters.

IX. Item, He saith that saints ought not to be honoured.

X. Item, He damneth adoration, prayer, kneeling, and offering to images, which he calleth stocks and stones.

XI. Item, He saith, that the very body of the Lord is not contained in the sacrament of the altar, but that men receiving it, shall thereby keep in mind that Christ's flesh was wounded and crucified for us.

XII. Item, He damneth the university of Oxford, with all degrees and faculties in it, as art, civil, canon, and divinity; saying, that they hinder the true way to come to the knowledge of the laws of God and holy Scripture.

XIII. Item, He defendeth the translation of the Bible and the holy Scripture into the English tongue, which is prohibited by the laws of our mother, holy church.[2]

These articles thus collected, as also the others before specified, they caused, for a more show of their pretended justice and innocency, to be openly read the next Sunday following, by the preacher at Paul's Cross, with this protestation made before.

'Masters and friends, for certain causes and considerations, I have in commandment to rehearse, show, and publish here unto you, the articles of heresy

(1) Ex Regist. R. Fitzjames, Lond.
(2) A 'holy mother church' which cannot abide the word of God to be translated!

upon which Richard Hun was detected and examined: and also other great articles and damnable points and opinions of heresy contained in some of his books, which be come to light and knowledge here ready to be shown.' Henry VIII. A. D. 1509 to 1518.

And therewith he read the articles openly unto the people, concluding with these words:

'And masters, if there be any man desirous to see the specialty of these articles, or doubt whether they be contained in this book or not, for satisfying of his mind let him come to my lord of London, and he shall see it with good will. The bishop's publication at Paul's Cross against Hun.

'Moreover, here I counsel and admonish, that if there be any persons that of their simpleness have been familiar and acquainted with the said Richard Hun in these articles, or have heard him read upon this book, or any other sounding to heresy, or have any like books themselves, let them come unto my lord of London betwixt this and Candlemas next, and acknowledge their fault,* and they shall be charitably treated and dealt withal, so that both their goods and honesty shall be saved: and if they will not come of their own offer, but abide the process of the law, then at their own peril be it, if the rigour of the law be executed against them.'

After which open publication and admonition, the bishop at sundry times examined divers of his priests, and other lay-persons, upon the contents of both these articles. Among which examinates there was a man-servant and a maid of the said Hun's, who, although they had of long time dwelt with him, were not able to charge him with any great thing worthy of reprehension, no, not in such points as the bishop chiefly objected against him. But yet the priests (through whose procurement this mischief was first begun) spared no whit stoutly and maliciously to accuse him, some in the contents of the first articles, and some in the second. Wherefore having now, as they thought, sufficient matter against him, they purposed speedily to proceed to his condemnation; and because they would seem to do all things formally, and by prescript order, they first drew out certain short and summary rules,[1] by which the bishop should be directed in this solemn session: which are these:

I. First, Let the bishop sit in his tribunal-seat in our lady's chapel.

II. Secondly, Let him recite the cause of his coming, and take notaries to him, to enact what shall be there done.

III. Thirdly, Let him declare, how upon Sunday last, at Paul's Cross, he caused to be published a general monition or denunciation, that all fautors and maintainers of Richard Hun should come in as by this day, and submit themselves: and let him signify withal, how certain have come in, and have appeared already. Mark the manner of this proceeding.

IV. Fourthly, Let him protest and say, that if there remain any yet behind, who have not appeared according to the former monition and denunciation, yet if they will come and appear, and submit themselves, they shall be heard and received with grace and favour.

V. Fifthly, Let the bishop, or some other at his appointment, recite the articles objected against Richard Hun in the time of his life, and then the other articles likewise, which were out of his great book of the Bible extracted.

VI. Sixthly, Let the answers and confessions of the said Richard Hun summarily be recited, with the attestations made to the same articles. Also let his books be exhibited, and then Thomas Brooke, his servant, be called for.

VII. Seventhly, Let it be openly cried at the choir door, that if there be any who will defend the articles, opinions, books, or the memory of the said

(1) Ex Regist. R. Fitzjames. Lond.

Notwithstanding, after all this tragical and cruel handling of the dead body, and their fair and colourable show of justice, yet the inquest no whit stayed their diligent searching out of the true cause and means of his death. Insomuch that when they had been divers times called both before the king's privy-council (his majesty himself being sometimes present), and also before the chief judges and justices of this realm, and that the matter being by them throughly examined, and perceived to be much bolstered and borne withal by the clergy, was again wholly remitted unto their determination and ending; they found by good proof, and sufficient evidence, that Dr. Horsey the chancellor, Charles Joseph the sumner, and John Spalding the bell-ringer, had privily and maliciously committed this murder; and therefore indicted them all three as wilful murderers. Howbeit, through the earnest suit of the bishop of London unto cardinal Wolsey (as appeareth by his letters hereafter mentioned), means were found, that at the next sessions of gaol-delivery the king's attorney pronounced the indictment against Dr. Horsey to be false and untrue, and him not to be guilty of the murder; who, being then thereby delivered in body, having yet in himself a guilty conscience, gat him unto Exeter, and durst never after for shame come again unto London. But now that the truth of all this may seem more manifest and plain unto all men's eyes, here shall follow, word by word, the whole inquiry and verdict of the inquest, exhibited by

Henry VIII.

1509 to 1518.

Dr. Horsey chancellor, Charles Joseph and Spalding, murderers of Richard Hun.

(si ratione hæresis hujusmodi membrum fuisset à corpore Christi mystico præcisum) ipsum ad caput et corpus (id est, Christum, sanctæque matris ecclesiæ unitatem) per salutaria monita et condignam pœnitentiam revocaret et reduceret: ne idem Richardus inter simplices et devotas Christi fidelium et catholicorum animas coerrande, et zizania hæretica seminando, fidelium mentes macularet et inficeret, et sinistris ac perversis assertionibus et opinionibus, à veritatis semita et vera fide Christiana aberrare faceret; ad effectum citandi eum ad comparendum coram dicto reverendissimo patre et domino archiepiscopo, suisque coepiscopis et suffraganeis, cæterisque illius concionis sive sacræ synodi prælatis, super præmissis responsurum perquiri fecit et mandavit. Verùm idem Richardus apprehendi non potuit. Unde dictus reverendissimus Pater suum tam pium, tam sanctum et laudabile propositum ad effectum perducere non potuit. Quod cum nos Richardus permissione divina Londinensis episcopus, dicti Richardi ordinarius, (cui etiam tanquam de hæresi suspectus, idem Richardus à multis retroactis temporibus delatus et detectus extiterat) intellexerimus, non volentes nec audentes prædicta facinora silentio et conniventibus oculis pertransire et prætermittere, ne ob nostram negligentiam, et torporem sanguis ejus in districto examine, sive Dei judicio, de manibus nostris requiratur, volentes certiorari et informari an ea quæ de ipso et contra eum nobis delata et dicta fuerant, veritate aliqua fulcitentur, et an in luce vel in tenebris ambularet, ne fortasse ovis morbida existens, innocuas animas gregis dominici pestifera hæresi corrumperet et inficeret, ad informandum animum nostrum, ipsum coram nobis vocandum, et super præmissis diligenter interrogandum et examinandum, omniaque faciendum, quæ secundùm canonicas sanctiones erant facienda (ejus animam pio et paterno zelantes affectu), descendimus et properavimus: contra quem objectis judicialiter et propositis publicè in judicio articulis, de et super quibus nobis (ut præfertur) delatus, detectus, et notatus fuerat. Quos pervenerabilem virum magistrum Johannem Downam hic publicè jam lectos, pro hic lectis et insertis habemus et haberi volumus; habitisque et receptis ad eosdem articulos responsionibus et confessionibus suis. Deinde testes fide dignos de et super eisdem articulis et aliis contra dictum Richardum in debita juris forma recepimus, admisimus, et diligenter examinari fecimus; propositóque nuper per nos verbo Dei ad crucem divi Pauli, ejus detestabiles hæreses et errores, in articulis et libris suis, quibus usus est, comprehensas, in ejus et ipsorum detestationem et damnationem publicantes, atque publicè recitantes, populo in magna multitudine ibidem tunc congregato, notificavimus et intimavimus: Quod isto die contra eundem Richardum, tanquam contra hæreticum, ad ipsiusque condemnationem et excommunicationem in specie, ad aliáque in hac parte requisita, necnon ad excommunicationem receptatorum, defensorum, fautorum, et credentium ipsius in genere, juxta canonicas sanctiones, sanctorum patrum decreta, et omnem juris vigorem et dispositionem, Deo duce, procedere intendebamus: monitionémque sive denunciationem quandam generalem dedimus et fecimus tunc ibidem, videlicet, quòd si qui fuerint ejus receptatores, defensores, fautores, et credentes, quòd citra hunc diem ad nos et sanctæ matris ecclesiæ gremium redirent, et se submitterent: quod si facerent (de misericordia omnipotentis Dei confisi), polliciti sumus quod ipsos de erroribus et reatibus suis hujusmodi pœnitentes, cum gratia, benignitate, misericordia, et favore, ad animarum suarum solatium et salutem reciperimus, quodque honestatem eorum pro posse servaremus in hac parte. Alioquin si sic sponte venire non curarent, sed juris ordinarium processum expectarent; scirent nos hoc admissum adversus eos severius executuros, in quantum jura permitterent. Adveniente itaque jam die isto, ad præmissa et infra scripta facienda, sic ut præfertur, per nos præfixo, nos Richardus episcopus antedictus, in negotio inquisitionis hæreticæ praditatis prædictæ legitimè procedentes, volentésque, hujusmodi negotium sinè debito terminare, solenne concilium tam in sacra theologica facultate, quam jure canonico et civili doctorum, et hunc venerabilem cœtum cleri et populi coram nobis fecimus congregari; et visis, auditis, intellectis, rimatis, ac diligenter et matura deliberatione discussis meritis et circumstantiis

Henry VIII. 1509 to 1518.

them unto the coroner of London, and so given up and signed with his own hand.

THE VERDICT OF THE INQUEST.

The fifth and the sixth day of December, in the sixth year of the reign of our sovereign lord king Henry VIII., William Barnwell, coroner of London, the day and year abovesaid, within the ward of Castle-Baynard of London, assembled a quest, whose names afterward do appear, and hath sworn them truly to inquire of the death of one Richard Hun, which lately was found dead in the Lollards' tower within Paul's church of London: Whereupon all we of the inquest together went up into the said tower, where we found the body of the said Hun hanging upon a staple of iron, in a girdle of silk, with fair countenance, his head fair kemped, and his bonnet right sitting upon his head, with his eye and mouth fair closed, without any staring, gaping or frowning, also without any drivelling or spurging in any place of his body: Whereupon by one assent all we agreed to take down the dead body of the said Hun, and as soon as we began to heave the body it was loose: whereby, by good advisement, we perceived that the girdle had no knot about the staple, but it was double-cast; and the links of an iron chain, which did hang on the same staple, were laid upon the same girdle whereby he did hang; Also the knot of the girdle that went about his neck, stood under his left ear, which caused his head to lean towards his right shoulder. Notwithstanding there came out of his nostrils two small streams of blood to the quantity of four drops. Save only these four drops of blood, the face, lips, chin, doublet, collar, and shirt of the said Hun were clean from any blood. Also we find that the skin both of his neck and throat, beneath the girdle of silk, was fret and failed away, with that thing which the murderers had broken his neck withal. Also the hands of the said Hun were wrung in the wrists, whereby we perceived that his hands had been bound.

Moreover, we find that within the said prison was no mean whereby a man

negotii memorati, actisque et actitatis in eodem productis et deductis prædictorum, digesto et maturo concilio (cum nullus appareat contradictor seu defensor, qui dicti Richardi opiniones, articulos, et memoriam defendere velit), solum Deum oculis nostris, proponentes ad sententiam nostram contra eum, ejus opiniones et libros, receptatoresque, fautores, defensores, et credentes, se nobis juxta tenorem et formam monitionis et denunciationis nostrarum prædictarum minimè submittentes, nec ad gremium sanctæ matris ecclesiæ redire curantes, licet quidam salvationis pii filii citra monitionem et denunciationem nostras prædictas ad nos venerunt, et se submiserunt, quos cum gratia et favore recepimus in hac parte ferendam, sic duximus procedendum et procedimus in hunc qui sequitur modum. Quia per acta actitata, inquisita, deducta, confessata, et probata, necnon per vehementes et urgentes præsumptiones, et judicia perspicua comperimus luculenter, et invenimus dictum Richardum Hunne crimine hæreticæ pravitatis multipliciter irretitum, atque hæreticum fuisse et esse, nonnullasque opiniones et assertiones detestabiles et hæreses damnates, dum in humanis agebat, et vitales caperet auras, affirmasse, proposuisse, et recitasse, librisque suspectis, et de jure damnatis, et nonnullas hæreses pestiferas in se continentibus usum fuisse, receptisque, admissis et examinatis testibus per commissarios ad hoc deputatos de et super impœnitentia finali, pertinacia, et obitu dicti Richardi Hunne: Ideireo nos Richardus episcopus antedictus, servatis servandis (prout in tali negotio postulat ordo juris),
(a) dicti Richardi Hunne impœnitentia ac finali obstinatia et pertinacia, per evidentia signa testibus legitimis, vehementissimis et violentis præsumptionibus comprobatis, prout jam coram nobis legitimè extitit facta fides, edicto apud crucem divi Pauli, die dominico ultimo præterito, ad audiendum et per nos ferendum sententiam, ad hunc diem per nos publicè facto et proposito: propterea de hujus venerabilis cœtus (videlicet, reverendorum patrum, dominorum Thomæ Dunelmensis, et Wilhelmi Lincolniensis, ac Johannis Calipolensis, episcoporum, necnon in sacra theologia, decretorum, et legum doctorum, et cleri, atque proborum et venerabilium virorum, domini majoris, aldermanorum, et vicecomitum civitatis Londinensis, et populi hic congregatorum, et nobis in hac parte assidentium et assistentium) consensu, assensu, et consilio, eundem Richardum Hunne diversarum hæresium libris, dum vixit, usum fuisse, ac notorium et pertinacem impenitentemæ hæreticum fuisse, ac in hæresi decesisse, atque conscientia criminis et metu futuræ sententiæ, animo pertinaci et impœnitenti, corde indurato obiisse et decessisse, præmissorumque prætextu de jure excommunicatum fuisse et esse, atque in excommunicatione hujusmodi decessisse, ipsiusque receptatores, fautores, defensores, et credentes, etiam in genere de jure excommunicatos, atque sententia majoris excommunicationis innodatos et involutos fuisse et esse pronunciamus, decernimus, et declaramus: ipsum Richardum Hunne et libros suos hæreticos de jure damnatos, suamque ac librorum ipsorum memoriam in detestationem et damnationem sceleris et criminis hujusmodi condemnamus: dictumque Richardum Hunne (ob præmissa), ecclesiastica carere debere sepultura sententiamus, etiam pronunciamus, decernimus, et declaramus, et in foro ecclesiastico tanquam membrum putridum projicimus, corpusque suum et ossa brachio et potestati seculari relinquimus et committimus, juxta et secundum canonicas et legitimas sanctiones, consuetudinesque laudabiles in regno Angliæ ab antiquo usitatas et observatas, in opprobrium sempiternum et detestationem criminis nefandissimi prædicti, ad æternámque hujus rei memoriam, cæterorumque Christi fidelium metum atque terrorem, per hanc nostram sententiam, sive finale decretum, quam sive quod ferimus et promulgamus in his scriptis.

(a) What final obstinacy was in him, when you say before, that by his own hand-writing he submitted himself to the bishop's favourable correction!

might hang himself, but only a stool; which stool stood upon a bolster of a bed, so tickle, that any man or beast might not touch it so little, but it was ready to fall: whereby we perceived, that it was not possible that Hun might hang himself, the stool so standing. Also all the girdle from the staple to his neck, as well as the part which went about his neck, was too little for his head to come out thereat. Also it was not possible that the soft silken girdle should break his neck or skin beneath the girdle. Also we find in a corner, somewhat beyond the place where he did hang, a great parcel of blood. Also we find upon the left side of Hun's jacket, from the breast downward, two great streams of blood. Also within the flap of the left side of his jacket we find a great cluster of blood, and the jacket folden down thereupon; which thing the said Hun could never fold nor do after he was hanged: whereby it appeareth plainly to us all, that the neck of Hun was broken, and the great plenty of blood was shed, before he was hanged. Wherefore all we find, by God and all our consciences, that Richard Hun was murdered. Also we acquit the said Richard Hun of his own death.

Also there was an end of a wax-candle, which, as John the bellringer saith, he left in the prison burning with Hun that same Sunday night that Hun was murdered; which wax-candle we found sticking upon the stocks, fair put out, about seven or eight foot from the place where Hun was hanged, which candle, after our opinion, was never put out by him, for many likelihoods which we have perceived.

Also at the going up of master chancellor into the Lollards' tower, we have good proof that there lay on the stocks a gown, either of murrey,[1] or crimson in grain, furred with shanks: whose gown it was we could never prove, neither who bare it away. All we find, that Master William Horsey, chancellor to my lord of London, hath had at his commandment both the rule and guiding of the said prisoner. Moreover, all we find, that the said Master Horsey, chancellor, hath put Charles Joseph out of his office, as the said Charles hath confessed, because he would not deal and use the said prisoner so cruelly, and do to him as the chancellor would have had him to do. Notwithstanding the deliverance of the keys to the chancellor by Charles, on the Saturday night before Hun's death, and Charles riding out of the town on that Sunday in the morning ensuing, was but a convention made betwixt Charles and the chancellor to colour the murder. For the same Sunday that Charles rode forth, he came again to the town at night, and killed Richard Hun, as in the depositions of Julian Littel, Thomas Chicheley, Thomas Simondes, and Peter Turner, doth appear.

After colouring of the murder betwixt Charles and the chancellor conspired, the chancellor called to him one John Spalding, bellringer of Paul's, and delivered to the same bellringer the keys of the Lollards' tower, giving to the said bellringer a great charge, saying, I charge thee to keep Hun more straitly than he hath been kept, and let him have but one meal a day; moreover, I charge thee let nobody come to him without my license, neither to bring him shirt, cap, kerchief, or any other thing, but that I see it before it come to him. Also before Hun was carried to Fulham, the chancellor commanded to be put upon Hun's neck a great collar of iron, with a great chain, which is too heavy for any man or beast to wear, and long to endure.

Proofs of Hun's death.

Moreover, it is well proved, that before Hun's death the said chancellor came up into the said Lollards' tower, and kneeling down before Hun, held up his hands to him, praying of him forgiveness of all that he had done to him, and must do to him. And on Sunday following the chancellor commanded the penitentiary of Paul's to go up to him and say a gospel, and make for him holy water, and holy bread, and give it to him, which he did: and also the chancellor commanded that Hun should have his dinner. And the same dinner-time Charles, the boy, was shut in prison with Hun, which was never so before; and after dinner, when the bellringer fetched out the boy, the bellringer said to the same boy, 'Come no more hither with meat for him till to-morrow at noon, for my master chancellor hath commanded that he should have but one meal a day.' And the same night following Richard Hun was murdered, which murder could not have been done without consent and license of the chancellor, and also by the witting and knowledge of John Spalding, bellringer; for there

(1) "Murrey," mulberry colour.—Ed.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1509 to 1518.

could no man come into the prison but by the keys, being in John the bellringer's keeping. Also, as by my lord of London's book doth appear, John the bellringer is a poor innocent man. Wherefore all we do perceive, that this murder could not be done but by the commandment of the chancellor, and by the witting and knowing of John the bellringer.

The witness of Charles Joseph, sumner.

Charles Joseph, within the Tower of London, of his own free will, and unconstrained, said, That master chancellor devised, and wrote with his own hand, all such heresies as were laid to Hun's charge; record John God, John True, John Pasmere, Richard Gibson, with many others. Also Charles Joseph saith, That when Richard Hun was slain, John the bellringer bare up the stairs into the Lollards' tower a wax-candle, having the keys of the doors hanging on his arm; and I Charles went next to him, and master chancellor came up last: and when all we came up, we found Hun lying on his bed; and then master chancellor said, 'Lay hands on the thief;' and so all we murdered Hun: and then I Charles put the girdle about Hun's neck; and then John bellringer and I Charles did heave up Hun, and master chancellor pulled the girdle over the staple; and so Hun was hanged.

The Deposition of Julian Littell, late servant of Charles Joseph, by her free will, unconstrained, the sixth year of our Sovereign Lord King Henry the Eighth, within the chapel of our Lady of Bethlehem, showed to the Inquest.

First, Julian saith, That the Wednesday at night, after the death of Richard Hun, Charles Joseph her master came home to his supper: then Julian said to him, 'Master, it was told me that ye were in prison.' Charles answered, 'It is merry to turn the penny:' and after supper Charles trussed up a parcel of his goods, and with help of Julian, bare them into Mr. Porter's house to keep: and that done, Charles said to Julian; 'Julian, if thou wilt be sworn to keep my counsel, I will show thee my mind.' Julian answered, 'Yea, if it be neither felony nor treason.' Then Charles took a book out of his purse, and Julian sware to him thereupon. Then said Charles to Julian, 'I have destroyed Richard Hun!' 'Alas, master,' said Julian, 'how? he was called an honest man.' Charles answered, 'I put a wire in his nose.' 'Alas,' said Julian, 'now be ye cast away and undone.' Then said Charles, 'Julian, I trust in thee that thou wilt keep my counsel:' And Julian answered, 'Yea, but for God's sake, master, shift for yourself.' And then Charles said, 'I had leefer than 100 pound it were not done; but what is done cannot be undone.' Moreover Charles said then to Julian, 'Upon Sunday, when I rode to my cousin Barington's house, I tarried there and made good cheer all day till it was night; and yet before it was midnight I was in London, and had killed Hun. And upon the next day I rode thither again, and was there at dinner, and sent for neighbours, and made good cheer.' Then Julian asked Charles, 'Where set you your horse that night you came to town, and wherefore came you not home?' Charles answered, 'I came not home for fear of bewraying.' And then Julian asked Charles, 'Who was with you at the killing of Hun?' Charles answered, 'I will not tell thee.' And Julian saith that upon the Thursday following Charles tarried all day in his house with great fear: and upon Friday following, early in the morning before day, Charles went forth, as he said, to Paul's; and at his coming in again he was in a great fear, saying hastily, 'Get me my horse;' and with great fear and haste made him ready to ride; and bade Master Porter's lad lead his horse into the field by the backside. And then Charles put into his sleeve his mace, or masor, with other plate borrowed of Master Potter, both gold and silver; but how much I am not sure: and Charles went into the field after his horse, and Julian brought his budget after him. Also upon Friday in Christmas week following, Charles came home late in the night, and brought with him three bakers and a smith of Stratford, and the same night they carried out of Charles's house, all his goods by the fieldside, to the Bell in Shoreditch, and early in the morning conveyed it with carts to Stratford.

Moreover Julian saith, That the Saturday at night before the death of Hun, Charles came home, and brought with him a gurnard, saying, it was for Hun: and Charles's boy told Julian, that there was also ordained a piece of fresh salmon, which John the bellringer had.

Also Charles said to the said Julian, 'Were not this ungracious trouble, I could bring my lord of London to the doors of heretics in London, both of men and women, that be worth a thousand pounds; but I am afraid that the ungracious midwife shall bewray us all.' *Henry VIII.* A. D. 1509 to 1518.

Also Charles said unto Mrs. Porter likewise and more largely, speaking of the best in London: whereto Mrs. Porter answered, 'The best in London is my lord mayor.' Then Charles said, 'I will not excuse him quite, for that he taketh this matter so hot.'

Whereas Charles Joseph saith he lay at Neckhill with a harlot, a man's wife, in Barington's house, the same night that Richard Hun was murdered, and there abode until the morrow at eleven of the clock; and thereupon brought before the king's council, for his purgation, the aforesaid woman, Barington's wife, and also the other woman: this purgation we have proved all untrue, as right largely may appear, as well by the deposition of Julian Littel, as of Thomas Chicheley, tailor, Thomas Simondes, stationer, of Robert Johnson and his wife, and of John Spalding, bellringer: also of Peter Turner, son-in-law of the aforesaid Charles Joseph; who said before, to an honest woman, a wax-chandler's wife, that before this day seventh-night Hun should have a mischievous death, &c. Also of John Enderby, baker, to whom John Spalding himself declared these words: That there was ordained for Hun so grievous penance, that when men hear of it, they shall have great marvel thereof, &c.; besides the deposition moreover of Allen Creswell, wax-chandler, and Richard Horsenail, bailiff of the sanctuary town called Godsture, in Essex. Which testimonies and depositions hereafter follow.

The witness of Peter Turner.

The witness of John Spalding himself.

* The Deposition of Thomas Chicheley, Tailor.[1]

The said Thomas sayeth: The same Monday that Richard Hun was found dead, within a quarter of an hour after seven o'clock in the morning, he met with Charles Joseph, coming out of St. Paul's, at the nether north door, going toward Paternoster row, saying, 'Good morrow, Master Charles!' and the said Charles answered, 'Good morrow!' and turned his back, when he was without the church door, and looked upon the said Chicheley.

* The Deposition of Thomas Simondes, Stationer.

He sayeth, That the same morning that Hun was dead, within a quarter of an hour after seven o'clock in the morning, Charles Joseph came before him at his stall, and said, 'Good morrow, gossip Simondes!' and the said Simondes said, 'Good morrow' to him again; and the wife of the said Simondes was by him; and because of the deadly countenance and hasty going of Charles, the said Thomas bade his wife look whither Charles goeth; and as she could perceive, Charles went into an alehouse standing in Paternoster-row, by the alley leading into the road of Northern, or into the alley, whither, she could not well tell.

* The Deposition of Robert Johnson and his Wife, dwelling at the Bell, in Shoreditch.[2]

The said Robert sayeth, That Charles Joseph sent his horse to his house upon a holyday, at night, about three weeks before Christmas, by a boy; which horse was all besweat and all bemired: and the said boy said, 'Let my father's horse stand saddled, for I cannot tell whether my father will ride again to night or not;' and the said horse stood saddled all night, and in the morning following, Charles came booted and spurred about eight of the clock, and asked if his horse was saddled? and the servant answered, 'Yea.' And the said Charles leaped upon his horse, and prayed the host to let him out of his back gate, that he might ride out by the field side; which host so did. And, because he was uncertain of the day, we asked him if he heard speak of the death of Hun at that time or not, and he

(1) The depositions of witnesses, distinguished by asterisks, are inserted from the edition of 1563, pp. 393—395.—Ed.

(2) Where Charles Joseph set up his horse, the night that he came to town to murder Richard Hun.

Henry. VIII. A. D. 1509 to 1518.

answered, 'Nay!' But shortly after he did. Nevertheless Peter Turner, Charles's son-in-law, who brought the horse by night into the Bell, which was Robert Johnson's house, confessed it was the same night, before that Hun was found dead in the morning. Moreover the Friday before Hun's death, Peter Turner said to an honest woman, a wax-chandler's wife, dwelling before St. Mary's, Spitalgate, that before this day seven-nights, Hun should have a mischievous death. And, the same day at afternoon, on which this Hun was found dead, the said Peter came to the same wife and told her that Hun was hanged; saying, 'What told I you?'

Also James, the chancellor's cook, the Friday before Hun's death, said to five honest men, that Hun should die ere Christmas, or else he would die for him. And on the Monday that Hun was found dead, the said James came to the same men and said, 'What told I you? is he not now hanged?' And we of the inquest asked both of Peter Turner, and of James Cook, where they had knowledge that Hun should so shortly die? and they said, 'In Master Chancellor's place, by every man.'

* The Deposition of John Spalding, Bellringer.

First the said deponent sayeth, That on Saturday the 2d day of December, A. D. 1514, he took the charge of the prison at four of the clock in the afternoon, by the commandment of Master Chancellor, and so took the keys; whereupon he gave commandment to the deponent, that he should let no manner of person speak with the prisoner, except he had knowledge of them; and so at five of the clock the same day, the said deponent went to the prisoner himself alone, and saw him, and cherished him, where he gave the said deponent a piece of fresh salmon for his wife. And after that, the said deponent sayeth, that he went to Master Commissary's, to supper with his fellow, where he remembered that he had left his knife with the said prisoner; whereupon, by the counsel of Master Commissary, he went to the prisoner and fetched his knife, when he found the prisoner saying of his beads, and so the said deponent required his knife of the said prisoner, and the said prisoner delivered the knife to the said deponent gladly; and so he departed for that night.

And after that, on the Sunday next following, the said deponent came to the prisoner at nine o'clock, and asked him what meat he would have to his dinner? and he answered, 'but a morsel;' and so the said deponent departed and went to the chancellor into the choir, and he commanded that he should take the penitentiary up to the prisoner with him, to make him holy water and holy bread, and made the said deponent to depart the prison-house for a while; and after that he brought him his dinner, and locked Charles's boy in with him all dinner time, unto the hour of one o'clock, and so let the lad out again, and asked him what he would have to his supper? and he answered, that he had meat enough; and so departed until six of the clock; and then the said deponent brought him a quart of ale. And at that time one William Sampson went with the said deponent to see the prisoner where he was, and saw him, and spake together; and so, from the hour of six aforesaid, unto twelve o'clock on the morrow, the said deponent came not there, and when he came there, he met the chancellor, with other doctors, going to see the prisoner where he hanged.

* The Deposition of Peter Turner, Son-in-law of Charles Joseph.

First, he sayeth, That his father-in-law rode out of the town, upon Sunday the 4th day of December, A. D. 1514, at six o'clock in the morning, wearing a coat of orange tawny, on a horse, grizzle colour, trotting.

He saith, the Sunday next before that, one Button's wife gave knowledge to the said deponent, that his father should be arrested by divers sergeants as soon as he could be taken; and thereupon the said deponent gave knowledge to the said father-in-law at the Black Friars at the water side, whereupon he avoided; and, the same night, Master Chancellor gave the keys to Thomas, bellringer, and gave him charge of the prisoner. And on the said Sunday the said deponent, with John, bellringer, served the said prisoner with his dinner at twelve

o'clock, and then John, bellringer, said to the deponent, that he would not come to him until the morrow, for my lord had commanded him that the prisoner should have but one meal's meat on the day. Notwithstanding that, the said John, bellringer, after that he had shut St. Paul's church doors, went to the aforesaid prisoner, with another with him, at seven of the clock at night the said Sunday.

And the said deponent sayeth, That he came on the Monday, at the hour of eight o'clock in the morning, to seek John, bellringer, and could not find him, and tarried until the high mass of St. Paul's was done, and yet he could not find the said John; and then one William, John the bellringer's fellow, delivered the keys to the said deponent, and so the said deponent, with two officers of my lord's, being somners, went to serve the said prisoner, and when they came, the prisoner (they said) was hanged; his face to the wallward. And, upon that, the said deponent immediately gave knowledge to the chancellor, whereupon the chancellor went up with the Master of the Rolls, and Master Subdean, with other doctors unknown, to the number of a dozen, and their servants.

* The Deposition of John Enderby, Barber.

The said John Enderby sayeth, The Friday before the death of Richard Hun, betwixt eight and nine o'clock in the morning, he met with John the bellringer in Eastcheap, and asked him how Master Hun fared? the said bellringer answered, saying: There is ordained for him so grievous penance, that when men hear of it, they shall have great marvel thereof.

The witnesses that heard John, bellringer, say these words, were John Rutter, scrivener, and William Segar, armourer.

Also the said John Enderby saith, The same Monday that Richard Hun was found dead, he met with the aforesaid John at the Conduit, in Gracious street,[1] about nine of the clock in the morning, asking the said bellringer how Master Hun fared? the said bellringer answered, saying: he fared well this day in the morning betwixt five and six of the clock; howbeit, I am sorry for him, for there can nobody come to him until I come, for I have the keys of the doors here by my girdle; and showed the keys to the said Enderby.*

The Deposition of Allen Creswell, Waxchandler.

The said Allen saith, That John Granger, servant with my lord of London, in my lord of London's kitchen, at such time as the said Allen was serving of Hun's coffin, told him, that he was present with John the bellringer the same Sunday at night that Richard Hun was found dead on the morrow, when the keepers set him in the stocks; insomuch that the said Hun desired to borrow the keeper's knife: and the keeper asked him what he would do with his knife; and he answered, 'I had leifer kill myself than to be thus treated.' This deposition the said Allen will prove as far forth as any christian man may; saying, that Granger showed to him these words of his own free will and mind, without any question or inquiry to him made by the said Allen. Moreover the said Allen saith, that all that evening Granger was in great fear.

The Deposition of Richard Horsenail, Bailiff of the Sanctuary-Town called Godsture in Essex.

The said Richard saith, That the Friday before Christmas-day last past, one Charles Joseph, sumner to my lord of London, became a sanctuary-man, and the aforesaid Friday he registered his name; the said Charles saying it was for the safeguard of his body, for there be certain men in London so extreme against him for the death of Richard Hun, that he dare not abide in London. Howbeit the said Charles saith, he knowledgeth himself guiltless of Hun's death; for he delivered the keys to the chancellor in Hun's life. Also the said bailiff saith, that Charles paid the duty of the said registering, both to him and sir John Studley, vicar.

(1) So it stands in the original.—Ed.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1509 to 1518.

Copy of the Letter of Richard Fitzjames, then Bishop of London, sent to Cardinal Wolsey.

I beseech your good lordship to stand so good lord unto my poor chancellor now in ward, and indicted by an untrue quest, for the death of Richard Hun, upon the only accusation of Charles Joseph made by pain and durance; that by your intercession it may please the king's grace to have the matter duly and sufficiently examined by indifferent persons of his discreet council, in the presence of the parties, ere there be any more done in the cause: and that upon the innocency of my said chancellor declared, it may further please the king's grace to award a placard unto his attorney, to confess the said indictment to be untrue, when the time shall require it: for assured am I, if my chancellor be tried by any twelve men in London, they be so maliciously set, 'in favorem hæreticæ pravitatis,' that they will cast and condemn any clerk, though he were as innocent as Abel. 'Quare si potes beate Pater, adjuva infirmitates nostras, et tibi in perpetuum devinctierimus!' Over this, in most humble wise I beseech you, that I may have the king's gracious favour, whom I never offended willingly; and that by your good means I might speak with his grace and you: and I with all mine shall pray for your prosperous estate long to continue,

Your most humble orator, Richard London.

Lastly, now it remaineth to infer the sentence of the questmen, which followeth in like sort to be seen and expended, after I have first declared the words of the bishop spoken in the parliament-house.

The Words that the Bishop of London spake before the Lords in the Parliament-house.

Memorandum, That the bishop of London said in the parliament-house, that there was a bill brought to the parliament, to make the jury that was charged upon the death of Hun, true men; and said and took upon his conscience, that they were *false* perjured caitifs. And said furthermore to all the lords there being, 'For the love of God look upon this matter; for if you do not, I dare not keep mine house for heretics:' and said, that the said Richard Hun hanged himself, and that it was his own deed, and no man's else. And furthermore said, that there came a man to his house, whose wife was appeached of heresy, to speak with him; and he said that he had no mind to speak with the same man: which man spake and reported to the servants of the same bishop, that if his wife would not hold still her opinions, he would cut her throat with his own hands; with other words.

The Sentence of the Inquest, subscribed by the Coroner.

The inquisition intended and taken at the city of London, in the parish of St. Gregory, in the ward of Baynard Castle in London, the sixth day of December, in the sixth year of the reign of king Henry VIII., before Thomas Barnwell, coroner of our sovereign lord the king, within the city of London aforesaid. Also before James Yarford and John Mundey, sheriffs of the said city, upon the sight of the body of Richard Hun, late of London, tailor, who was found hanged in the Lollards' tower; and by the oath and proof of lawful men of the same ward, and of other three wards next adjoining, as it ought to be, after the custom of the city aforesaid, to inquire how, and in what manner-wise the said Richard Hun came unto his death: and upon the oath of John Bernard, Thomas Stert, William Warren, Henry Abraham, John Aborow, John Turner, Robert Allen, William Marler, John Burton, James Page, Thomas Pickhill, William Burton, Robert Bridgwater, Thomas Busted, Gilbert Howell, Richard Gibson, Christopher Crafton, John God, Richard Holt, John Pasmere, Edmund Hudson, John Arunsell, Richard Cooper, John Tyme: who said upon their oaths, that whereas the said Richard Hun, by the commandment of Richard bishop of London, was imprisoned and brought to hold in a prison of the said bishop's, called Lollards' tower, lying in the cathedral church of St. Paul in London, in the parish of St. Gregory, in the ward of Baynard Castle aforesaid;

William Horsey, of London, clerk, otherwise called William Heresie, chancellor to Richard bishop of London; and one Charles Joseph, late of London, sumner, and John Spalding of London, otherwise called John Bellringer, feloniously as felons to our lord the king, with force and arms against the peace of our sovereign lord the king, and dignity of his crown, the 4th day of December, the sixth year of the reign of our sovereign lord aforesaid, of their great malice, at the parish of St. Gregory aforesaid, upon the said Richard Hun made a fray, and feloniously strangled and smothered the same Richard Hun, and also the neck they did break of the said Richard Hun, and there feloniously slew him and murdered him. And also the body of the said Richard Hun, afterward, the same fourth day, year, place, parish, and ward aforesaid, with the proper girdle of the same Richard Hun, of silk, black of colour, of the value of twelve pence, after his death, upon a hook driven into a piece of timber in the wall of the prison aforesaid, made fast, and so hanged him, against the peace of our sovereign lord the king, and the dignity of his crown. And so the said jury have sworn upon the holy evangelists, that the said William Horsey, clerk, Charles Joseph, and John Spalding, of their set malice, then and there feloniously killed and murdered the said Richard Hun in manner and form abovesaid, against the peace of our sovereign lord the king, his crown and dignity.

Henry VIII. A. D. 1509 to 1518.

Hun cleared by the inquest, not to have hanged himself.

Subscribed in this manner:

Thomas Barnwell, Coroner of the city of London.

After that the twenty-four had given up their verdict, sealed and signed with the coroner's seal, the cause was then brought into the parliament-house, where the truth was laid so plain before all men's faces, and the fact so notorious, that immediately certain of the bloody murderers were committed to prison, and should no doubt have suffered what they deserved, had not the cardinal, by his authority, practised for his catholic children, at the suit of the bishop of London. Whereupon the chancellor, by the king's pardon, and secret shifting, rather than by God's pardon and his deserving, escaped, and went, as is said, to Exeter, &c. Nevertheless, though justice took no place where favour did save, yet because the innocent cause of Hun should take no wrong, the parliament became suitors unto the king's majesty, that whereas the goods of the said Hun were confiscate into the king's hands, it would please his grace to make restitution of all the said goods unto the children of the said Hun. Upon which motion, the king, of his gracious disposition, did not only give all the aforesaid goods unto the aforesaid children under his broad seal yet to be seen; but also did send out his warrants (which hereafter shall follow) to those that were the cruel murderers, commanding them, upon his high displeasure, to re-deliver all the said goods, and make restitution for the death of the said Richard Hun: all which goods came to the sum of fifteen hundred pounds sterling, besides his plate and other jewels.

The parliament judgeth with Richard Hun.

Practice of cardinal Wolsey for his clergy.

The Tenor of the King's Letter in behalf of Richard Hun.

Trusty and well-beloved! we greet you well. Whereas by the complaint to us made, as well as also in our high court of parliament, on the behalf and part of Roger Whapplot of our city of London, draper, and Margaret his wife, late the daughter of Richard Hun: and whereas you were indicted by our laws, of and for the death of the said Richard Hun, and the said murder cruelly committed by you, like as by our records more at large plainly it doth appear, about the fifth day of December, in the sixth year of our reign; the same we abhor; nevertheless we of our special grace, certain science, and mere motion, pardoned you upon certain considerations us moving: for the intent that the goods of the said Richard Hun, and the administration of them, were committed to the said

The king's letter for the restitution of Hun's goods.

Henry VIII. A. D. 1509 to 1518.

Roger Whapplot. We then supposed and intended your amendment, and restitution to be made by you to the infants, the children of the said Richard Hun; as well for his death, as for his goods, embezzled, wasted, and consumed, by your tyranny and cruel act so committed, the same being of no little value; and as hitherto ye have made no recompense, according to our laws, as might stand with equity, justice, right, and good conscience, and for this cause due satisfaction ought to be made by our laws: wherefore we will and exhort, and otherwise charge and command you, by the tenor of these our special letters, that ye satisfy and recompense the said Roger Whapplot, and the said Margaret his wife, according to our laws in this cause, as it may stand with right and good conscience, else otherwise at your further peril; so that they shall have no cause to return unto us, for their further remedy eftsoons in this behalf, as ye in the same tender to avoid our high displeasure: otherwise that ye upon the sight hereof, set all excuses apart, and repair unto our presence, at which your hither coming you shall be further advertised of our mind.

From our manor, &c.

A DEFENCE OF RICHARD HUN AGAINST SIR THOMAS MORE AND ALANUS COPUS.

I doubt not but by these premises, thou hast, christian reader! sufficiently to understand the whole discourse and story of Richard Hun, from top to toe. First, how he came in trouble for denying the bearing-sheet of his young infant departed; then how he was forced, for succour of himself, to sue a præmunire; and thereupon what conspiracy of the clergy was wrought against him, what snares were laid, what fetches were practised, and articles devised, to snarl him in the trap of heresy, and so to imprison him. Furthermore, being in prison, how he was secretly murdered; after his murder, hanged; after his hanging, condemned; after his condemnation, burned; and after his burning, lastly, how his death was required by the coroner, and cleared by acquittal of the inquest. Moreover, how the case was brought into parliament, and by parliament the king's precept obtained for restitution of his goods. The debating of which tragical and tumultuous story, with all the branches and particular evidences of the same, taken out as well of the public acts, as of the bishop's registers and special records remaining in the custody of Dunstan Whapplot, the son of the daughter of the said Richard Hun, there to be seen, I thought here to unwrap and discover so much the more, for three special purposes:[1]

Three purposes considered.

First, as is requisite, for testimony and witness of truth falsely slandered, of innocency wrongfully condemned, and of the party cruelly oppressed.

The second cause moveth me for sir Thomas More's Dialogues, wherein he dallieth out the matter, thinking to jest poor simple truth out of countenance.

The third cause which constraineth me, be the Dialogues of Alan Cope; which two, the one in English, the other in Latin, railing and barking against Richard Hun, do double-wise charge him, both to be a heretic, and also a desperate homicide of himself: which as it is false in the one, so it is to be found as untrue in the other, if simple truth, which hath few friends, and many times cometh in crafty handling, might freely come to indifferent hearing. Wherefore, as I have hitherto described the order and manner of his handling, with the circumstances thereof, in plain and naked narration of story,

(1) Ex publicis actis. Ex archivis et Regist. Lond.

simply laid out before all men's faces; so something here to intermit in the defence as well of his oppressed cause, as also in discharge of myself, I will now compendiously answer to both these aforesaid adversaries, stopping, as it were, with one bush two gaps; and the mouths also, if I can, of them both together. And, first, against sir Thomas More, albeit in degree worshipful, in place superior, in wit and learning singular, if his judgment in Christ's matters had been correspondent to the same, being otherwise a man with many worthy ornaments beautified: yet, being but a man, and one man, I lay and object against the person of him, the persons and censures of twenty four questmen, the deposition of so many jurats, the judgment of the coroner, the approbation of the parliament; and, lastly, the king's bill assigned for restitution of his goods, with his own broad seal confirmed, &c. And thus much to the person and credit of sir Thomas More.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1509 to 1518.

Answer against More. His having many good virtues, had one great vice. His person countervailed.

Now as touching his reasons: whereas he, coming in with a flim-flam of a horse-mill, or a mill-horse (in his own terms I speak), thinketh it probation good enough, because he could not see him taken by the sleeve who murdered Hun: against these reasons unreasonable of his, I allege all the evidences and demonstrations of the history above prefixed, to be considered, and of all indifferent men to be poised.

His reasons refuted.

First, how he was found hanging, with his countenance fair, with his beard and head fair kemped, his bonnet right set on his head, with his eyes and mouth fair closed, without any driveling or spurging. His body being taken down, was found loose (which by hanging could not be), his neck broken, and the skin thereof beneath the throat, where the girdle went, fretted and faced away; his girdle notwithstanding being of silk, and so double cast about the staple, that the space of the girdle between the staple and his neck, with the residue also that went about his neck, was not sufficient for his head to come out at. His hands, moreover, wrung in the wrists; his face, lips, chin, doublet, and shirt-collar, unstained with any blood: when, notwithstanding, in a manner somewhat beyond the place where he did hang, a great quantity of blood was found. Also, whereas the staple whereon he hanged was so that he could not climb thereto without some mean, there was a stool set up upon the bolster of a bed, so tickle, that with the least touch in the world it was ready to fall: and how was it possible that Hun might hang himself upon that staple, the stool so standing? besides the confession, moreover, of Charles Joseph's own mouth to Julian Littell, of Robert Johnson, John Spalding the bellringer, Peter Turner, and others. All which testimonies and declarations being so clear and undeniable, may suffice, I trust, any indifferent man to see where the truth of this case doth stand: unless Master More, being a gentleman of Utopia, peradventure after some strange guise of that country, useth to carry his eyes not in his head, but in his affection; not seeing but where he liketh, nor believing but what he listeth.

The circumstances of Hun's hanging considered.

Utopia Mori.

Finally, where sir Thomas More, speaking of himself, so concludeth, that he, hearing the matter what well might be said, yet could not find contrary, but Hun to be guilty of his own death: so in as many words to answer him again, I, perusing and searching in the story of Richard Hun what may well be searched, cannot but marvel with myself, either with what darkness the eyes of Master More

Henry VIII. A.D. 1509 to 1518.

be dared,[1] not to see what is so plain; or else with what conscience he could dissemble that which shame cannot deny. And thus by the way to the Dialogues of sir Thomas More.

Answer to Copus for Richard Hun.

Thirdly, touching the Dialogues of Alan Cope, who had rather the bishop's chancellor and officers to be accounted among thieves and murderers, than Hun to be numbered among the martyrs, I have herein not much to say, because himself saith but little: and if he had said less, unless his ground were better, it had made as little matter. But forasmuch as he, saying not much, sendeth us to seek more in More; so with like brevity again I may send him to William Tindall, to shape him an answer. Yet notwithstanding lest Cope, in saying something, should think Hun's innocent cause to lack some friends, who will not, or dare not, adventure in defence of truth; somewhat I will answer in this behalf.

Hun murdered not by himself, but by others.

And first, touching this murder of Hun not to be his own wilful act, but the deed of others: besides the demonstrations above premised to sir Thomas More, how to Master Cope; if I had no other evidences but only these two, I would require no more; that is, his cap found so straight standing upon his head, and the stool so tottering under his feet. For how is it, I will not say likely; but how is it possible, for a man to hang himself in a silken girdle double cast about a staple, in such shortness, that neither the space of the knot could well compass his head about, and yet have his cap so straight set upon his head as his was?

Not possible that Hun, so hanging, should hang himself.

Again, how is it possible, or can it be imagined, for him to hang himself, climbing up by a stool which had no stay for him to stand upon, but stood so tickle, that if he had touched the same never so little, it must needs have fallen?

But Cope, being something more provident in this matter, seemeth to exceed not altogether so far as doth Master More. For he, understanding the case to be ambiguous and doubtful, so leaveth it in suspense; neither determining that Hun did hang himself, and yet not admitting that he died a martyr, no more than those who are quelled by thieves and murderers in high-way sides. Well, be it so as Cope doth argue, that those who die by the hands of felons and murderers in thievish ways, be no martyrs; yet, notwithstanding this, his own similitude, comparing the bishop's chancellor and officers to thieves and murderers, doth grant at least that Hun died a true man, although no martyr. Now if the cause be it, and not the pain, that maketh a martyr, in pondering the cause why Hun was slain, we shall find it not altogether like to the cause of those who perish by thieves and robbers. For such commonly, because of their goods, and for some worldly gain to be sought by their death, are made away, and being true men, may peradventure have the reward, although not the name of martyrs: whereas this man's death being wrought neither for money, nor any such temporal lucre to redound to his oppressors; as it hath another cause, so may it have another name, and deserve to be called by the name of martyrdom. Like as Abel, being slain by wicked Cain, albeit he had no opinion of religion articulated against him, but of spite only and of malice was made away, yet notwithstanding is justly numbered among the martyrs: so what let to the contrary, but

Cope denieth him to die a martyr.

The cause, not the pain, maketh a martyr.

The cause of Abel's death and of Hun's compared.

(1) 'Dared,' harmed or pained.—Ed.

that Hun also with him may be reckoned in the same society, seeing the cause wherefore they both did suffer, proceedeth together out of one fountain? And what, moreover, if a man should call Naboth (who for holding his right inheritance was slain) a martyr, what great injury should he do either to the name, or cause, of the person, worthy to be carped at? Against Thomas Becket, you know Master Cope, no special article of faith was laid, wherefore he died:[1] and why then do you bestow upon him so devoutly the title of a martyr, for withholding that from the king, which by the law of God, and of the realm, did belong unto him; and cannot suffer Hun to be entitled a martyr, dying in his own right, by the hands of spiritual thieves and homicides, as you yourself do term them? But what do I strain my travail any further to prove Hun a martyr, when Cope's own confession doth import no less, though I said nothing? For, if I should take no more but his own very words, and say, that he was known to be a heretic, as Cope doth affirm, what could I say more, seeing he died for their heresy, to prove him to die a martyr? for to die a heretic with the papists, what is it else (to say truth) but to die with God a martyr?[2]

Henry VIII. A.D. 1509 to 1518.

But howsoever it pleaseth either sir Thomas More to jest, or Alan Cope to scold out the matter, and to style Richard Hun for a known and desperate heretic: yet to all true godly disposed men, Hun may well be known to be a godly and virtuous person, no heretic, but faithful and sound, save that only he seemed rather half a papist; at least no full protestant, for that he resorted daily to mass, and also had his beads in prison with him, after the catholic manner; albeit he was somewhat inclining (as may appear) toward the gospel. And if the name of a martyr be thought too good for him, yet I trust Master Cope will stand so good master to him, to let him at least be a martyr's fellow. But what now if I go further with Master Cope, and name Richard Hun, not only for a martyr, but also commend him for a double martyr? Certes, as I suppose, in so saying, I should affirm nothing less than truth, nor any thing more than may truly be said, and justly proved. But to give and grant this confession unto the adversary, which notwithstanding might be easily proved, let us see now the proofs of Master Cope, how he argueth that Richard Hun is no martyr: "because," saith he, "true men, being killed in high-ways by thieves and murderers, are not therefore to be counted martyrs," &c. And was there nothing else in the cause of Hun, but as in true men killed by thieves and murderers? They that are killed by thieves and murderers, are killed for some prey, or money about them: and what prey or profit was in the death of Hun, let us see, to redound to those who oppressed him? If it were the mortuary, or the bearing-cloth, that was a small thing, and not worthy his death. If it were the 'præmunire,' the danger thereof pertained to the priest, and not to them. If they feared lest the example thereof once begun, should afterward redound to the prejudice of the whole church, then was the cause of his death not private but public, tending to the whole church and clergy of Rome: and so is his death not altogether like to the death of those, who, for private respects, are killed by thieves and murderers.

Hun no full protestant.

(1) Cope, Dial. 6, p 847. (2) Cope, ibid.

Henry VIII. A.D 1509 to 1518.

"But he was a heretic," saith Cope. By the same reason that Cope taketh him for a heretic, I take him the more to be accepted for a martyr: for by that way which they call heresy, the living God is served, and by no way better. And if he were a heretic, why then did they not proceed against him as a heretic while he was alive? When they had him at Fulham before them, if they had been sure to entrap him in that snare, why did they not take their advantage, when they might with least jeopardy? why did they not proceed and condemn him for a heretic? why made they such haste to prevent his death before? why did they not tarry the sentence of the law, having the law in their own hands? But belike they perceived that he could not be proved a heretic while he lived, and therefore thought it best to make him away privily, and to stop the præmunire, and afterwards to stop the pursuit of his death by making him a heretic. And therefore were articles devised by the chancellor (as is proved before by the witness of Charles Joseph and another) against him, and he condemned for a heretic, and all his favourers also, whosoever durst stir to take his part; and so thereupon was recommitted to the secular power, and burned: wherein they did him double wrong; first, in that they burned him for a heretic, having before submitted himself to their favourable correction, as it appeareth yet in the bishop's registers by his own hand, as it is there pretended; which was against their own laws. Again, if he had not submitted himself at that time, yet did they him wrong to burn him before they knew him and heard him speak (as Tindall saith) whether he would recant or no. And yet, admit that he was condemned and burned for a heretic, yet to be killed and burned of them for a heretic, that taketh not from him the name of a martyr, but rather giveth him to be a double martyr.

The cause of Hun's secret murder discussed.

Crafty practice.

Hun had double wrong.

But Cope yet proceeding in his hot choler against Richard Hun, after he had made him first no martyr, and then a heretic, thirdly he now maketh him also a murderer of himself, and saith, that no other man was any part of his death but only his own hands, and that, either for indignation and anger, or for desperation, or for some cause he knoweth not what. And in his Epilogue, to make it probable, he allegeth the example of one, but nameless, who, in queen Mary's time, in like sort went about to hang himself, had he not been taken in the manner and rescued.

Cope's reasons why Hun should hang himself.

Furthermore, as touching the chancellor he argueth, that there was no cause why he should attempt any such violence against him, both for his age, for his dignity, for his learning, and for the greatness of his own peril which might ensue thereof; who, if he had maligned the man, and had been so disposed to work his destruction, had means otherwise, without danger, to bring that about, having him within his danger convicted and fast tied for heresy. Whereunto I answer, that to all this matter, sufficient hath been answered by the story itself of his death, above specified; namely, by the manner of his death, by circumstances of his handling and hanging, by his neck broke, by his body loose, by his skin fretted, by his wrists wrung, by his girdle in such shortness double cast about the staple, by his cap right upon his head, by his hair kemped, by his eyes closed, by the cake of blood found on the floor, by his shirt-collar, doublet, jacket,

His reasons answered.

Proofs that Hun did not hang himself.

and other outward parts of his garments without drop of blood, unspotted; by the stool so standing upon the bolster, by the chancellor's murrey gown, found the day after upon the stocks, the wax candle fair put out: Furthermore, by the verdict of the inquest, by the attestation of the witnesses sworn, by the coroner's judgment, by the assent of the parliament, by the king's letters assigned, and broad seal for restitution of his goods; and finally, by the confession of the parties themselves who murdered him, &c. And yet thinketh Cope to make men such fools, having yet their five wits, to ween yet that Hun did hang himself, after so many demonstrations and evidences to the contrary, as in every part of this story may appear? And though it were, as it was unlikely, and hard for a man to believe, that Dr. Horsey, a man of such age, dignity, and learning, would so much forget himself to attempt such a villany; yet so great is the devil sometimes with man, where God permitteth, that he worketh greater things than this, and more incredible. For who would have thought it likely that Cain would ever have killed Abel, his own natural brother? which was more than for a bishop's chancellor to kill a citizen: yet so he did. And where Cope pretendeth the causes of anger and desperation whereby Hun did hang himself, how is it like, or who ever did hear, a man being in such extremity of desperation, to stand first trimming himself, and kemping his head, before he go to hang himself? No more credit is also to be given to that which followeth in the same Cope, where he saith, that Richard Hun being in prison, was convicted of heresy: by which word convicted, if he mean that Hun was proved a heretic, that is false; for that he, being at Fulham examined upon certain articles, both denied the articles to be true as they were objected; and also if they were true, yet he submitted himself to their favourable correction; and therefore, not standing obstinately in the same, could not be proved a heretic. And if by this term convicted, he mean that he was by sentence cast; so was Hun never cast by any sentence for a heretic, so long as he lived, but after his death, when he could nothing answer for himself. And because this untruth should not go without his fellow, see how he huddleth up one false narration on the neck of another; affirming moreover, that Hun was cast into prison before he entered his suit of præmunire against the priest: which is utterly false and untrue, both disagreeing to other stories, and also refuted by the words of sir Thomas More, his own author; who reporteth, that Hun (in suing his præmunire against the priest), being set upon a glory of victory, made his boasting among his friends, that trusted to have the matter long spoken of, and to be called Hun's case. Whereby it appeareth that Hun was not then in prison clapt up for heresy, but was abroad seeking counsel among the lawyers, and boasting among his friends, as writeth More.[1]

Henry VIII. A. D. 1509 to 1518.

Manifest untruth in Cope.

Another untruth noted.

Cope huddles up untruths. Another untruth.

After this heap of untruths above passed, add yet further another copy of Cope's false dealing; who, seeking all corners and everywhere how to pick matter against my former history,[2] chargeth me with arrogancy, as though I took so highly upon me to undo and derogate the king's acts and judgments in the acquittal of Dr. Horsey. If it so pleased the king to acquit Dr. Horsey by his gracious pardon,

Another untruth in Cope noted.

(1) Dial. b. iii.

(2) The first edition, 1563.—Ed.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1509 to 1518.

I am not against it, neither do I deny but the king so did: neither do I say, nor ever did, but the king, of his supereminent prerogative, may so do: and wherein then do I unrip or loose the king's acts here done and concluded? But if the question be this, Whether Dr. Horsey with his conjurats, did kill Richard Hun or no? then do I say, that the pardon of the king doth not take away the verity of the crime committed, but removeth away the penalty of the law deserved: and so if the lives of them were saved by way of pardon (as Mr. More himself seemeth not to deny), then was it not through their innocency claiming justice, that they escaped, but through petition standing in need of mercy. For what needeth pardon, where justice absolveth? yea, who sueth pardon, but in so doing must yield himself guilty? for pardon never cometh lightly, either with God or man, except the crime be first confessed. Wherefore if they escaped by justice, as Cope pretendeth, how then doth Master More say, they were saved by pardon? And if they escaped by pardon, how then doth Cope say they were not guilty? And be it admitted, that the sentence of the king's attorney in the king's name did absolve them as unguilty, according as the king was then informed by the cardinal and suit of friends; yet afterwards the king, being better informed by the parliament, and the truth better known, detested and abhorred their fact, and yet continued his pardon unto them, as by the king's own acts and his broad seal appeareth, yet remaining in records to be seen.

Answer to Cope's cavillation.

The escaping of Horsey came rather of favour than of demerits.

And as touching my former histories set forth in Latin and in English, which spake first of the foreman of the quest, then of the king's attorney, to be laboured with some gifts or money:[1] as Cope hath yet proved no untruth in my saying, so less can he find any repugnance or disagreeing in the same. For he that speaketh of bribing, first of one person, and then afterwards of another, where both might be bribed together, is not contrary, I think, to himself, but rather doth comprehend that in the one book, which he before leaveth out in the other; and yet no great repugnance either in the one or in the other, seeing that which is said may be verified in both, as it is no other like but in this matter it was. For how is it otherwise likely or possible, but that there must needs be found some privy packing in this matter, seeing after such evidence found and brought in by the coroner's inquest and jury of twenty-four chosen persons, after so many marks and tokens of the murder so clear and demonstrable, and laid forth so plain to the eyes of all the world, that no man could deny, or not see the same; yet through the handling of the aforesaid attorney, and of the foreman of the quest, the murderers were borne out and confessed to be no murderers. If such bolstering out of matters and partiality were then such a rare case in the realm of England, in the time of cardinal Wolsey (who then under the king and in the king's name did what he list), then let it seem untrue what I have written in my former stories. And yet the words of my story, which Cope carpeth at so much, be not mine, but the words of Edward Hall, his

(1) In the first Edition of the Acts and Monuments, London, 1563, page 391, Foxe says, "So upon good evidence Dr. Horsey the chancellor, and Belringer, with Charles Joseph the somner, were indicted for the murder; but afterwards, by the means of the spiritualty and *money*, Doctor Horsey caused the king's attorney to confess him, on his arraignment, not to be guilty; and so he escaped and went to Exeter.' See the Latin Edition also; page 121. Basle; 1559. 'Ille, largitionibus corrupto præcone,' &c. profugit Exoniam.—Ed.

own author.[1] Wherefore, if his disposition be so set, that he must needs be a censor of other men's writings, let him expostulate with Hall, and not with me.

But I trouble the reader too much in this matter of Richard Hun, being of itself so clear, that no indifferent judge can doubt thereof. As for wranglers and quarrellers, they will never be satisfied. Wherefore I return again to the purpose of our story intermitted.

Elizabeth Stamford, and others.

In the table above, containing the names of those who, about this time of Richard Hun, were forced to deny and abjure their professed opinions, mention was made of Elizabeth Stamford, John Houshold, and others, abjuring about A. D. 1517; whose vexation and weakness, although it be pitiful to behold, yet to consider the confession of their doctrine in those ancient days, it is not unprofitable; wherein we have to see the same form of knowledge and doctrine then taught and planted in the hearts of our fore-elders, which is now publicly received, as well touching the Lord's sacrament of his body, as also other specialties of sincerity. And although they lacked then public authority to maintain the open preaching and teaching of the gospel, which the Lord's merciful grace hath given us now: yet in secret knowledge and understanding they seemed then little or nothing inferior to these our times of public reformation, as may appear by this confession of Elizabeth Stamford hereunder written; which only may suffice for example, to understand what ripe knowledge of God's Word was then abroad; although not in churches publicly preached, for danger of the bishops, yet in secret wise taught and received of divers, in number of whom was this Elizabeth Stamford; who, being brought and examined before Fitzjames bishop of London, A. D. 1517, confessed, that she was taught by one Thomas Beele (sometime dwelling at Henley) these words eleven years before:

The teaching of the former times to be considered.

Thomas Beele.

'Christ feedeth, and fast nourisheth his church with his own precious body, that is, the bread of life coming down from heaven: this is the worthy Word that is worthily received, and joined unto man, to be in one body with him. Sooth it is, that they be both one, they may not be parted: this is the wisely deeming of the holy Sacrament, Christ's own body: this is not received by chewing of teeth, but by hearing with ears, and understanding with your soul, and wisely working thereafter. Therefore, saith St. Paul, I fear me amongst us, brethren, that many of us be feeble and sick; therefore I counsel us, brethren, to rise and watch, that the great day of doom come not suddenly upon us, as the thief doth upon the merchant.'

Also the said Beele taught and showed her, that the sacrament of the altar was not the very body of Christ, but very bread: and that the sacrament was the very body of Christ put upon the cross, after a divine and mystical manner. And moreover, that the said Thomas Beele did many times and oft teach her this aforesaid lesson, that she should confess her sins to God, and that the pope's pardons and indulgences were naught worth, and profited not, and that worshipping of images and pilgrimages is not to be done.

To this Elizabeth Stamford, may also be annexed the doctrine and

(1) Ex Ed. Hall, in vit. Henry VIII. anno 6.

Henry VIII. A. D. 1509 to 1518.

confession of Joan Sampson, wife of John Sampson, carpenter, of Aldermanbury in London: against whom, being cited and examined before the bishop of London, certain witnesses were producted; who, upon their oath, being sworn, did detect and denounce the said Joan Sampson in these articles and opinions following:

Articles of Joan Sampson.

I. That she being in her labour, what time Joan Sampson her predecessor, then being alive, was with her, and after the manner then of women, called much upon the help of the Virgin Mary, she, spitting thereat, was in such sort aggrieved, that the other party was compelled to forsake the house.

II. Also, that she spake against pilgrimage, and the worshipping of the blessed Virgin, and of all saints, affirming that there is none holy but one.

III. Item, Another time, in the hearing of one Margaret Anworth, when she and other women were invocating the blessed Virgin to help in woman's labour, she stood against them, and contumeliously spake against the invocators.

IV. Item, That she, speaking against the pilgrimage of our lady of Wilsdon (as she was then called) and of St. Saviour at Bermondsey, called the said St. Saviour, St. Sawyer.

V. Item, For having two certain books in English, one bigger, and another lesser, which she committed to one John Anstead a cook; which books in the register be not named.

Against the sacrament of the altar.

VI. Item, That the said Joan Sampson, at a supper, in the hearing of certain men, and of a certain widow named Joan White, spake openly in contempt of the sacrament of the altar; saying, that the priests were idolaters who did lift up the bread over their heads, making the people to worship it, and making the people to believe that it was the Lord's body; and that it was better to eat the altar-cloth, if it might be eaten and digested as easily as the other.

Here follow, moreover, the names of divers others who, in the registers, be specified to abjure:

William Jacum, carpenter.	John Hatchot.	Geo. Laund, prior of St. Sithe.
John Stradling.	Jacob Sturdey.	
John Newman, shereman.	Thomas Purual, tailor.	Henry Coll.
Robert Boshel.	John Bitam.	William Man.
Thomas Edward, dyer.	Robert Hutton, pinner.	William Sweting.
Richard Dewar.	Robert Pope.	Jacob Brewster.
Richard Apulby.	John Geeste of Stafford.	Sabine Manne.
John Osburne.	John Brian of the parish of St. Stephen.	John Spencer.
Robert Roger.		Patrike Dowdal, alias Capper.
John Eton.	John Bol.	
John Chapman.	Richard Wescot.	Robert Aleyn.
William Chakon.	William Crosse.	John Finch, cook.
Richard Mildnal.		John Southwick.

John Southwick.

Against this John Southwick last named, it was laid and objected, that when one Rivelay, coming from the church of the Grey Friars in London, had said to his wife (asking where he had been), that he had heard mass, and had seen his Lord God in form of bread and wine over the priest's head, the aforesaid John Southwick there present answered again and said; "Nay, William! thou sawest not thy Lord God, thou sawest but bread, wine, and the chalice." And when the said William answered again in the same words as before, saying, "I trust verily that I saw my Lord God in form of bread and wine, and this I doubt not;" the other replying again, answered and said as before, "Nay, I tell thee thou sawest but only

a figure or sacrament of him, which is in substance bread and wine," &c. This was A.D. 1520, in which he was compelled to abjure. *Henry VIII.*

All these abovenamed, in one key of doctrine and religion, did hold and concord together: against whom were objected five or six special matters; to wit, for speaking against worshipping of saints, against pilgrimage, against invocation of the blessed Virgin, against the sacrament of the Lord's body, and for having Scripture books in English; which books I find to be especially named, as these; the book of the four evangelists, a book of the epistles of Paul and Peter, the epistle of St. James, a book of the Apocalypse, and of Antichrist, of the Ten Commandments, and Wickliff's Wicket, with other such. A. D. 1509 to 1518. Consent of doctrine.

John Stilman, Martyr.

It would ask a long tractation, and tedious, to recite in order the great multitude and number of good men and women, besides these above-rehearsed, who, in those days, recanted and abjured about the beginning of king Henry's reign and before: among whom, yet notwithstanding, some there were whom the Lord reduced again, and made strong in the profession of his truth, and constant unto death; of which number one was John Stilman by name, who, about Sept. 24, A.D. 1518, was apprehended and brought before Richard Fitzjames then bishop of London, at his manor of Fulham, and by him was there examined and charged, that notwithstanding his former recantation, oath, and abjuration, made about eleven years then past, before Edmund then bishop of Salisbury, as well for speaking against the worshipping, praying, and offering unto images; as also for denying the carnal and corporal presence in the sacrament of Christ's memorial: yet since that time he had fallen into the same opinions again, and so into the danger of relapse: and further he had highly commended and praised John Wickliff, affirming that he was a saint in heaven, and that his book called The Wicket was good and holy.[1] Soon after his examination he was sent from thence unto the Lollards' tower at London, and on October 22, then next ensuing, was brought openly into the consistory of Paul's, and was there judicially examined by Thomas Hed the bishop's vicar-general, upon the contents of these articles following: A.D.1518. Wickliffs Wicket.

Articles laid against John Stilman.

I. First I object unto you, that you have confessed before my lord of London, and me Dr. Hed, his vicar-general, that about twenty years past, one Stephen Moone of the diocese of Winchester (with whom you abode six or seven years after), did teach you to believe that the going on pilgrimage and worshipping of images, as the lady of Walsingham and others, were not to be used. And also that afterwards one Richard Smart, who was burned at Salisbury about fourteen or fifteen years past, did read unto you Wickliff's Wicket, and likewise instructed you to believe that the sacrament of the altar was not the body of Christ: all which things you have erroneously believed. Years of antiquity to be noted. A godly martyr. Rich. Smart burned at Salisbury, in 1503.

II. Item, You have divers times read the said book called Wickliff's Wicket, and one other book of the ten commandments, which the said Richard Smart did give you; and at the time of your first apprehension you did hide them in an old oak, and did not reveal them unto the bishop of Salisbury, before whom you were abjured of heresy about eleven years since; where you

(1) Ex Regist. Fitzjames, London.

Henry VIII. A. D. 1509 to 1518.

promised, by oath upon the evangelists, ever after to believe and hold as the christian faith taught and preached, and never to offend again in the said heresies, or any other, upon pain of relapse. And further, you there promised to perform all such penance as the said bishop of Salisbury did enjoin you: who then enjoined you, upon the like pain, not to depart his diocese without his special license.

III. Item, It is evident that you be relapsed, as well by your own confession, as also by your deeds, in that about two years after your abjuration you went into the said place where you had hidden your books; and then taking them away with you, you departed the aforesaid diocese without the license of the bishop, and brought them with you to London; where now, being attached and taken with them upon great suspicion of heresy, you are brought unto the bishop of London: by reason of which your demeanour, you have showed by your impenitent and dissembled conversation, both your errors, and also your unfaithful abjuration and disobedience unto the authority of our mother holy church, in that you performed not the penance: in which behalf you be voluntarily perjured, and also relapsed, in that you departed the said diocese without license.

IV. Item, You be not only (as afore is said) impenitent, disobedient, voluntarily perjured and relapsed, by this your aforesaid heretical demeanour, but also, since your last attachment upon suspicion of heresy, you have maliciously spoken erroneous and damnable words, affirming before my lord of London, your ordinary, and me, judicially sitting at Fulham, that you were sorry that ever you did abjure your said opinions, and had not suffered then manfully for them, for they were, and be, good and true; and therefore you will now abide by them to die for it. And furthermore, you have spoken against our holy father the pope, and his authority, damnably saying that he is Antichrist, and not the true successor of Peter, or Christ's vicar on earth; and that his pardons and indulgences, which he granteth in the sacrament of penance, are naught, and that you will none of them. And likewise that the college of cardinals be limbs of the said Antichrist: and that all other inferior prelates and priests are the synagogue of Satan. And moreover you said, that the doctors of the church have subverted the truth of holy Scripture, expounding it after their own minds, and therefore their works be naught, and they in hell: but that Wickliff is a saint in heaven, and that the book called his Wicket is good, for therein he showeth the truth. Also you did wish that there were twenty thousand of your opinion, against us scribes and pharisees, to see what you would do for the defence of your faith. All which heresies you did afterwards erroneously affirm before the archbishop of Canterbury, and then said that you would abide by them to die for it, notwithstanding his earnest persuasions to the contrary: and therefore, for these premises you be evidently relapsed, and ought to be committed unto the secular power.

All these articles thus propounded, and his constant persevering in the truth perceived, Dr. Hed, vicar-general, Oct. 25, by his sentence definitive, did condemn him for a relapsed heretic, and so delivered him the same day unto the sheriffs of London, to be openly burned in Smithfield.

Thomas Man, Martyr.

Next to John Stilman abovementioned, followeth in this order of blessed martyrs, the persecution and condemnation of Thomas Man; who, March 29, A.D. 1518, was burned in Smithfield. This Thomas Man had likewise been apprehended for the profession of Christ's gospel about six years before (Aug. 14, 1511), and being at that time brought before Dr. Smith, bishop of Lincoln, was by him examined upon divers and sundry articles, the effect whereof is this:—

The Articles of Thomas Man.

I. First, That he had spoken against auricular confession, and denied the corporal presence of Christ's body in the sacrament of the altar.

II. Item, That he believed that all holy men of his sect were only priests.

III. Item, That he had affirmed that the Father of heaven was the altar, and the Second Person the sacrament; and that upon the ascension day the sacrament ascended unto the altar, and there abideth still.

IV. Item, That he believed not aright in the sacrament of extreme unction.

V. Item, That he had called certain priests, meanly arrayed, pilled knaves.

VI. Item, That he had said that pulpits were priests' lying stools.

VII. Item, That he had believed that images ought not to be worshipped, and that he neither believed in the crucifix, nor yet would worship it.

VIII. Item, That he had affirmed that he heard say, the word of God and God to be all one, and that he that worthily receiveth the word of God, receiveth God.

IX. Item, That he had said that the popish church was not the church of God, but a synagogue; and that holy men of his sect were the true church of God.

For these and such like matters was he a long time imprisoned, and, at last, through frailty and fear of death, was content to abjure and yield himself unto the judgment of the Romish church, and thereupon was enjoined, not only to make his open recantation, but also from thenceforth to remain as prisoner within the monastery of Osney beside Oxford, and so to bear a faggot before the first cross, at the next general procession within the university. Howbeit not long after, the bishop having need of the poor man's help in his household business, took him out of the said monastery, and placed him within his own house until his business was ended; and then (his turn once served) he appointed Dr. Wilcocks his vicar-general, that in his next judicial session within the priory of Frideswide at Oxford, he should assign him to remain within the said priory, and not to depart thence without license of the prior for the time being, upon pain of relapse: and upon like pain he also enjoined him to wear the sign of a faggot under his uppermost garment, until he were dispensed withal for the same. All which notwithstanding (being belike both sorry for his offence in denying the truth, and also weary of his servile and prison-like bondage), he bethought himself how he might best escape their cruel hands; and therefore, after a while, seeing good opportunity offered him, he fled the diocese and jurisdiction of Lincoln, and seeking abroad in other counties for work, thereby to sustain his poor life, he most commonly abode, sometimes in Essex, sometimes in Suffolk; where also he associated and joined himself unto such godly professors of Christ's gospel, as he there could hear of. But within few years after (such is the cruel rage of Satan and his wicked members, who never suffer the godly long to continue untroubled,) he was again accused of relapse by the inquest of the inquisition of London, and thereupon was apprehended and brought before Richard Fitz-james then bishop of London, and, Feb. 9th, 1518, he was examined by Dr. Hed, the bishop's vicar-general, within his palace at London: where the said Hed, judicially assisted by divers of his complices, declared first unto Man, that forasmuch as he was, since his first abjuring, again detected and accused, by certain credible and honest persons, of the same heresies which he had once before recanted: and further (contrary to the order of penance enjoined him by the late bishop of Lincoln), he had departed the priory of St. Frideswide, and the diocese of Lincoln, without leave either of the bishop or prior; and was now also found within the diocese of London, and that with-

Thomas Man sent to the monastery of Osney.

And of Frideswide.

Flees out of the monastery.

Thomas Man the second time apprehended.

The cause of his martyrdom.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1509 to 1518.

out his badge assigned him by the said bishop's vicar-general: he therefore, as chancellor and vicar-general unto the bishop of London, deputed for that purpose, did then mean to proceed against him as a relapse, by order of the ecclesiastical laws in that behalf provided. Wherefore he appointed him to appear again in the consistory of Paul's, on the 12th of February next after, there to answer unto such articles as then should be propounded against him. At which day and place, the chancellor (first reciting the causes above mentioned, why he did then proceed against him) objected unto him these articles following:—

Articles again objected against Thomas Man.

I. First, That he was of the diocese of London.

II. Item, That he was a christian man, and professed Christ's faith, and the determinations of holy church concerning the seven sacraments, and other articles of the catholic faith.

III. Item, That it was not lawful for any man (especially a layman) erroneously and obstinately to hold, teach, or defend any opinion contrary unto the determinations of the said church; and that the person so doing is a heretic.

IV. Item, That within one of the twelve months of the year of our Lord 1511, he had been detected before the bishop of Lincoln that then was, of divers points of heresy; as that he had affirmed, that the very body and blood of Christ was not in the sacrament of the altar, but material bread and wine, and that he had received it at Easter as holy bread: and likewise had affirmed, that the crucifix and other images in the church, were not to be worshipped; and also, that confession made unto a priest was of no effect; with divers other like opinions and heresies.

Against the real presence in the sacrament.

V. Item, That for these and such like points of heresy he had been abjured in St. Mary's church at Oxford, before Dr. Wilcocks, chancellor unto the said bishop of Lincoln, in the month of October, in the year last above-said, and there did renounce them and all other, promising to fall no more into the like.

VI. Item, That there also he had taken a solemn oath, to do such penance as should be enjoined him by the authority of the said bishop.

VII. Item, That then he was enjoined to abide within the monastery of Osney by Oxford; and also there to bear a faggot before the first cross in the general procession.

VIII. Item, That after a certain time that he had been in the monastery of Osney, the bishop of Lincoln (for certain causes) took him into his own house and service, respiting his penance for a time.

IX. Item, That afterwards, which was on the 9th of October, 1512, the said bishop's chancellor, judicially sitting in the chapter-house of the priory of St. Frideswide, in Oxford, did enjoin him that he should tarry within the said priory, and not go out of the gates thereof without license of the prior for the time being, until he had other commandment from the bishop; upon pain of relapse: and further, that he should from thenceforth, upon the like pain, wear a sign of a faggot under his uppermost garment.

X. Item, That after his abjuration, and since the promises thus done, he was yet again detected to the bishop of London by open fame, and denounced by worshipful and credible persons, that he had used like false errors and heresies, and had spoken and taught certain conclusions of heresy against the christian faith, and determinations of holy church: and that he had fallen into the like heresies as before his abjuration, both against the sacrament of the altar, against pilgrimages and worshipping of images: and had blasphemed our blessed lady, calling her Mably.[1]

XI. Item, That when he wrought with one John Bates, in Stratford Langthorn, in Rogation-week then three years past, and being bidden by the said Bates's wife to go and hear the gospel, he answered and said unto her, 'I will not go there; go you if you list; ye shall have as much need for it, as to put your finger in the fire and to burn it.'

(1) He meant some image or picture of the Virgin, set up in some blind place to be worshipped.

XII. Item, That in times past, for fear of abjuration, he had fled from Colchester to Newbury, and after that unto Amersham, and had there damnably accompanied with heretics, and had taught heresies among them: and also since the time of his abjuration he had said, that he and his wife had turned six or seven hundred people unto those opinions which he was abjured of, and others also, contrary to Christ's faith, and determinations of holy church. *Henry VIII.* A. D. 1509 to 1518.

His answer unto these articles was, that as touching the first nine, he granted them in part to be true; confessing to the second, that he was a true Christian, and did profess the true christian faith: but the contents of the last three he utterly denied to be true; affirming for certain answer unto the eleventh article, that at the time mentioned in the same he did not work in the town of Stratford. Upon which answer, the chancellor called forth two witnesses to be sworn and examined against him, willing him that if he had any just matter against any of them, he should refuse them. But to what purpose this his fair offer and trim show of upright justice served, I cannot see, for, notwithstanding that he charged one of the witnesses with theft and adultery (for that having a wife of his own, he did yet run away with another man's wife and goods), and also alleged that the other was too young to be a sworn witness in case of life and death: yet were they both still retained and allowed by the chancellor, and sworn not to depart away or hide themselves, but to be always ready to justify that which they had to say against the said Thomas Man. And so for that time, as well they as also all the rest were commanded to depart, and the prisoner sent again to his prison. False witness received against Thomas Man.

And here, in the order of the oath ministered unto these witnesses, I find one note, me thinketh, worthy of present remembrance, both for that it is mentioned in this process, and also because it somewhat openeth the foolish, ridiculous, and feigned figurative ceremonies of the papists, who do attribute a spiritual signification unto almost all their doings. The register, discoursing at large the manner of their oath, hath these words:[1] "He caused them to swear upon the holy evangelists, with their three middle fingers stretched out right, and laid upon the book in sign of the Trinity and catholic faith; and the other two (to wit, the thumb and the little finger) put downwards under the book, in token of damnation of body and soul, if they did not depose the truth in the matter." This ceremonial order and exposition of theirs, as it is of their own fond invention, without any ground or example of the Scriptures of God, so mind I to leave it still unto themselves, with other their apish toys and ridicules, as things worthy to be laughed at; and will now further proceed with the rest of this process which I have in hand. The ceremonial manner of the popish ministering of their oath.

On the 15th of February, Dr. Hed the chancellor, again judicially sitting in the consistory at Paul's, commanded Thomas Man to be brought before him, and there causing the articles objected against him by the bishop of Lincoln, with his order of abjuration and penance, and also his own articles last propounded, to be first read; he called forth a third witness to be sworn and examined upon the same. But because he would seem to do all things by order of Thomas Man again called by Dr. Hed, chancellor.

(1) "Ad sancta Dei evangelia jurari fecit, tribus mediis digitis erectis, et super librum positis, in signum Trinitatis, et fidei catholicæ: et duobus (videlicet pollice et auriculari) suppositis et suppressis, et sub libro positis, in signum damnationis corporis et animæ, si non deposuerint veritatem in hac parte."

Henry VIII. A. D. 1509 to 1518.

justice, and nothing against law, he therefore appointed unto the said Thomas Man certain doctors and advocates of the Arches, as his counsellors to plead in his behalf; which was even like as if the lamb should be committed to the defence and protection of the wolf, or the hare to the hound. For what good help could he look for at their hands, who were both most wicked haters and abhorrers of his christian profession, and also stout upholders and maintainers of that antichristian law, by which he was for the same condemned? And that full well appeared by the good advice and profitable counsel which they gave him against his next examinations. For as well upon the twentieth, and also the twenty-third of the same month of February, in their several sessions, he seeing his own negations to their objections to take no place against their sworn witnesses, had no other thing to allege for himself, but that, through his twenty weeks of hard imprisonment under the bishop of Lincoln, he was forced to recant and abjure; which was a poor shift of counsel, God knoweth: and yet Dr. Raynes being one of his chief assigned advocates, instead of advice, could, by his subtle questioning, then make him confess, that certain talk whereof one of the witnesses had accused him, was spoken about five years before past: which, because it was since his recantation, was rather an accusation of himself, than an excusing: and therefore it is easy to judge with how favourable and uprightful hearts they took upon them to be his advocates and defenders. The chancellor likewise charged him upon the same twenty-third day, that since his last imprisonment, he had said unto Robert Cluny the bishop's sumner, and his keeper, that as far forth as he could see or perceive for his part in this his matter, the laws of the church were grounded upon Pilate and Caiaphas: which objection he granting to be true, the chancellor did for that time dismiss the court, until the first day of March next following. Upon that day (minding to make quick dispatch) he in few words asked Man, what matter he had to allege for himself why he should not then (considering the premises) be pronounced a relapsed heretic, and receive such punishment by the secular power, as to such was due by order of law? But he, having no other allegations than before, which might take place with them, was finally condemned as a heretic; and notwithstanding that, as the register noteth (but how truly, God only knoweth), he did again forsake his former renewed profession of Christ's gospel, and yielded himself unto the bishop of Rome, requiring to be absolved from his curse of excommunication, and contented to do such penance as they should enjoin him, he was yet, the 29th of March, delivered by Dr. Hed to the sheriff of London, to be then presently burned, with this protestation made before, that he might not consent to the death of any, and therefore he desired the sheriff that he would receive this person as relapsed and condemned, and yet to punish him otherwise than by rigorous rigour.[1] The words to be marked in their sentence be these:[2] "We desire, in the bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ, that the punishment and execution of due severity, of

Agnus lupe commissus.

The subtle practice of the Romish churchmen.

The laws of the church of Rome grounded upon Pilate and Caiaphas.

(1) The popish chancellor would not seem to consent to his death, but yet could send him to the shambles to be killed.

(2) 'Rogamus attentè in visceribus Jesu Christi, ut hujusmodi dignæ severitatis ultio et executio de te et contra te in hac parte fienda taliter moderetur, ut non sit rigor rigidus, neque mansuetudo dissoluta, sed ad salutem et sanitatem animæ tuæ,' &c.

thee and against thee, in this part, may so be moderated, that there be no rigorous rigour, nor yet no dissolute mansuetude, but to the health and wealth of thy soul," &c. Wherein these catholic churchmen do well declare, according to the words of Thomas Man before expressed, that the laws of their church be grounded upon Pilate and Caiaphas. For like as Caiaphas, with his court of Pharisees, cried against Christ unto Pilate: "It is not lawful for us to put any man to death," but "if thou let him go, thou art not Cæsar's friend;" even so they, first condemning the saints of God to death, and then delivering them unto the secular magistrate to be thereupon executed, would yet cover their malignant hearts with the cloak of hypocritical holiness and unwillingness to shed blood. But God be thanked, who bringeth all things to light in his due time, and uncovereth hypocrisy at last, that she may be seen and known in her right colours!

Thomas Man burned of the sheriff without any warrant.

Thus Thomas Man, the manly martyr of Jesus Christ, being condemned by the unjust sentence of Hed the chancellor, was delivered to the sheriff of London sitting on horseback in Paternoster-row, before the bishop's door (A. D. 1518), he protesting to the said sheriff, that he had no power to put Man to death; and, therefore desiring the sheriff to take him as a relapse and condemned, to see him punished; "et tamen citra mortem," that is, "without death," as the words stand in the register. The sheriff, receiving neither articles to be read at his burning, nor any indentures of that his delivery, immediately carried him to Smithfield, and there, the same day in the forenoon, caused him to be "put into God's angel;" according to the words of the said Thomas Man before, saying, that if he were taken again of the pilled knave priests, as he called them, he wist well he should go to the Holy Angel, and then be an angel in heaven.

In the deposition of one Thomas Risby, weaver, of Stratford-Langthorn, against the aforenamed martyr Thomas Man, it appeareth by the registers, that he had been in divers places and countries in England, and had instructed very many, as at Amersham, at London, at Billericay, at Chelmsford, at Stratford-Langthorn, at Uxbridge, at Burnham, at Henley-upon-Thames, in Suffolk and Norfolk, at Newbury, and divers places more: where he himself testifieth, that as he went westward, he found a great company of well-disposed persons, being of the same judgment touching the sacrament of the Lord's supper that he was of, and especially at Newbury,[1] where was (as he confessed) a glorious and sweet society of faithful favourers, who had continued the space of fifteen years together, till at last, by a certain lewd person, whom they trusted and made of their council, they were bewrayed; and then many of them, to the number of six or seven score, were abjured, and three or four of them burnt. From thence he came then (as he confessed) to the forest of Windsor, where he, hearing of the brethren who were at Amersham, removed thither, where he found a godly and a great company, which had continued in that doctrine and teaching twenty-three years, which was from this present time seventy years ago. And this congregation of Buckinghamshire men remained till the time of John Longland,

Six score abjured, and three or four burnt about Newbury, sixty years ago.

(1) Ex Regist. Ric. Fitzjames, fol. 798.

Henry VIII. bishop of Lincoln, whereof we shall (Christ willing) hear more anon.

A. D. 1509 to 1518. Against these faithful Christians of Amersham, were great trouble and persecution in the time of William Smith bishop of Lincoln, about A. D. 1507, at which time divers and many were abjured, and it was called 'abjuratio magna,' 'the great abjuration;' and those who were noted of that doctrine and profession, were called by the name of 'known men,' or 'just fast men,' &c. In this congregation of the faithful brethren, were four principal readers or instructors; whereof one was Tylsworth, called then Dr. Tylsworth, who was burnt at Amersham, mentioned in our history before, by the name of William Tilseley, whom I suppose to be rather called Tylsworth. Another was Thomas Chase, called amongst them Dr. Chase, whom we declared before to be murdered and hanged in the bishop of Lincoln's prison at Woburn, called Little-ease.[1] The third was this Thomas Man, called also Dr. Man, burned as is here mentioned in Smithfield, A. D. 1518, who, as by his own confession, and no less also by his travail appeareth, was God's champion, and suffered much trouble by the priests for the cause and law of God. He confesseth himself in the same register, that he had turned seven hundred people to his religion and doctrine, for which he thanked God. He conveyed also five couples of men and women from Amersham, Uxbridge, Burnham, and Henley-upon-Thames, (where they dwelt), unto Suffolk and Norfolk, that they might be brought (as he then termed it) out of the devil's mouth. The fourth was Robert Cosin; named likewise among them Dr. Cosin.

Abjuratio magna.

Known men, or just-fast-men, at Amersham.

Thomas Man a great reader among the brethren of Amersham.

Robert Cosin, of Buckingham, Martyr.

This Robert Cosin seemeth to be the same who in the former part of this history is mentioned, being called by the name of father Robert,[2] and was burnt in Buckingham. Of this Robert Cosin, I find in the registers of Lincoln, that he, with Thomas Man, had instructed and persuaded one Joan Norman, about Amersham, not to go on pilgrimage, nor to worship any images of saints. Also when she had vowed a piece of silver to a saint for the health of her child, they dissuaded her from the same, and said, that she needed not to confess herself to a priest, but that it was sufficient to lift up her hands to heaven. Moreover, they were charged by the bishop, for teaching the said Joan, that she might as well drink on the Sunday before mass, as on any other day. And thus you see the doctrine of these good men, for which they were in those days abjured and condemned to death.[3]

His teaching and doctrine.

A perilous heresy.

William Sweeting, alias Clerke, Martyr.

William Sweeting, otherwise named Clerke, first dwelt with the lady Percy, at Darlington, in the county of Northampton, for a certain space, and from thence went to Boxted, in the county of Essex, where he was the holy water clerk the space of seven years: after that, he was bailiff and farmer to Mrs. Margery Wood, the term of thirteen years. From Boxted he departed and came to the town of

(1) See vol. iv. page 123. (2) Ibid. page 124. (3) Ex Regist. Johan. Longland.

St. Osithe, where he served the prior of St. Osithe's, named George Laund, the space of sixteen years and more; where he had so turned the prior by his persuasions, that the said prior of St. Osithe was afterwards compelled to abjure.[1] This William Sweeting, coming up to London with the aforesaid prior, for suspicion of heresy was committed to the Lollards' tower, under the custody of Charles Joseph, and there, being abjured in the church of St. Paul, was constrained to bear a faggot at Paul's Cross, and at Colchester; and afterwards to wear a faggot upon his coat all his life, which he did two years together upon his left sleeve, till at length the parson of Colchester required him to help him in the service of the church; and so plucked the badge from his sleeve, and there he remained two years, being the holy water clerk. From thence afterward he departed, and travelling abroad, came to Rederiffe, in the diocese of Winchester, where he was holy water clerk the space of a year. Then he went to Chelsea, where he was their neatherd, and kept the town beasts; in which town, upon St. Ann's day in the morning, as he went forth with his beasts to the field, the good man was apprehended and brought before the bishop, and his chamber searched for books; this was A. D. 1511.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1509 to 1518. George Laund, prior of St. Osith, abjured.

The crimes whereupon he was examined, were these:—

First, For having much conference with one William Man, of Boxted, in a book which was called Matthew.

Item, That he had familiarity, and frequented much the company of James Brewster, who had been before abjured.

Item, That when his wife should go on pilgrimage, he asked of her, what good she would receive by her going on pilgrimage? adding moreover, that as he supposed it was to no purpose nor profit; but rather it were better for her to keep at home, and to attend her business. Against pilgrimage.

Item, That he had learned and received of William Man, that the sacrament of the priests' altar, was not the present very body, but bread in substance, received in memorial of Christ. Transubstantiation.

Item, That he had propounded and affirmed the same doctrine to James Brewster.

Item, Because he had reprehended his wife for worshipping the images in the church, and for setting up candles before them. Against images.

And thus have you all the causes and crimes laid against this William Sweeting wherefore he was condemned: who then being asked what cause he had, why he should not be judged for a relapse, said, he had nothing else, but only that he committed himself to the mercy of Almighty God.

James Brewster, of Colchester, Martyr.

With William Sweeting also the same time was examined and condemned, James Brewster, of the parish of St. Nicholas, in Colchester. This James Brewster was a carpenter, dwelling ten years in the town of Colchester; who, being unlettered, could neither read nor write, and was apprehended upon the day of St. James, in one Walker's house, in St. Clement's parish.

About six years before, which was A. D. 1505, he had been abjured by William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, the see of London

(1) Ex Regist. Ric. Fitzjames, fol. 60.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1509, to 1518.

being then vacant; and after other penance done at Colchester, was enjoined to wear a faggot upon his upper garment during his life, which badge he did bear upon his left shoulder near the space of two years, till the comptroller of the earl of Oxford plucked it away, because he was labouring in the works of the earl.

The crimes whereupon he was examined, and which he confessed, were these:—

Crimes objected against Brewster.

First, That he had been five times with William Sweeting in the fields keeping beasts, hearing him read many good things out of a certain book: at which reading also were present at one time Woodroof or Woodbinde, a netmaker, with his wife; also a brother-in-law of William Sweeting; and another time Thomas Goodred, who heard likewise the said William Sweeting read.

Item, Because he used the company and conference of Henry Hert, carpenter, of Westminster, and wrought with him in his science at Westminster.

Item, For having a certain little book of Scripture in English, of an old writing almost worn for age, whose name is not there expressed.

Item, Because he, hearing upon a time one Master Bardfield, of Colchester, thus say: 'He that will not worship the Maozim[1] in heart and thought, shall die in sight,' he asked afterwards of William Man, what that word Maozim should mean? who told him, that it signified as much as the masing[2] God, to wit, the sacrament of the altar.

Item, That he had much conference with Henry Hert, against oblations and images, and that it was better bestowed money which was given to the poor, than that which was offered in pilgrimage.

Item, For that he had communication and conference with Roger Helliar, and one Walker, a thicker of St. Clements, concerning divers such matters of pilgrimage, offering to images, worshipping of saints, and the sacrament of the altar.

A perilous heresy.

Item, When Thomas Goodred, William Sweeting, and he, in the fields keeping beasts, were talking together of the sacrament of the Lord's body, and like matters, this James Brewster should thus say: 'Now the Son of the living God help us:' unto whom William Sweeting again should answer: 'Now Almighty God so do.'[3]

And thus have you the causes likewise and crimes laid against James Brewster, upon which he, with William Sweeting, were together examined and condemned. Then being asked, as the Romish manner is, Whether he had any cause why he should not be adjudged for a relapse; he, trusting to find favour and grace in submitting himself, said, that he submitted him to the mercy of Almighty God, and to the favourable goodness of him his Judge. And likewise did William Sweeting submit himself; trusting belike that they should find some favour and relief in this humble subjecting themselves unto their goodness.

The unmerciful and unchristian dealing of the catholic papists.

But note here the unmerciful and unchristian dealing of these catholic fathers, who, upon their submission, were contented to give out a solemn commission, the tenor whereof was to release and pardon them from the sentence of excommunication, which they had incurred: but immediately after upon the same, the bishop, all this notwithstanding, pronounced upon them the sentence of death and condemnation; whereupon they were both delivered to the secular power, and both together burnt in Smithfield at one fire, the 18th day of October, A. D. 1511.

Sweeting and Brewster burnt in Smithfield.

(1) Maozim in Dan. ii. is an idol, and signifieth as much as forts and munitions.
(2) "Masing," fanciful.—Ed.
(3) Ex. Regist. Lond.

Christopher Shoemaker, of Great Missenden, Martyr.

Henry VIII.

A.D. 1509 to 1518.

To these blessed saints before-named, we will also adjoin Christopher Shoemaker, of whom this I find briefly in the register of sir John Longland; that the said Christopher Shoemaker, a parishioner of Great Missenden, came to the house of John Say, and after other matters of talk, read to him out of a little book the words which Christ spake to his disciples. And thus coming to his house about four times, at every time he read something out of the same book unto him, teaching him not to be deceived in the priests' celebration at mass; and declaring that it was not the same very present body of Christ, as the priests did fantasy; but in substance bread, bearing the remembrance of Christ: and taught him moreover, that pilgrimage, worshipping and setting up candles to saints, were all unprofitable. And thus the said John Say, being taught by this Christopher, and also confirmed by John Okenden and Robert Pope, was brought to the knowledge of the same doctrine. Thus much briefly I find in that register concerning Christopher Shoemaker: declaring further, that he was burned at Newbury about this time, which was A.D. 1518. And thus much out of the registers of London.

Christopher burnt in Newbury.

In turning over the registers and records of Lincoln likewise, and coming to the year of our Lord 1520, and to 1521, I find that as the light of the Gospel began more to appear, and the number of professors to grow, so the vehemency of persecution, and stir of the bishops began also to increase; whereupon ensued great perturbation and grievous affliction in divers and sundry quarters of this realm, especially about Buckinghamshire and Amersham, Uxbridge, Henley, Newbury, in the diocese of London, in Essex, Colchester, Suffolk, and Norfolk, and other parts more. And this was before the name of Luther was heard of in these countries among the people. Wherefore they are much beguiled and misinformed, who condemn this kind of doctrine now received, of novelty; asking, "Where was this church and religion forty years ago, before Luther's time?" To whom it may be answered, that this religion and form of doctrine was planted by the apostles, and taught by true bishops; afterward decayed, and now reformed again. Although it was not received nor admitted of the pope's clergy before Luther's time, neither yet is; yet it was received of others, in whose hearts it pleased the Lord secretly to work; and that of a great number, who both professed and suffered for the same, as in the former times of this history may appear. And if they think this doctrine be so new that it was not heard of before Luther's time, how then came such great persecution before Luther's time here in England? If these were of the same profession which they were of, then was their cruelty unreasonable, so to persecute their own catholic fraternity. And if they were otherwise, how then is this doctrine of the gospel so new, or how are the professors thereof so late started up as they pretend them to be? But this cometh only of ignorance, and for not knowing nor considering well the times and antiquities of the church which have been before us; which if they did, they should see and say, that the church of England hath not lacked great multitudes who tasted and followed

The antiquity of the true doctrine of the gospel.

Ignorance of antiquity.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1509 to 1518.

the sweetness of God's holy word almost in as ample manner, for the number of well-disposed hearts, as now. Although public authority then lacked to maintain the open preaching of the gospel, yet the secret multitude of true professors was not much unequal: certes the fervent zeal of those christian days seemed much superior to these our days and times; as manifestly may appear by their sitting up all night in reading and hearing; also by their expenses and charges in buying of books in English, of whom some gave five marks,[1] some more, some less, for a book: some gave a load of hay for a few chapters of St. James, or of St. Paul in English. In which rarity of books, and want of teachers, this one thing I greatly marvel and muse at; to note in the registers, and to consider how the word of truth, notwithstanding, did multiply so exceedingly as it did amongst them: wherein is to be seen no doubt the marvellous working of God's mighty power. For so I find and observe in considering the registers, how one neighbour, resorting and conferring with another, eftsoons with a few words of the first or second talk, did win and turn their minds to that wherein they desired to persuade them, touching the truth of God's word and his sacraments. To see their travails, their earnest seekings, their burning zeal, their readings, their watchings, their sweet assemblies, their love and concord, their godly living, their faithful demeaning with the faithful, may make us now, in these our days of free profession, to blush for shame.

Elder times of the gospel compared with these latter times.

Earnest zeal of our forefathers in following Christ's gospel.

Four principal points they stood in against the church of Rome: in pilgrimage, in adoration of saints, in reading Scripture-books in English, and in the carnal presence of Christ's body in the sacrament.

Abjuratio magna.

After the great abjuration aforesaid, which was under William Smith, bishop of Lincoln, they were noted and termed among themselves by the name of 'known-men,' or 'just-fast-men:' as now they are called by the name of Protestants.

Known-men just-fast-men.

Practice of Romish prelates.

As they were simple, and yet not uncircumspect in their doings, so the crafty serpent, being more wily than they, by fraudulent subtlety did so circumvent them, that he caused the wife to detect the husband, the husband the wife, the father the daughter, the daughter the father, the brother to disclose the brother, and neighbour the neighbour. Neither were there any assemblies nor readings kept, but both the persons and also the books were known; neither was any word so closely spoken, nor article mentioned, but it was discovered. So subtilely and sleightly these catholic prelates did use their inquisitions and examinations, that nothing was done or said among these 'known-men,' so covertly, fifteen or twenty years before, but it was brought at length to their intelligence. Such captious interrogatories, so many articles and suspicions they had, such espials and privy scouts they sent abroad, such authority and credit they had with the king, and in the king's name; such diligence they showed in that behalf, so violently and impudently they abused the book of the peaceable evangelists, wresting men's consciences upon their oath, swearing them upon the same to detect themselves, their fathers and mothers, and other of their kindred, with their friends and neighbours, and that to death. All which things in the further process of the

(1) A mark was anciently valued at thirty shillings, afterwards at thirteen and fourpence.—Ed.

table ensuing (Christ willing), which we have collected out of some part of the registers of Lincoln, shall appear. *Henry VIII.*

For the better declaration whereof, first here is to be premonished by the way, touching the see of Lincoln, that after William Smith succeeded John Longland. This William Smith, although he was somewhat eager and sharp against the poor simple flock of Christ's servants, under whom some were burned, many abjured, a great number molested, as partly hath been afore declared; yet was he nothing so bloody or cruel as was the said Longland, who afterwards succeeded in that diocese; for so I find of him, that in the time of the great abjuration and troublesome affliction of Buckinghamshire men, wherein many were abjured, and certain burned; yet divers he sent quietly home without punishment and penance, bidding them go home and live as good christian men should do; and many who were enjoined penance before, he did release. This Smith died about A. D. 1515, by whom was builded, as is aforesaid, the college of Brazennose in Oxford.

A. D. 1509 to 1518.

William Smith, bishop of Lincoln.

John Longland, bishop of Lincoln.

Brazennose, in Oxford, builded.

Not long after him followed John Longland, a fierce and cruel vexer of the faithful poor servants of Christ; who, to renew, again the old sparkles of persecution which were not yet utterly quenched, first began with one or two of those who had been abjured, whom he thought to be most notorious, causing them, by force of their oath, to detect and bewray, not only their own opinions touching points of religion, but also to discover all others of their affinity, who were either suspected or abjured before. And them likewise he put to their oath, most violently constraining them to utter and confess both themselves, and whom else soever they knew: by reason whereof an incredible multitude of men, women, and maidens, were brought forth to examination, and straightly handled; and such as were found in relapse were burned. The rest were so burdened with superstitious and idolatrous penance and injunctions, that either through grief of conscience they shortly died, or else with shame they lived. All which tragical doings and proceedings of the bishop against these 'known' and 'just-fast-men,' in these tables hereunder following (Christ granting) shall appear, both with the accusers, and with the parties themselves accused, and also the crimes objected.

Longland a grievous persecutor of Christ's people.

But before we enter into the table, it shall be requisite first to hear the order and copy of his captious and crafty interrogatories, whereby he constrained the simple poor men to accuse and impeach one another: which interrogatories were these in order as followeth.

CAPTIOUS INTERROGATORIES MINISTERED COMMONLY BY THE BISHOP OF LINCOLN, AGAINST THESE EXAMINATES HERE FOLLOWING.

The interrogatories or articles which Longland, bishop of Lincoln, used most commonly to minister to these examinates or 'known-men,' in number were nine, and are these as followeth.

I. First, Whether they or any of them did know, that certain of the parish of Amersham had been convented before William Smith, late bishop of Lincoln, for heresy?

Henry VIII. A. D. 1509 to 1518.

II. Item, Whether they knew that they, so convented before the said bishop, did err in the sacrament of the altar, or in any other sacrament of the church: and if they did, in what sacraments, and in which of them? Also whether they knew that the said parties so convented did confess their errors, and receive penance for the same?

III. Item, Whether they, or any of them, were of the society of those so convented for heresy: and if they were, what fellowship they had with them, and with whom?

IV. Item, Whether they, or any of them, were ever conversant with such a one (naming the person whom they knew suspected, as with Thurstan Littlepage)? And if they were, what conversation they had with him, how long, and when: and whether they knew the said person to have been suspected of heresy?

V. Item, Whether they, or any of them, were ever conversant with him; or with him (naming some other person whom they suspected, as Alexander Mastall)? and if they were, how, and how long? and whether they knew the said person to be suspected of heresy?

VI. Item, Whether they or any of them had been beforetime detected of heresy, to the office of the aforesaid William bishop of Lincoln: and if they were, by what person or persons they were detected? or else, whether they only were called by the aforesaid William bishop for heresy?

VII. Item, Whether he or they be noted and holden for heretics; or be reputed and defamed to be of the sect of those who were convented for heresy? and whether he or they be named for a 'known-man' amongst them?

VIII. Item, Whether he or they have been ever at any readings of such as have been so convented for heresy?

IX. Item, Whether he or they were ever in any secret communication or conventicle with them? whom or which of them he knew to be named and reputed for a 'known-man,' or holding against the sacrament of the altar, or other sacraments and articles of faith? and if they knew any such, to declare where and when, and what they were, and who were present the same time?

These articles and interrogatories thus declared, now followeth to be showed a certain brief sum compendiously collected out of the registers of John Longland, bishop of Lincoln, declaring, in order of a table, the names first of those who by oath were constrained against their wills to detect and accuse others. Secondly, The persons that were accused. Thirdly, The crimes to them objected; as in the process of this table shall follow to be seen.

And first; forasmuch as the bishop perceived that Roger Bennet, William Chedwell, Edmund Dormer, Thomas Harding, Robert Andrew, with such others, were men especially noted to be of that side, therefore, to work his purpose the better, he began with them; producing the same as witnesses, to detect first Robert Bartlet of Amersham, and Richard his brother; understanding that these aforenamed witnesses, because they had been abjured before, durst now do no other, upon pain of relapse, but needs confess whatsoever was put unto them. And therefore, because Robert Bartlet and Richard his brother, being called before the bishop, and sworn upon their oath, would confess nothing against themselves; the bishop, to convict them by witnesses, went first to William Chedwell, lying sore sick in his bed, causing him upon the evangelists to swear, whether he knew the aforesaid Robert and Richard Bartlet to be 'known-men.' Which being done, the bishop then called before him Robert Andrew, Roger Bennet, John Hill, Edmund Dormer, John Milsent, Thomas Bernard, Thomas Littlepage, John Dosset (all Amersham men), who, being abjured before, as is said, durst no otherwise do

but confess upon their oath that Robert and Richard Bartlet were 'known-men.' And yet the bishop, not contented with this, caused also their two wives, to wit, Margaret the wife of Robert Bartlet, and Isabel the wife of Richard Bartlet, to depose and give witness against their own natural husbands. Albeit Isabel Bartlet, being somewhat more temperate of her tongue, refused utterly to confess any thing of her husband, and denied her husband's words to be true; till at last, she being convicted of perjury, was constrained to utter the truth, as in the process of this table following, more particularly followeth to be seen. *Henry VIII.* A. D. 1509 to 1517.

A TABLE, DESCRIBING THE GRIEVOUS AFFLICTIONS OF GOOD MEN AND WOMEN IN THE DIOCESE OF LINCOLN, UNDER JOHN LONGLAND THE BISHOP; WITH THE NAMES BOTH OF THE ACCUSERS, AND OF THEM THAT WERE ACCUSED: ALSO WITH THE CRIMES TO THEM OBJECTED: OUT OF THE REGISTERS OF THE SAID DIOCESE, A. D. 1521.[1]

William Chedwell, sick in his bed; Robert Andrew, Robert Bennet, John Hill, Edmund Dormer, John Milsent, Thomas Bernard, Thomas Littlepage, John Dosset, Margaret Bartlet, Isabel Bartlet: these being before abjured, were now compelled by oath to detect

Robert Bartlet and Richard Bartlet, his brother.

This Robert Bartlet, and Richard his brother, were detected by these aforesaid accusers, to be 'known-men,' that is, to be of the same company and affinity with these jurats, and others who had been abjured before in the time of William Smith, bishop of Lincoln, about A. D. 1508; and that in the house of Thomas Harding they were so noted, by the words of Harding's wife, who, speaking to Robert Bartlet, said, That she was glad that he was converted to grace, and chosen to Almighty God; requiring him never to forsake that he was called to; for if he did, there was no sacrifice left for him. Also the said Harding's wife, speaking to Richard Bartlet coming into her house, said, 'Here cometh a good man, and I hope he will be a good man: but he hath so much mind of buying and selling, and taking of farms, that it putteth his mind from all goodness.' 'By which words it appeareth,' said they, 'that he is a 'known-man.' Item, That Robert Bartlet, speaking to Harding's wife, said, he had thought to have called William Tylsworth false heretic; but now he was better advised. Item, That they used the lectures and readings of that company. A. D. 1518 to 1521.

This Robert Bartlet, and Richard his brother, first being sworn, and yet confessing nothing before the bishop, at last were convicted by witness, as above appeareth, and noted therefore of perjury. Wherefore incurring into greater danger, they were constrained at their next examination to utter themselves, and confess what they had both done and said; that is, that the said Robert had read unto Richard his brother a parcel of Scripture beginning thus: 'James the servant of God, to the twelve kinds,' &c. Item, that he heard William Tylsworth say, that images of saints were but stocks and stones, and dead things; and that he taught the same to his brother Richard, and concealed the words of William Tylsworth. Item, That he partly believed Thomas Mastal, teaching him that the true presence of Christ was not in the sacrament; and *For reading scripture in English.*

(1) Had we no other evidence but these registers of bishop Longland, we should have abundant testimony to prove that the church of Rome is an enemy to the diffusion of the word of God. Let the reader peruse the nature of the charges preferred against the above honest and well-disposed persons; let the crimes alleged be weighed against the punishments inflicted; let the source from whence the persecution arose; the object against which Romish vengeance was principally directed, be respectively, dispassionately, and attentively considered, and it will not now excite surprise, that infidelity and Romanism are twin-sisters, leagued in impious companionship, to quench the spirit of religion, to suppress the word of God, and to subvert the course of pure and undefiled Christianity.—Ed.

Henry VIII. likewise of images and pilgrimages. Item, for receiving the communion at Easter without shrift, &c.

A.D. 1518 to 1521.

Robert Bartlet brought to examination, was caused by his oath to detect these persons:

Richard, Brother of Robert Bartlet.

The brother detecteth the brother.

The crime whereof Robert Bartlet impeached his brother Richard was this: Because, he said, his brother Richard had been much conversant with Thurstan Littlepage, and had learned of him the counsels and secrets of those men: also that he had learned of him some of the epistle of St. James, thus beginning: 'James the servant of God, to the twelve kinds,' &c.

Isabel Bartlet, wife of Robert Bartlet.

The husband detecteth the wife.

The cause wherein Robert Bartlet did detect his wife, was this: That when the bishop's servant was come for her husband, she uttered these words, saying, Alas! he was now an undone man, and she but a dead woman.

Futhermore, the said Robert being demanded of the bishop, whether he knew Isabel his wife to be of the sect of heretics before he married her, said, 'Yea.' Being asked again, if she had not been of that sect, whether then he would have married her? he granted the same likewise.

Agnes Wellis, his Sister.

The brother accuseth the sister.

Futhermore, the said Robert Bartlet detected his own sister, in that he had twice instructed her not to worship images, and also had taught her in the epistle of St. James.

Elizabeth Dean, wife of Richard Dean of West Wycombe, Emmar Tylsworth, wife of William Tylsworth, William Grinder and his wife, John Scrivener, Alexander Mastal, William Tylsworth, Thurstan Littlepage, and John Bartlet, his brother.

The said Robert Bartlet detected also these to be of the number of 'known-men,' for that they resorted many times together, reading and conferring among themselves, and talking against worshipping of images, and pilgrimage. And if any came in amongst them that were not of their side, then they would say no more, but keep all silence, &c.

Richard Bartlet, by his oath, was constrained to detect the following person:

Agnes Wellis, wife of John Wellis, his Sister.

The brother accuseth his sister.

This Agnes was detected of her brother in three points; first, for learning the epistle of St. James in English of Thurstan Littlepage; secondly, for not believing the bodily presence in the sacrament; thirdly, for speaking against worshipping of images, and going on pilgrimages.

Also of old Father Bartlet, his own Father.

The pope's God Almighty threshed out of the straw.

This Richard Bartlet also in his confession said of his father, that he was a better man than he was taken for: for the other day there came a man to him as he was threshing, and said, 'God speed, father Bartlet, ye work sore:' 'Yea,' said he, 'I thresh God Almighty out of the straw!'[1]

Against this Agnes Wellis brought and examined before the bishop, were ministered these interrogatories, which for certain causes I thought here to insert, for our posterity to note and consider; and they are these that follow:

(1) How flagrant must be the idolatry of the popish service at the elevation and adoration of the host, to have provoked a rustic of the sixteenth century to utter such a bitter sarcasm!—Ed.

Articles ministered to Agnes Wellis.

Henry VIII. A. D. 1518 to 1521.

I. Whether she knew that certain of the parish of Amersham were convented before William Smith, late bishop of Lincoln, for heresy?

II. Item, Whether she knew that certain of them, so convented before the bishop for heresy, did err in the sacrament of the altar, or in other sacraments, and what errors they were, and wherein?

III. Item, Whether she knew any others to be suspected of the same heresy or sect, beside those of Amersham so convented? who they were, and how many?

IV. Item, Whether she had been of the same company, or sect, or opinion with them that were convented before the bishop for heresy? and if she were, what company she used, and whose?

V. Item, Whether she was at any time conversant with Thurstan Littlepage? and if she were, how oft she had been in his company, how, what time, in what place, who else were present, for what causes, and whether she knew him to be suspected for heresy?

VI. Item, Whether she knew and had been conversant with Alexander Mastal? and if she were, how, when, in what place, who were present, for what causes, and whether she knew him suspected for heresy?

VII. Item, Whether she was ever detected to the office of William Smith, late bishop of Lincoln, at what time, or since the time that Littlepage and Mastal were convented before the bishop for heresy? and whether she was then called and convented before the bishop for heresy, or not?

VIII. Item, Whether she had been, or is now noted, had, holden, reputed, or defamed to be of the same sect with Thurstan Littlepage, or others convicted of heresy? and whether she be, or hath been nominated for a 'known woman' among them?

IX. Item, Whether she had been present at any time at the readings or conferrings between Thurston Littlepage and other convicts?

X. Item, Whether Thurston Littlepage did ever teach her the epistle of St. James, or the epistles of St. Peter or Paul in English? and whether she had repeated ofttimes the epistle of St. James unto the said Thurston, in the presence of Richard Bartlet her brother? *For reading the Scripture in English.*

XI. Item, Whether Richard Bartlet her brother did teach her at any time the epistle of St. James? and if he did, how oft, and in what place?

XII. Item, Whether she had been instructed by Thurstan Littlepage, or by any other in the aforesaid sect, that in the sacrament of the altar was not the true body of Christ, but only the substance of bread?

XIII. Item, Whether she had been instructed by Thurstan Littlepage, or any other, that pilgrimage was not to be used, nor the images of saints to be adored?

XIV. Item, Whether she did credit the said Thurstan Littlepage, or any other, teaching her in the premises? and whether she did believe or expressly consent with them in the foresaid articles?

XV. Item, Whether Robert Bartlet her brother did ever teach her the epistle of St. James? and if he did, how often, and where?

XVI. Item, Whether the said Robert Bartlet had taught her, that pilgrimage was not to be used, and that images were not to be adored?

XVII. Item, Whether she knew such a law and custom among them, that such as were of that sort did contract matrimony only with themselves, and not with other Christians?

XVIII. Item, Whether she did ever hear Thurstan or any other say, that they only who were of their doctrine were true Christians?

XIX. Item, When she came to receive, and was confessed, whether she did utter and confess her heresies to the priest?

Unto these captious and cruel interrogatory articles ministered against Agnes Wellis, she answered negatively almost to all of them, refusing to utter any person unto the bishop. But soon after, being otherwise schooled, I cannot tell how, by the catholics, she was compelled to detect both herself, her brother Robert Bartlet, Thurstan Littlepage, and also Isabel Morwin, wife of John Morwin, &c.

Henry VIII. A.D 1518 to 1521.

Examination of Isabel Bartlet.

Isabel Bartlet was then brought and examined before the bishop: where she being asked whether she spake these words following to her husband, at the coming of the bishop's man: 'Alas! now are you an undone man, and I but a dead woman?' First, she stood in long denial of the same; and although her husband gave witness against her, yet stood she that her husband said not truth. At last she was compelled to grant those words to be spoken; and then being asked what she meant by them? thus she excused herself, that her husband had been unkind to her a long time, and therefore she desired to depart from him; whereupon now for sorrow she spake these words, &c. which words her husband did excuse something otherwise, saying, that his wife spoke those words between the threshold and the hall-door, because of a vehement fear for the loss of her goods.

She excuseth her own words.

Also she accused Richard Hobbes of Hichenden; Henry Hobbes of Hichenden; Herne's wife: Herne widow of Amersham: Thomas Cowper of Amersham, husbandman.

William Chedwel of Amersham accused John Stamp, wheeler, of Amersham; and Alice Harding, wife of Thomas Harding. The crime laid to Alice Harding was this: because when the priest was coming to Richard Bennet to give him the howsel, she went before, and instructed him what he should do.

Roger Bennet, by like compulsion of his oath, was caused to detect these persons:

William Rogers, tiler; William Harding, Roger Harding. These were detected by Roger Bennet, for that they being admonished to appear before the bishop's chancellor at Amersham, neglected so to do.

For English books.

John Jennings, servant to James Morden; George, servant of Thomas Tochel; and Thomas Gray, servant of Roger Bennet. These were detected for carrying about certain books in English.

William Smith, wheeler; the wife of John Milsent; the wife of W. Rogers; Ro. Stamp and his wife; also the wife of Robert Bartlet. These good women here named were detected to the bishop by Roger Bennet, for that upon the holidays, when they go and come from the church, they use to resort unto one J. Collingworth's house, and there to keep their conventicle.

The wife of David Lewis, and her father. This woman was charged for speaking these words: That the churchmen in the old time did lead the people as the hen doth lead her chickens; but our priests do now lead the people to the devil.

Ex Regist. fol. 10.

Agnes Frank, wife of William Frank, because she turned away her face from the cross, as it was carried about on Easter-day in the morning of the resurrection. Also J. George, J. Gardiner, J. Samme, and James Morden.

Thomas Rowland, put likewise to his oath, did detect

John Scrivener, the elder; for carrying about books from one to another.

Also Thomas Rowland; for these words following: 'If I lie, curse, storm, swear, chide, fight, or threat, then am I worthy to be beat; I pray you, good master of mine, if I offend in any of these nine, amend me with a good scouring.'

James Morden, compelled in like manner by his oath, did detect

Thomas Chase; because he heard him twice recite the epistle of St. James, beginning, 'James, the servant of God, and of our Lord Jesus Christ, to the twelve kinds,' &c. Also for these words: 'It was in the days of Herod, king of the Jews, that there was a priest, Zachary by name, and he came of the sort of Abias, and his wife of the daughters of Aaron; both they were just before God, going in all the commandments,' &c.

Also William Norton, and Agnes Ashford, of Chesham. The cause laid to this Agnes was for teaching this James Morden the words following: 'We be the salt of the earth; if it be putrefied and vanished away, it is nothing worth.

A city set upon a hill may not be hid. Teen ye not a candle, and put it under a bushel, but set it on a candlestick, that it may give a light to all in the house? So shine your light before men, as they may see your works, and glorify the Father that is in heaven. 'No tittle nor letter of the law shall pass over till all things be done.' And five times went he to the aforesaid Agnes to learn this lesson. Item, That the said Agnes did teach him to say this lesson: 'Jesus, seeing his people, as he went up to a hill, was set, and his disciples came to him; he opened his mouth, and taught them, saying, Blessed be the poor men in spirit, for the kingdom of heaven is theirs. Blessed be mild men, for they shall weld the earth.' And twice he came to her to learn this lesson.[1] *Henry VIII.* A. D. 1518 to 1521. Note what heresy is here!

And these lessons the said Agnes was bid to recite before six bishops, who straightway enjoined and commanded her, that she should teach these lessons no more to any man, and especially not to her children.[2]

The aforesaid James Morden detected Richard Ashford, smith; also Agnes Ashford, and Thomas Chase; because these two did exhort him thrice, that he should keep the things they spake of, as secret in his stomach, as a man would keep a thief in prison. Accuser.

Thomas Tredway of Chesham: also Robert Pope, John Morden, and his wife; because they were heard, in the presence of this James Morden their nephew, to recite the Ten Commandments in their house in English.[3]

Alice Atkins, because of him she learned the Pater Noster, Ave Maria, and Creed in English, and the five Marvels of St. Austin; also another piece of an English book, beginning, 'Here ensue four things by which a man may know whether he shall be saved,' &c. Also Marian Morden, his own sister, because she did not worship images; and after these little things he intended to teach her of the sacrament. Also he detected W. Africke or Littlepage, John Africke or Littlepage, Emme Harding or Africke, and John Phip, physician.

To this James Morden, with other abjurers, it was enjoined by bishop Smith, for seven years to visit the church of Lincoln twice a year from Amersham. And when divers had got license of the bishop, for length of the journey, to visit the image of our Lady of Missenden for the space of five years, this James Morden, when he could not obtain license so to do, yet notwithstanding, for the tediousness of the way, went with them to the same image; and thereupon was charged for violating the bishop's injunction.

Also because, to get his living, he wrought half a year out of the diocese, when he had been enjoined by the bishop not to go out of the diocese of Buckingham.[4]

This James Morden confessed, that he used his Pater Noster and Creed so much in English, that he had forgotten many words thereof in Latin; and therefore was enjoined by bishop Smith to say it no more in English, but only in Latin; and because he kept not this injunction, he fell therefore into relapse.

Roger Bennet, by like compulsion of his oath, was caused to detect these following to be 'known persons:' William Rogers, tiler, and his wife; W. Harding; Roger Harding; Joan Jenings; George, servant to Thomas Tochel; Thomas Gray, servant of Roger Bennet; Agnes Franke; Joan Collingworth; W. Smith; the wife of John Milsent; Robert Stampe and his wife; the wife of Robert Bartlet; the wife of David Lewis of Henley; John Frier, servant to Master Penn; John Tracher; John Morden's wife; Richard Ashford; W. Littlepage, some time apprentice of John Scrivener; Emme his wife; John Scrivener: also Isabel Morwin, for teaching Copland's wife her errors. Accuser.

Thomas Halfeaker, sworn upon his oath, did detect these persons here following: John Milsent and his wife; Roger Harding and his wife; Thomas Bernard; Thomas Afrike and his wife; W. Rogers; W. Harding and his wife; Katharine Bartlet, the mother of Robert and Richard Bartlet; Thomas Harding and his wife; W. Frank and Agnes his wife: because these, coming to the church, and especially at the elevation-time, would say no prayers, but did sit mum (as he termed it) like beasts. Also Katharine Bartlet, because she, being Accuser.

(1) Ex Regist. Longland. fol. 11. (2) Ibid. (3) Fol. 15. (4) Fol. 11.

Henry VIII.

A.D. 1518 to 1521

of good health, came but seldom to the church, but feigned herself sick. And because William Frank married Agnes his wife, she being before abjured.

This Halfeaker also detected Robert Pope, because he fled away when the great abjuration was at Amersham; also for having certain English books:[1] Also Emme Afrike, alias Harding; John Afrike; Henry Milner; Herne's wife, now the wife of Waiver; William Tilseworth; Emme Tilseworth, of London; Thomas Tilseworth and his wife; the wife of Robert Tilseworth; William Glasbroke; Christopher Glasbroke, miller; Thomas Grove and Joan his wife; Thomas Man, by Bristol.

The great abjuration was A.D. 1511.

Thomas Holmes detected Henry Milner, counted for a great heretic, and earned in the Scripture; John Schepard; the wife of John Schepard of Dorney; the elder daughter of Roger Harding of Amersham; Nicholas Stokeley, cooper, and his wife, of Henley; John Clerke; Thomas Wilbey of Henley; W. Stokeley; Hobs, with his sons, of Hichenden; the wife of John Scrivener, smith, of Woburn; Thomas Clerke the elder; Thomas Clerke the younger; Wigmer, farmer, of Hichenden; Robert Carder, weaver; John Frier, servant to Master Penn; John Morwin and Isabel his wife; Elizabeth Hover, wife of Henry Hover of Little Missenden; Richard White, fuller, of Beaconsfield. Andrew Randal and his wife of Rickmansworth: because they received into their house Thomas Man flying for persecution, and for reading Wickliff's Wicket. Also the father of Andrew Randal.

Also Bennet Ward, fuller. This Bennet Ward was denounced by John Merston, for saying, 'That it booteth no man to pray to our Lady, nor to any saint or angel in heaven, but to God only, for they have no power of man's soul.'

Also the said Thomas Holmes denounced the wife of Bennet Ward and her daughter, for saying that Thomas Pope was the devoutest man that ever came in their house; for he would sit reading in his book to midnight many times.

Also he denounced Thomas Tailor and his wife of Uxbridge; Robert Quicke; Robert Cosine; Thomas Clerke and his wife of Ware; one Geldener about Hertford; John Say and W. Say his son, of Little Missenden; the wife of John Wellis of Amersham; Joan Glasbroke, sister to William Glasbroke of Harrow on the Hill; Thomas Susan, wheeler; John a Lee, smith; John Austy, shearman; John Frier; Edmund Harding; John Heron, carpenter of Hambledon; Henry Miller. Also John Phips. He was very ripe in the Scripture. Emme wife of Richard Tilseworth. John Phip. He was a reader or rehearser to the other. John Say of Missenden; William Stokeley; also Roger Squire, for saying to Holmes, 'This is one of them that make all this business in our town with the bishop; I pray God tear all the bones of him!'

Also Roger Herne, and a certain tanner.

For reading the Scripture in English.

The said Thomas Holmes also detected John Butler, carpenter; Richard Butler; William King, of Uxbridge: these three sat up all night in the house of Durdant of Iver Court by Staines, reading all the night in a book of Scripture.

Also John Mucklyf, weaver, for speaking against holy bread and holy water; and Thomas Man, for saying that Christ was not substantially in the sacrament.

Thomas Stilman, and Jenkin Butler, for receiving an English book given him by Carder his father, who, after his abjuration done before bishop Smith, fell sick and died.

Accuser.

Thomas Holmes also detected these: Richard Vulfard, of Riselip; one Hackar; Thomas King. Also Joan Cocks, the wife of Robert Wywood, husbandman; for desiring of Durdant her master, that he, being a 'known-man,' would teach her some knowledge of God's law; and desiring the same also of the Butlers.

Robert Carver, of Iver, detected these: Nicholas Durdant, of Staines; Davy Durdant, of Ankerwick; the wife of old Durdant; the wife of Nicholas Durdant. These were detected, for that old Durdant of Iver-court, sitting at dinner with his children and their wives, bidding a boy there standing to depart out of the house, that he should not hear and tell, did recite certain places unto them out of the Epistles of St. Paul, and of the Gospels.

(1) Fol. 16.

Richard White, father-in-law to Bennet Ward of Beaconsfield. He was detected, by Robert Carder, to be a 'known-man,' because, after the death of bishop Smith, he was heard to say these words; 'My lord that is dead, was a good man, and divers known-men were called before him, and he sent them home again, bidding them that they should live among their neighbours as good christian men should do.' 'And now,' said he, 'there is a new bishop, who is called a blessed man; and if he be as he is named, he will not trouble the servants of God, but will let them be in quiet.' *Henry VIII.* A. D. 1518 to 1521

Marian Morden was forced upon her oath to utter, James Morden, her own brother, for teaching her the Pater Noster, Ave, and Creed in English; and that she should not go on pilgrimage nor should worship saints or images, which she had not done by the space of six years past, following and believing her brother. Accuser.

James Morden was forced upon his oath to utter, John Littlepage; Henry Littlepage; William Littlepage; Joan Littlepage; Richard Morden, his brother, of Chesham; and Emme his wife: Alice Brown, of Chesham; Radulph Morden his brother, of Chesham, and his wife; John Phips; Elizabeth Hamon. Accuser.

Thomas Coupland, forced by his oath, detected a canon of Missenden; Thomas Grove, of London; Isabel Morwin; the wife of Norman of Amersham; Thomas Cowper, of Woodrow: also Roger Harding, and W. Grinder; because these two could not say their creed in Latin. Coupland also detected the wife of Robert Stamp of Woodrow Accuser.

T. Rowland, T. Coupland, Richard Stephens, and Roger Bennet, were forced by their oath to accuse, Thomas Harding, of Amersham, and Alice Harding his wife, because, after their abjuration in bishop Smith's time, divers 'known-men,' as they then termed them, who were abjured before, had much resort to their house. Also they accused Agnes Squire, for speaking these words: 'Men do say, I was abjured for heresy; it may well be a napkin for my nose, but I will never be ashamed of it.' Accusers.

John Sawcoat, upon his oath, did impeach the vicar of Little Missenden; also Thomas Grove, and his wife. Grove was detected, for that he did give to Dr. Wilcocks twenty pounds, to excuse him that he might not be brought to open penance. Accuser

Also Thomas Holmes, for that he was heard to say these words, after the great abjuration, when he had abjured, that 'the greatest cobs were yet behind;' and Richard Sanders of Amersham, because he ever defended them that were suspected to be 'known-men.' Also because he bought out his penance, and carried his badge in his purse.

Bishop Longland, seeking how to convict John Phip of perjury (who, being charged with an oath, did not answer affirmatively unto such suspicions as were laid unto him by Thomas Holmes and other several accusers), did examine Sybil Africk, his own sister, upon her oath to detect John Phip, her brother, of relapse; but she so answered, that the bishop could take by her no great hold of relapse against him. Wherein is to be noted the singular iniquity and abuse in the church of Rome, which, by virtue of oath, setteth the sister to procure the brother's blood. The like also was sought of Thomas Africk, his sister's husband; but they had by him no advantage.

Jenkin Butler did impeach John Butler, his own brother, for reading to him in a certain book of the Scripture, and persuading him to hearken to the same: also Robert Carder; Richard Butler, his brother; Henry Vulman, of Uxbridge; Richard Ashford, of Walton (otherwise called Richard Nash, or Richard Tredway); and William King, of Uxbridge. Accuser.

He did also detect the following: Isabel Tracher, wife of John Tracher, because she came not to the church oftener on the work-days, being admonished both by the churchwardens, by the graduates of the church, and by Dr. Cock's commissary, but followed her business at home. Also because she purposed to Accuser.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1518 to 1521.

set her daughter to Alice Harding, saying, that she could better instruct her than many others. Also, because she cursed the priest after he was gone, who had given to her the eucharist, saying, that he had given to her bitter gall. Also Jenkin Butler did detect Thomas Clement, of Chesham.

William Ameriden did detect Alice Holting, for that she, being great with child, did dine before she went to church to take her rites; saying, that Isabel Trecher did so tell her, that she might dine before she received the sacrament.

Also William Trecher, of Amersham; for keeping Thomas Grove in his house on Easter and Christmas-day, because he would not come to the church.

Accuser. Joan Norman did impeach Robert Cosine, and Thomas Man; also Alice Harding, for dissuading from pilgrimage, from worshipping of images, and from vowing money to saints for health of her child. Also for saying, that she needed not to confess to a priest, but that it was enough to lift up her hands to heaven. Also for saying, that she might as well drink upon the Sunday before mass, as any other day, &c.

Accuser. John Scrivener, forced by his oath, did accuse the following persons: Henry Miller, wire-drawer, who from Amersham fled to Chelmsford: that he abjured and did penance in Kent before, and afterwards coming to Amersham, taught them (as he said) many heresies.

John Barret, goldsmith, of London; with Joan Barret, his wife; and Jude, his servant: because he, John Barret, was heard in his own house, before his wife and maid there present, to recite the epistle of St. James, which epistle, with many other things, he had perfectly without book. Also Joan his wife, because she had lent to this John Scrivener the gospel of St. Matthew and Mark, which book he gave to bishop Smith.

The aforesaid John Scrivener was also forced by his oath to accuse the following persons: John Merrywether, his wife, and his son; Durdant by Staines; Old Durdant; Isabel, wife of Thomas Harding; Hartop, of Windsor; Joan Barret, wife of John Barret, of London; Henry Miller; one Stilman, tailor. All these were accused, because at the marriage of Durdant's daughter they assembled together in a barn, and heard a certain epistle of St. Paul read; which reading they well liked, but especially Durdant, and commended the same.

Thomas Rowland, of Amersham. It was objected to Rowland for speaking these words: 'Ah, good Lord! where is all our good communication which was wont to be amongst us when your master was alive?'

Thomas Grove, of London, butcher; William Glasbroke, of Harrow on the Hill; Christopher Glasbroke, of London; William Tilseworth, of London, goldsmith (apprentice sometime to John Barret). These were impeached because they used to resort and confer together of matters of religion in the house of Thomas Man, of Amersham, before the great abjuration.

John Newman was impeached, because he was present in the house of John Barret, at the reading of Scripture.

Father Robert, martyr. John Wood, of Henley; William Wood; Lewis, of Henley, a serving-man; Wilie, and his son. This Wilie was impeached because he taught the gospel of Matthew to John Wood and William Wood, after the great abjuration; and father Robert did teach them St. Paul's epistle, which old father was after that burned at Buckingham.

Accuser. William Littlepage, forced by his oath, did accuse the following persons: Thurstan Littlepage, and Emme his wife. This Thurstan had taught him the saying of Solomon, that 'wrath raiseth chiding;' had taught him also the Pater Noster and Ave in English. His Creed in English he learnt of his grandmother. The said Thurstan also taught him, Christ not to be corporally in the sacrament.

John Littlepage, his brother, and Alice, wife of Thurstan Littlepage; because the said John was said to have learned the ten commandments in English of Alice, Thurstan's wife, in his father's house. John Frier: because he had taught him, the said William, the Ten Commandments in English.

Also Thomas Grove; Herne's wife; the wife of John Morwin; Richard Bartlet: Robert Bartlet; Thomas Bernard.

Likewise Joan Clerk, of Little Missenden; for saying she never did believe in the sacrament of the altar, nor ever would believe in it. John Horne, of Ambleden. *Henry VIII.* A. D. 1518 to 1521.

John Gardiner did impeach the following persons: his sister, Agnes Ward; Ward's wife, of Marlow; and Nicholas Stokeley; because that when this Gardiner said, 'God help us, and our Lady, and all the saints of heaven;' then she said, 'What need is it to go to the feet, when we may go to the head?'

Also William Stokeley; the wife of William Deane; William Ramsey, of Newbery; John Simon's wife, of Marlow; John Gray, of Marlow; Davy Schirwood; William Schirwood; Raynold Schirwood.

John Say did detect Christopher Shoemaker; John Okenden; and Robert Pope. This Christopher Shoemaker had been burned a little before, at Newbury. Accusor.

Bishop Longland, seeking matter against Isabel Morwin (of whom he could take no great advantage by examination), called and caused Elizabeth Copland, her own sister, to testify against her in manner as followeth: First, because in talk together, coming from their father being at the point of death, Isabel said to her sister Elizabeth, that all who die, either pass to hell or heaven: 'Nay,' said the other, 'there is between them purgatory.' Again; when Elizabeth came from the rood of rest, Isabel said, that if she knew so much as she had heard, she would go no more on pilgrimage while she lived; for all saints, said she, be in heaven. Then asked Elizabeth, wherefore pilgrimage was ordained by doctors and priests? The other said, for gain and profit. 'Who hath taught you this?' quoth Elizabeth, 'man or woman? Your curate, I dare say, never learned you so.' 'My curate,' said she, 'will never know so much.' And moreover, Isabel said to Elizabeth her sister, that if she would keep counsel, and not tell her husband, she would say more. And when Elizabeth answered that she would not tell: 'But,' saith the other, 'I will have you to swear:' and because she would not swear, the other would not proceed any further. Accusor.

Alice Brown was forced by her oath to detect John Tracher, of Chesham. The cause why this John Tracher was denounced was this: for that he taught her in the gospel this saying of Jesus, 'Blessed be they that hear the word of God, and keep it.' Also because he taught her the eight beatitudes in English. Accusor.

Likewise Emma Tilseworth, because she refused to detect others by virtue of her oath, and denied such matter as by witness and by the bishop's acts were proved against her. In pain of relapse the bishop enjoined her to make certain faggots of cloth, and to wear the same both before her upper garment and behind so long as she lived.

W. Phips was forced by his oath to detect Thomas Africke, for asking how his cousin, Widmore Clerk the elder, and John Phip did at Hitchenden? whether they kept the laws of God as they were wont? Accusor.

Also he detected Roger Parker, deceased; John Phip, for saying that images are not to be worshipped, because they are made and carved with man's hand, and that such ought not to be worshipped; John Gardiner, for that to the said William, this Gardiner said, that all who are burned for this sect are true martyrs. Also John Stilman.

John Butler, by his oath, was forced to detect Thomas Geffrey, first of Uxbridge, then of Ipswich, tailor; for reading and teaching him in the Acts and preachings of the Apostles. Accusor.

Item, for having a Scripture-book in English; which book the said Geffrey gave to the bishop of London when he was accused.

Item, that the said Geffrey said, that true pilgrimage was, barefoot to go and visit the poor, weak, and sick; for they are the true images of God.

Also he was forced to detect Richard Vulford. This Vulford and Thomas Geffrey told the said John Butler, that the Host consecrated was not the very true body of Christ; in proof whereof they said, that let a mouse be put in the pix with the Host, and the mouse would eat it up. And for more proof they declared unto the said John Butler, that there were two priests in Essex, who put a mouse in the pix to a consecrated Host, and the mouse did eat it: afterward, A story of a mouse put into the pix.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1518 to 1521.

the fact of these priests being known, and brought to the bishop, one of the priests was burned for the same.

The aforesaid John Butler did also detect John Clerke, of Denham, for that the same Vulford and Geffrey told him and the said John Clerke, that holy bread and holy water were but a vain-glory of the world; for God never made them, but they were men's inventions; and that God neither made priests, for in Christ's time there were no priests. Moreover, that Thomas Geffrey caused this John Butler divers Sundays to go to London, to hear Dr. Colet.

Dr. Colet commended.

Also John Butler detected Andrew Fuller, of Uxbridge, because this John Butler had an old book of Richard Vulford. Also another great book of Andrew Fuller, for which he paid six shillings and fourpence; and another little book of Thomas Man, which he brought to the bishop.

Moreover, this Thomas Man was impeached, because he read to this deponent ten years ago, how Adam and Eve were expelled out of Paradise; and for speaking against pilgrimage, and worshipping of images, and against the singing-service used then in churches.—This Thomas Man was burnt and died a martyr, of whom mention is made before, page 208.

William King. This William King was appeached because he lodged Thomas Man in his house upon a certain holy day at divine service; unto whom resorted Richard Vulford, and John Clerke, and this John Butler: to whom the said Thomas Man declared that pilgrimage was nought, and that images were not to be worshipped.

The aforesaid John Butler did likewise detect Robert Carder; one Durdant; Richard Butler, his own brother; and William King: to these was laid, that Thomas Carder brought this John Butler to Durant's house at Iver-court by Staines, where was Richard Butler his brother, and William King, reading in a certain English book; at which time Durdant desired them not to tell that he had any such English book in his house, lest he should be burned for the same.

Also another time, that he, the aforesaid John Butler, with Richard Butler his brother, and Robert Carder, went to the house of Richard Ashford or Nash, to hear the same Ashford read in a certain little book, but which contained many good things.

Richard Vulman, of London.—This Vulman was detected upon this, for that he would have read to this John Butler a certain English book, and spake against pilgrimages and images.

Accuser.

John Butler was also compelled by his oath to detect Henry Vulman and his wife, of Uxbridge; Rafe Carpenter, of London; a daughter of John Phip; a daughter of William Phip. This Rafe Carpenter was detected for having certain books of the Apocalypse in English. Also for that this Carpenter and his wife did bring him, and the wife of Henry Vulman, to a corner house of Friday-street, where the good man of the house, having a stump foot, had divers such books, to the intent they should hear them read.

R. Butler, Jenkin Butler, his own brethren; the mother of Richard Ashford; and J. Butler his other brother: these were detected, partly for holding against the sacrament of the altar; partly also because they were reading two hours together in a certain book of the Acts of the Apostles, in English, at Chesham, in Ashford's house.

For reading books in English.

Also the wife of Robert Pope, for having certain books in English, one bound in boards, and three with parchment coverings, with four other sheets of paper written in English, containing matter against the Romish religion. Also another book of the service of the Virgin Mary in English.

John Phip was compelled by his oath to detect Thomas Stilman, for that he told William Phip, how that he, being in Lollards' tower, did climb up the steeple where the bells were, and there, cutting the bell-ropes, did tie two of them together, and so by them slipped down into Paul's church-yard, and escaped.

Accuser.

Thomas Tredway compelled by his oath to detect John Morden, of Ashley-green, and Richard Ashford, his brother. These were accused and detected, because John Morden had in his house a book of the Gospels, and other chap-

ters, in English, and read three or four times in the same; in which book his brother Ashford also did read once. Item, because John Morden spake against images, and said these words: 'Our Lord Jesus Christ saith in his gospel, Blessed be they that hear the word of God, and keep it,' &c.

Henry VIII. A. D. 1518 to 1521.

Tredway also detected Agnes Ashford, his own mother, for teaching him that he should not worship the images of saints.

Likewise Joan Bernard, being accused by Robert Copland, was sworn by her oath to detect Thomas Bernard her own natural father, for speaking against pilgrimage, against worshipping of saints, and against dirges, and praying for the dead; and for warning his daughter not to utter any of all this to her ghostly father.

Accuser. Joan Bernard detecting her own father.

The like oath also was forced on Richard Bernard, that he should in like manner detect Thomas Bernard his own natural father, for teaching him not to worship images, nor to believe in the sacrament of the altar, but only in God who is in heaven; and that he should not utter the same to the priest.

Richard Bernard detecting his own father.

The vicar of Iver, and Richard Tailor witness, accused Richard Carder, for defending the cause of Jenkin Butler, and for saying that the bishop did him injury.

Accusers.

Item, for saying, that if he had known the bishop's man would have fetched him so to the bishop, he would have given him warning thereof before.

Item, for saying, that if he should call him, he would confess nothing, although he burned him.

Agnes Carder, wife of Richard Carder, detected Richard Carder, her husband, for saying that he suspected that she was too familiar with the vicar of Iver; and when she answered again, How could he be evil with her, seeing he saith mass every day, and doth confess himself before? Then her husband said, that he could confess himself to a post, or to the altar.

Accusers.

Here note, that the bishop then examining her of that offence, whether she was culpable, and whether she was commonly in the voice of the people defamed with him or no? she confessed it so to be. Whereupon no other penalty or penance for that crime of adultery was enjoined her of the bishop, but only this, that she should frequent the vicar's house no more.

John Clerke, of Denham, forced by his oath to detect Richard Vulford, of Riselip, for speaking against images, pilgrimages, oblations, and against the sacrament of the altar.

Accuser. Against images.

Item, When this John Clerke had made a wheel for fish, Richard Vulford coming by, asked him, when he had made his wheel, whether the wheel now could turn again, and make him? and he said, No. 'Even so,' quoth he, 'God hath made all priests, as thou hast made the wheel; and how can they turn again, and make God?'

Also John Clerke detected John Butler.

John Mastal detected the daughter of John Phip, of Hichenden, for saying, that she was as well-learned as was the parish priest, in all things except only in saying of mass.

Accuser.

Robert Rowland, William Frank, Thomas Houre, Thomas Rowland, Joan Frank, John Baker, all detected certain persons, namely Alice Sanders, wife of Richard Sanders, of Amersham, for giving twelve-pence to Thomas Holmes, to buy a certain book in English for her daughter; to whom Thomas Holmes answered again, that a noble would not suffice to buy it. Another time, for giving six-pence to the buying of a certain book in English, which cost five marks. Another time Thomas Houre coming from Woburn, she asked, What news? and he said, that many were there condemned of heresy, and therefore he would lean to that way no more. Then said she, If he did so, he would gain nothing thereby. Whereby he had no more work with her husband, and after was put from his holy-water clerkship in that town. Another time, for saying to Thomas Rowland these words: 'Ye may see how Thomas Houre and others, who

Accusers.

Henry VIII laboured to have heretics detected before bishop Smith, are brought now to beggary; you may take example by them.'

A. D. 1518 to 1521. Joan Franke, William Franke the elder, William Franke the younger, and Alice Tredway detected Joan Collingborne, for saying to one Joan Timberlake, and Alice Tredway, ten years ago, That she could never believe pilgrimages to be profitable, nor that saints were to be worshipped; and desired them not to tell their curate: which Alice immediately caused her to be called before the bishop.

Accuser. William Carder upon his oath was forced to detect Isabel Tracher, his mistress, the wife of William Tracher; for that she being not sick, but in good health, and being rebuked divers times of her husband for the same, yet would not go to the church, but tarried at home, and kept her work, as well holy-day as work-day, the space of three years together.

Accusers. Isabel Gardiner and John Gardiner were forced by their oath to detect the vicar of Wycombe, also Thomas Rave, of Great Marlow; for speaking against pilgrimages in the company of John and Elizabeth Gardiner, as he was going to our lady of Lincoln for his penance enjoined by bishop Smith. Also the same time as he met certain coming from St. John Shorne, for saying they were fools, and calling it idolatry. Also in the same voyage, when he saw a certain chapel in decay and ruin, he said, 'Lo, yonder is a fair milk-house down.' Item, when he came to Lincoln, he misbehaved himself in the chapel, at mass-time, excusing himself afterwards that he did it of necessity. Item, the same time, speaking against the sacrament of the altar, he said, that Christ sitteth in heaven at the right hand of the Father Almighty: and brought forth this parable, saying, that Christ our Lord said these words when he went from his disciples, and ascended to heaven, that once he was in sinner's hands, and would come there no more. Also that when the said Rave came to Wycombe, there to do his penance, he bound his faggot with a silken lace. Also being demanded of Dr. London, whether he had done his penance in coming to our Lady of Lincoln? he answered, That bishop Smith had released him to come to our Lady of Missenden for six years; and three years he came, but whether he came any more, because he did not there register his name, therefore he said he could not prove it.

They likewise detected the wife of Thomas Potter, of Hychenden.

Accusor. Roger Bennet, forced by his oath to detect the wife of William Tilseworth, now of Hawkwell, for not thinking catholicly, that is, after the tradition of Rome, of the sacrament of the altar. Also the wife of Robert Stampe, for not accomplishing her penance enjoined by bishop Smith.

Marian Randal, and John Butler. The latter for having of the said Roger Bennet, a certain book in English, containing a 'Dialogue between a Jew and a Christian.'

Accuser. Against the sacrament of the altar. Richard Vulford detected these persons: his own wife, deceased; and John Clerke, of Denham; for communing with him against images, pilgrimages, and the sacrament of the altar. Also Thomas Geffrey, of Uxbridge, and his wife departed; for communing against the sacrament of the altar, worshipping of saints, pilgrimages, &c.

Henry Vulman of Uxbridge, for speaking and teaching against the sacrament of the altar eleven years ago, and saying it was but a trifle.

Also the mother of William King, of Uxbridge; William King, Robert Carder the elder, John Baker, of Uxbridge.

Accuser. For reading the Scripture. John Scrivener the elder detected Geldener the elder, and his two daughters, for being present and hearkening unto Richard Bennet, reading the epistle of St. James in English. Also Emme, sister of William Tylsworth, martyr; and John Lee, carpenter, of Henley

Here is to be noted, that in the town of Chesham were two men, one named Robert Hutton, the other John Spark; of which two, the one called the other

heretic, the other called him again thief. Sparke, who called Hutton thief, was condemned to pay for his slander ten shillings; but Hutton, who called the other heretic, paid nothing. It happened that the wife of this Sparke not long after had certain money stolen, for which the said Sparke her husband sent for the counsel of two friars, who gave him counsel to make two balls of clay, and to put them in the water, and in the same balls to enclose the names of them whom he suspected: and so doing, the said Sparke came to his money again. And this was detected to bishop Longland the same time by Thomas Clement. But of all this matter there was no inquisition made, nor interrogatories ministered, nor witness produced, nor any sentence given.[1]

Henry VIII. A. D. 1518 to 1521.

Witchcraft left unpunished.

[b] John Grosar, being put to his oath, detected Thomas Tykill, Thomas Spencer, and his wife; and John Knight. This John Grosar was examined whether he had a book of the Gospels in English; who confessed that he received such a book of Thomas Tykill, morrow-mass priest in Milk-street, and afterwards lent the same book to Thomas Spencer, which Thomas Spencer with his wife used to read upon the same. After that it was lent to John Knight, who at length delivered the book to the vicar of Rickmansworth.

Accuser. For having the Scripture in English.

John Funge was forced by his oath to detect Francis Funge, his brother, and Thomas Clerke. Francis Funge was examined for speaking these words to his brother John, which words he had learned of Thomas Clerke: 'If the sacrament of the altar be very God and man, flesh and blood, in form of bread, as priests say that it is, then have we many gods; and in heaven there is but one God. And if there were a hundred houseled in one parish, and as many in another, then there must needs be more than one God. I will not deny but it is a holy thing, but it is not the body of the Lord that suffered passion for us; for he was once in man's hands here, and ill entreated, and therefore he will never come in sinful men's hands again.' Also for speaking these words: 'The pope hath no authority to give pardon, and to release any man's soul from sin, and so from pain; it is nothing but blinding of the people to have their money.' Also for these words, or such like: 'If a man do sow twenty quarters of corn, as wheat, or barley, or other corn, he ought to deduct his seed, and of the residue to tithe, or else he hath wrong,' &c.

Accuser.

Francis Funge and Alice his wife were put to their oath to detect Thomas Clerke, for speaking against the real presence of Christ in the sacrament, unto Francis Funge, as before, &c. Also Robert Rave, of Dorney, for saying these words, that the sacrament of the altar is not the body which was born of the blessed Virgin Mary. Item, For speaking such words fourteen years past: That folks were ill occupied, that worshipped any things graven with man's hand; for that which is graven with man's hand is neither God nor our Lady, but made for a remembrance of saints. Nor ought we to worship any thing but God and our Lady; and not images of saints, which are but stocks and stones.

Accusers.

Henry Dein, forced by his oath to detect Edmund Hill, of Penne; likewise Robert Freeman, parish-priest of Orton by Colebrook, for having and reading upon a suspected book, which book, when he perceived to be seen in his hand, he closed it, and carried it to his chamber.

Accuser.

John Hill, forced by his oath, did detect Thomas Grove and his wife, of Amersham; also Matild Philby, wife of Edward Philby, of Chalvey; likewise Joan Gun, of Chesham, because she instructed and taught the said Hill, before his abjuration, in the Epistle of St. James, and other opinions. Also William Atkins, of Great Missenden; Richard Murden, of Chesham; Emme Murden, his wife.

Accuser.

William Gudgame, forced by his oath to detect Joan Gudgame, his own wife, for being in the same opinion of the sacrament that he was of; who notwithstanding did swear the same not to be true that her husband said. Also Alice Nash, or Chapman, of Missenden.

(1) Ex Regist. Longland, fol. 50.

Henry VIII. A. D. 1518 to 1521.

Matild Symonds, and John Symonds her husband, put to their oath, detected one Haggar, of London, for speaking in their house, A. D. 1520, these words: 'That there should be a battle of priests, and all the priests should be slain, and that the priests should awhile rule; but they should all be destroyed, because they hold against the law of holy church, and for making of false gods; and after that they should be overthrown.' Item, Another time he said, 'That men of the church should be put down, and the false gods that they make; and after that, he said, they should know more, and then should be a merry world.'

Accuser.

Thomas Clerke, forced by his oath, did detect Christopher, tinker, of Wycombe. The cause of this tinker's trouble was, for that he coming to this man's house, and complaining to him of the poverty of the world, had these words: That there was never so misgoverned a people; and that they bare themselves so bold upon pardons and pilgrimages, that they cared not whatsoever they did: and so he departed. And seven days after that, this tinker, coming again, asked him, how his last communication with him did please him; and he said, Well. Then the tinker said, he knew more, and that he could tell him more: and bade him that he should believe in God in heaven; for here be many gods in earth, and there is but one God; and that he was once here, and was ill dealt with, and would no more come here till the day of doom: and that the sacrament of the altar was a holy thing, but not the flesh and blood of Christ that was born of the Virgin; and charged him not to tell this to his wife, and especially not to his wife's brother, a priest. Afterwards, as the priest was drying singing-bread, being wet, which his sister had bought, the aforesaid Thomas Clerke said, that if every one of these were a god, then were there many gods. To whom the priest answered, That till the holy words were spoken over it, it was of no power, and then it was very God, flesh and blood; saying moreover, that it was not meet for any layman to speak of such things. These words of the priest being after recited to the tinker by the said Clerke, then said he, 'Let every man say what they will, but you shall find it as I show you,' &c.; 'and if you will take labour to come to my house, I will show you further proof of it, if you will take heed,' &c.

Accuser.

Robert Pope, first of Amersham, after of West Hendred, caused by his oath, did detect these following: Thomas Africk, alias Littlepage, and his wife. To these was objected, that they had communication and conference with this Robert Pope in the Gospel of St. Matthew, before the great abjuration, in the town of Amersham.

Thomas Scrivener, father to Thomas Holme's wife. This Scrivener was detected, for that the said Pope had of him a book of the Epistles in English.

Bennet Ward, of Beaconsfield, and his father, Edmund Dormer. To Ward, this was laid, that the aforesaid Pope had received a book of the Ten Commandments. He had also the Gospels of Matthew and Mark. Of the same Ward he learned his Christ-Cross row: five parts of the eight Beatitudes.

Thomas Harding, and his wife; John Scrivener, and his wife; Thomas Man, and his wife; another Thomas Man, and his wife. These were detected for this, because they had communed and talked with the said Robert Pope oftentimes in books of Scripture, and other matters of religion, concerning pilgrimage, adoration of images, and the sacrament of the Lord's body.

The same Robert Pope did detect these who follow: Thomas Bernard; Thomas Grove; Thomas Holmes; Robert Rave; William Gudgame, and his wife; Nash the elder, and his wife; William Gray, of East Hendred, miller; Edward Gray and his wife, of East Hendred; Margery Young, widow, of East Hendred; Isabel More, sister to the said Margery, of East Hendred; Richard Nobis, fowler, and his wife, of East Hendred.

Also Richard Colins, of Ginge, and his wife. This Colins was among them a great reader, and had a book of Wickliff's Wicket, and a book of Luke, and one of Paul, and a gloss of the Apocalypse.

Robert Pope did also detect William Colins, brother of Richard. Also Thomas Colins, the father of Richard and William. William had a book of Paul, and a book of small epistles:

John Colins, of Betterton; Robert Lyvord, of Steventon; William Lyvord, of Steventon; father Amershaw, of Steventon; one Smart, of Steventon, miller;

Thomas Hall, of Hungerford; John Eden, of Hungerford; John Ludlow, of Hungerford; Thomas New, of Wantage, thatcher; Joan Taylor and her mother, of Bisham; Humfrey Shoemaker, of Newbury; John Semand, of Newbury, fishmonger; Robert Geydon and his wife, of Newbury, weaver; and John Edmunds, of Burford. This John Edmunds was charged for having a book named 'William Thorpe;' also for reading in an English book after a marriage. *Henry VIII.* A.D. 1518 to 1521.

Robert Pope did likewise detect the following: Robert Burges and his wife, of Burford; John Colins, of Burford; John Colins and his wife, of Asthall; John Clerke, of Claufield. This Clerke was heard say, that all the world was as well hallowed as the church or church-yard; and that it was as good to be buried in the field, as in the church or church-yard.

William Gun and his wife, of Witney, tanner; John Baker, of Witney, weaver; John Brabant the elder, of Stanlake; John Brabant the younger, of Stanlake; John Kember, of Hennybarkes; Walter Kember his brother, of Hennybarkes; John Rabettes, of Chawley, and Thomas Widmore, of Hichenden; also John Phip, and William Phip, for reading a certain treatise upon the Pater Noster in English, which this John Phip did read to him, and to his father.

This aforesaid Robert Pope moreover detected Edward Pope, his own father, of Little Missenden, for hearing the Gospel of Matthew read unto him, and for communing upon the same with this Robert Pope his son. He detected likewise Edward Pope his brother. The son detecting the father.

Furthermore, he detected his own wife, who had before abjured under bishop Smith, to continue still in her opinions.

This Robert Pope, being before abjured, did further detect these here following: Thomas Clerke the elder, of Hichenden; Lawrence Herne, of Hichenden; William Haliday, of East Hendred. This Haliday was detected for having in his custody a book of the Acts of the Apostles in English, which the said Robert Pope brought unto him at the taking of Roger Dodd. For the Scripture in English.

William Squire and his brother, of Shaw; Thomas Stephenton and Matild his daughter, of Charney. Also Thomas Philip, painter; and Laurence Tailor, of London; for that these two, being in the house of Richard Colins at Ginge, there did read in an English book the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans; and Laurence did read the first chapter of St. Luke's Gospel. For reading the Scripture in English.

Andrew Maysey, of Burton. Also the wife of Richard Colins, of Ginge. John Harris's wife; and Alice Colins, wife of Richard Colins. These two, being together at Upton in John Harris's house, did talk of the Apocalypse, and of the Acts of the Apostles, and therefore were suspected, and thus detected.[1] Item, Because John Harris spake against pilgrimage, images, and was heard to talk of seven lean and seven fat oxen.

Robert Colins, of Hertford-Wallis, mason; also Thomas Gray, of West Hendred, for receiving certain books of this Robert Pope. Margaret House, wife of William House, of East Ginge, for keeping company, and receiving the doctrine of Alice Colins.

John Nash, of Little Missenden; Henry Etkin and his mother, of Little Missenden; and Richard Dell, of Missenden.

Robert Colins, being sworn upon the evangelists, did detect Richard Colins, of Ginge, first, for that this Richard Colins did read unto the said Robert Colins the Ten Commandments, and after taught him the Epistle of St. James, and another small Epistle of Peter; and, after that, took him the Gospel of St. John in English, and bade him read therein himself. Also for teaching him not to worship images, nor to set up candles, nor to go on pilgrimage. Another crime against Richard Colins was because he taught this Robert, that in all such things wherein he offended God, he should only shrive himself to God; and in what things he offended man, he should shrive himself to man. Also for teaching him, that the sacrament of the altar is not very God, but a certain figurative thing of Christ in bread; and that the priest hath no power to consecrate the body of Christ. Also, for that the said Richard did teach him, in Wickliff's Wicket, how that a man may not make the body of our Lord, who made us; and how can we then make him again? The Father is unbegotten, and unmade; the Son is only begotten, and not made: and how then can man

Accuser. For reading the Scripture in English. Against the sacrament of the altar.

(1) Ex Regist. Longland, fol. 71.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1518 to 1521.

make that, which is unmade? said he. And in the same book of Wickliff's Wicket follow the words of Christ thus speaking: 'If my words be heresy, then am I a heretic; and if my words be leasings, then am I a liar,' &c. Also another crime against Richard Colins, for having certain English books, as Wickliff's Wicket, the Gospel of St. John, the Epistles of St. Paul, James, and Peter in English, an Exposition of the Apocalypse, a book of our Lady's Matins in English, a book of Solomon in English, and a book called 'the Prick of Conscience.'

For speaking against idolatry.

John Edmunds, of Burford, tailor, and John Harris. The crime against John Edmunds, was for having a certain English book of the commandments. The crime against John Harris was, for communing with him of the first chapter of St. John's Gospel: 'In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and God,' &c. Also for communing of a chapter in Matthew, of the eight Beatitudes. Item, Thomas Hall, for counselling him not to go on pilgrimage to saints, because they were idols.

The aforesaid Robert Colins, being sworn upon the Evangelists, did detect also these persons:—Robert Livord; W. Livord; one Bruges and Joan his wife; one Harris and his wife; and Richard Collins. All these were detected, for that they, being together in Bruges's house at Burford, were reading together in the book of the exposition of the Apocalypse, and communed concerning the matter of opening the book with seven clasps, &c.

John Ledisdall, or Edon, of Hungerford; John Colins, of Burford; John Colins and his wife of Asthall; John Clerke, of Claufield. The wife of Richard Colins, of Ginge; Thomas Colins and his wife, of Ginge. This Thomas Colins was charged for having a book of Paul and James in English.

William Colins; Robert Pope, of Henred; one Hakker, of Coleman-street in London. Also Stacy, brickmaker, of Coleman-street, for having the book of the Apocalypse.

Thomas Philip; Laurence Wharfar, of London, for reading the Epistle of St. Peter in English, in the house of Robert Colins, of Asthall.

Joan Colins his own sister, of Asthall; Thomas Colins his cousin, of Asthall; Mistress Bristow, of London; John Colins, son of Richard Colins, of Ginge; Joan Colins, daughter of Richard Colins, of Ginge; Henry Stacy, son of Stacy, of Coleman-street; Thomas Steventon of Charney, in Berkshire; John Brabant, in Stanlake; and John Baker, weaver, of Witney.

Accuser.

John Colins, of Burford, impeached to the bishop the persons here named: Richard Colins. The words of Richard Colins were these: that the sacrament was not the true body of Christ in flesh and blood; but yet it ought to be reverenced, albeit not so as the true body of Christ:

The son accused the father.

Thomas Colins, of Ginge, his own natural father: the crime against Thomas Colins was, that for eight years past this Thomas Colins the father had taught this John his son, in the presence of his mother, the Ten Commandments, and namely, that he should have but one God, and should worship nothing but God alone; and that to worship saints, and go on pilgrimage, was idolatry. Also, that he should not worship the sacrament of the altar as God, for that it was but a token of the Lord's body: which thing so much discontented this John Colins, that he said he would disclose his father's errors, and make him to be burned; but his mother entreated him not so to do.

Robert Colins, of Asthall. The crime against Robert Colins; that this Robert read to him in a certain thick book of Scripture in English.

John Edmunds and his wife. The crime laid to John Edmunds was for that he read to this John the Ten Commandments, and told him that John Baptist said, that one should come after him, whose buckle of his shoe he was not worthy to undo.

Alice, wife of Gunn, of Witney; and John Hakker and his son, of London. This John Hakker, of London, coming to Burford, brought a book speaking of the ten plagues of Pharaoh. Also after that, another book treating of the seven sacraments.

Laurence Tailor, of Shoreditch; Thomas Philip, of London; Philip, servant of Richard Colins; Waunsell, fishmonger, of the Vise; Joan Robert; Burges's wife; John Boyes and his brother; a monk of Burford; Thomas Baker, father to Gunn's wife, of Whateley; Agnes, daughter of John Edmunds; the mother

of John Boyes, of Sudbury; Edward Red, schoolmaster, of Burford; Robert Hickman, of Lechelade. *Henry VIII.*

Elenor Higges, of Burford. This Elenor was charged, that she should burn the sacrament in an oven A. D. 1518 to 1521.

John Through, of the priory of Burford. The mother of Robert Barges's wife.

Roger Dods, of Burford, by his oath was compelled to utter the person here named:—Sir John Drury, vicar of Windrish, in Worcestershire. The Accuser. crime against this sir John Drury was, for that when Roger Dods came first to him to be his servant, he sware him upon a book to keep his counsel in all things; and after that he showed him a certain woman in his house, whom he said to be his wife: counselling moreover the said Roger Dods, upon an Ember day, to sup with bread and cheese; saying, that which goeth into a man's body, defileth not a man's soul; but that which goeth out of the body, defileth both body and soul. Also that the said vicar taught him the A, B, C, to the intent he should have understanding in the Apocalypse, wherein he said, that he should perceive all the falsehood of the world, and all the truth. He said furthermore unto him, when he had been at the Lady of Worcester, at the blood of Hailes, which had cost him eighteen pence, that he had done as an ill husband that had ploughed his land, and sown it, but nothing to the purpose; for he had worshipped man's handy-work, and cast away his money, which had been better given to the poor: for he should worship but one God, and no handy-work of man. Item, When the people would offer candles, where he was vicar, to Mary Magdalen, he would take them away, and say that they were fools that brought them thither.

Also the same Roger Dods by his oath was compelled to utter these other persons here named:—Elizabeth More, of East Hendred; Robert Pope, of West Hendred; and Henry Miller, of Tucke-by-Ware. This Henry did show to Roger Dods a certain story of a woman in the Apocalypse, riding upon a red beast. The said Henry was twice abjured.

John Phip, of Hichenden; for reading unto the said Roger Dods a certain Gospel in English.

William Phip, of Hichenden, and Henry his son. This William had exherted Roger Dods that he should worship no images, nor commit idolatry, but worship one God; and told the same Roger, that it was good for a man to be merry and wise, meaning that he should keep close that was told him; for else strait punishment would follow.

Roger Parker, of Hichenden. This Parker said to John Phip, for burning of his books, that he was foul to blame, for they were worth a hundred marks. To whom John answered, that he had rather burn his books, than that his books should burn him.

The wife of Thomas Widemore, daughter of Roger House, of Hichenden; old Widemore's wife, sister to John Phip, of Hichenden. Also John Ledisdall, of Hungerford, for reading of the Bible in Robert Burges's house at Burford, upon Holyrood day, with Colins, Lyvord, Thomas Hall, and others. For reading the Bible in English

Robert Colins and his wife. Also John Colins and his wife, for buying a Bible of Staey for twenty shillings.

The aforesaid Roger Dods, by his oath, was also compelled to utter these persons here named: The father of Robert Colins, who had been of this doctrine from A.D. 1480. Also Thomas Baker, of Whateley; Robert Livord; John Sympson, of Steventon; Thomas Reiley, of Burford; John Clemson, servant to the prior of Burford; James Edmunds, of Burford; William Gun, of Witney. To these was laid, that they being in the house of John Harris, of Upton, at the marriage of Joan the wife of Robert Burges, did read in a book called Nicodemus's Gospel, who made the cloth which our Lord was buried in (as the register saith), and in that book is the story of the destruction of Jerusalem. For reading the Scriptures in English.

John Baker, weaver, of Witney; the bailiff of Witney; John Hakker; John Brabant and his wife; John Brabant his son, with his wife; John Brabant the younger son, with his wife; Reginald Brabant of Stanlake, for reading in a certain English book of scripture, they being together in John Brabant's house of Stanlake.

Also Henry Phip. The crime and detection against this Henry, was, for that he, being asked of this Dods, A.D. 1515, whether he would go to Wycombe

Henry VIII. A. D. 1518 to 1521.

or not? answered, that he was chosen roodman, that is, keeper of the roodloft, saying, that he must go and find a candle before his 'Block Almighty.'

Oliver Smith, of Newline, and his wife; and William Hobbis. This William Hobbis was detected first by Radulph Hobbis his brother, to bishop Smith but was delivered through the suit of the curate of West Wycombe.

Accuser.

John Edmunds, otherwise called John Ogins, of Burford, did detect Philip Brabant, servant of Richard Colins, for saying that the sacrament of the altar was made in the remembrance of Christ's own body, but it was not the body of Christ.

Against the bodily presence of the sacrament.

The Shepherd's Kalendar was also accused and detected, because the same Edmunds said, that he was persuaded by this book, reading these words, That the sacrament was made in the remembrance of Christ.

The book of William Thorpe likewise was much complained of, both by this John Edmunds and divers others.

Richard Colins, of Ginge. This Richard Colins, as he was a great doer among these good men, so was he much complained upon by divers, and also by this Edmunds, for bringing with him a book called 'The King of Beeme' into their company, and that he did read there of a great part unto them, in this Edmund's house of Burford.

The book called the King of Beeme.

For having the Ten Commandments in English.

Alice Colins, wife of Richard Colins. This Alice likewise was a famous woman among them, and had a good memory, and could recite much of the Scriptures, and other good books; and therefore when any conventicle of these men did meet at Burford, commonly she was sent for, to recite unto them the declaration of the Ten Commandments, and the Epistles of Peter and James.

Joan Colins, daughter of Richard and of Alice Colins. This Joan also, following her father's and mother's steps, was noted, for that she had learned with her father and mother the Ten Commandments, the seven deadly sins, the seven works of mercy, the five wits bodily and ghostly, the eight blessings, and five chapters of St. James's epistle.

The father accuseth his own daughter.

John Edmunds also did detect Agnes Edmunds, his own daughter. This Agnes Edmunds was detected by her father, that he brought her to the house of Richard Colins to service, to the intent she might be instructed there in God's law; where she had learned likewise the Ten Commandments, the five wits bodily and ghostly, and the seven deadly sins.

John Edmunds also did detect Alice Gunn, W. Russel, of Coleman-street; one mother Joan; father Joan, of Hungerford; John Taylor, servant of John Harris, of Burford; Thomas Quicke, weaver, of Reading; Philip Brabant, weaver; John Barbar, clerk, of Amersham; John Eding, of Hungerford; one Brabant, brother to Philip Brabant, of Stanlake.

Accusers.

For saying our Lady is in heaven.

Thomas White, and Thomas Clerke, did impeach Robert Butterfield, and William Dorset. The words of William Dorset were these: That pilgrimage was of none effect; and offering candles or other things to saints, stood in no stead, and was but cost lost. Also when his wife was going on pilgrimage, and he asked, 'Whither?' and she said, 'To our Lady of Willesdon:' 'Our lady,' said he, 'is in heaven.'

Accuser.

The image of God!

John Baker, being urged upon his oath, did disclose John Edmunds. This John Edmunds was detected, because that he, talking with the said Baker, of pilgrimage, bade him go offer his money to the image of God. When the other asked what that was, he said, that the image of God was the poor people, blind and lame; and said, that he offended Almighty God in going on pilgrimage.

Accuser. The father accuseth his own son. Accuser.

William Phip, adjured by his oath, did accuse Henry Phip, his own son, for communing with Roger Dods against pilgrimage and adoration of images.

Henry Phip, being examined and abjured by the bishop, was compelled to disclose his own words spoken to Roger Dods, saying to him, that he must light a candle before his 'Block Almighty,' being then roodman. Also he was compelled to accuse Roger Barker, and William Phip, his own father, for talking together against pilgrimage and idolatry.

Block Almighty.

John Brabant, the elder son of John Brabant, did nominate the following: John Hakker, and Robert Pope, for reading the holy Scripture in his father's house, and for saying these words: 'Christ made his Maundy,[1] and said, Take this bread, eat it; this is my body: Take this wine, drink it; this is my blood: and priests say by these words, that the sacrament of the altar is the body of Christ.' *Henry VIII.* A. D. 1518 to 1521.

John Brabant his father, and his mother, for being present when Hakker was reading the Scripture in their house.

Also Philip Brabant, his uncle. The words of Philip Brabant were these: That it was deadly sin to go on pilgrimage.

Concerning this John Brabant, here is to be noted, the form and effect of the bishop's examination, asking and demanding thus of the said Brabant: Whether he ever heard John Hakker read the holy Scripture, against the determination of the church?[2] By which words, if they mean that it is against the determination of the church to read the holy Scripture, it may thereby appear to be a blind church. And if they mean that the holy Scripture containeth any such thing in it which is against the determination of the church, then it appeareth their church to be contrary unto God, seeing it determineth one thing, and God's Word another.

John Baker did detect Robert Pope, Richard Nobbis, and John Edmunds; for speaking against going on pilgrimage, and against image worship. Accuser.

John a Lee denounced John a Weedon. When this John a Lee had told the said Weedon, how the bishop had said in his sermon these words; That all who were of the sect of heretics, believed that God was in heaven, but they believed not that the body of Christ on the altar was God. To this he, answering again, said, 'Ye be bold upon that word,' deriding the bishop in so saying. Accuser.

Also William Dorset, of King's Langley; for saying that images stood for nothing, and that pilgrimage served to spend folks' money, and nothing else.

Joan Steventon denounced Alice Colins, for teaching the said John Steventon, in Lent, the Ten Commandments, thus beginning, 'I am thy Lord God, which led thee out of the land of Egypt, and brought thee out of the house of thraldom: thou shalt have no alien gods before me; neither make to thee any image graven with man's hands, that is in heaven above, neither in the earth beneath,' &c. Item, For teaching her the first chapter of St. John's Gospel: 'In the beginning was the Word,' &c. Accuser.

Also John Harris, for teaching her the first chapter of Peter.

Sir John,[3] a priest, and also Robert Robinson, detected Master Cotismore, of Brightwell. Also Mistress Cotismore, otherwise called Mistress Dolly, for speaking these words to one John Bainton, her servant: That if she went to her chamber, and prayed there, she should have as much merit as though she went to Walsingham on pilgrimage. Item, When the said Sir John came to her after the death of Master Cotismore his master, requiring her to send one John Stainer, her servant, to our Lady of Walsingham, for Master Cotismore, who in his lifetime, being sick, promised in his own person to visit that place, she would not consent thereto, nor let her servant go. Item, for saying, that when women go to offer to images or saints, they did it to show their new gay gear: that images were but carpenters' chips; and that folks go on pilgrimage more for the green way, than for any devotion. Accusers. Carpenters' chips.

John Hakker did detect Thomas Vincent, of London, to whom it was objected for giving this Hakker a book of St. Matthew in English. Also Mistress Cotismore, otherwise Dolly, and Richard Colins. The latter for receiving of the said Hakker a book of the Ten Commandments in English. Hakker did also detect the following: Goodwife Bristow, of Wood-street, in London; William Gunn, for receiving of Hakker a book of the ten plagues sent of God to Pharaoh; the Accuser.

(1) "His Maundy," or Mandy, perhaps "Dies Mandati;" thus "Maundy Thursday," the day on which Christ commanded the disciples to eat the Passover.—Ed.

(2) An unquam audivit Johannem Hakker legentem sacram Scripturam; contra determinationem Ecclesiæ?—Ex Regist. Joh. Longland, fol. 85.

(3) "Sir John," or 'Sir John Lack Latin,' a term of derision for the lower orders of the popish clergy.—Ed.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1518 to 1521.

wife of Thomas Widmore, of Chichendon; Elizabeth, the daughter of this Hakker, and Robert her husband, otherwise called Fitton of Newbury; William Stokely, of Henley; John Simonds and his wife, of Great Marlow; John Austy, of Henley; Thomas Austy, of Henley; Grinder, of Cookham; and John Heron, for having a book of the exposition of the Gospels fairly written in English.

Accusers.

Thomas Grove, and John of Reading, put to their oath, did detect Richard Grace, for speaking these words following: That our blessed lady was the godmother to St. Katharine; and therefore the legend is not true, in saying that Christ did marry with St. Katharine; and bid Adrian put on his vestment, and say the service of matrimony; for so Christ should live in adultery for marrying with his godsister; which thing if he should do, he should be thought not to do well. Item, For saying by the picture of St. Nicholas being newly painted, that he was not worthy to stand in the rood-loft, but that it better beseemed him, to stand in the belfry, &c.

In this table above prefixed, thou hast, gentle reader! to see and understand; first, the number and names of these good men and women, troubled and molested by the church of Rome, and all in one year; of whom few or none were learned, being simple labourers and artificers; but as it pleased the Lord to work in them knowledge and understanding, by reading a few English books, such as they could get in corners: Secondly, What were their opinions we have also described: And thirdly, Herein is to be noted moreover the blind ignorance and uncourteous dealing of the bishops against them, not only in that they, by their violent oath and captious interrogatories, constrained the children to accuse their parents, and parents the children, the husband the wife, and the wife the husband, &c.; but especially in that most wrongfully they so afflicted them, without all good reason or cause, only for the sincere verity of God's Word, and reading of holy Scriptures.

The reasons and probations of their doctrine.

Now it remaineth, that as you have heard their opinions (which principally in number were four), so also we declare their reasons and Scriptures whereupon they grounded; and after that consequently the order and manner of penance to them enjoined by the bishop. And first, against pilgrimage, and against worshipping of images, they used this text of the Apocalypse, chap. ix.

'I saw horses in a vision, and the heads of them as the heads of lions; smoke, fire, and brimstone came out of their mouths. With these three plagues, the third part of men were slain of the smoke, and of the fire, and of the brimstone, that came out of the mouths of them. They that were not slain of these three plagues, were such as worshipped not devils, and images of gold and silver, of brass, of tree, and of stone.'[1]

Also they used and alleged the first commandment, that there is but one God, and that they ought not to worship more gods than one. And as touching the sacrament, and the right doctrine thereof, they had their instruction partly out of Wickliff's Wicket,[2] partly out of the Shepherd's Kalendar; where they read that the sacrament was made in remembrance of Christ, and ought to be received in remembrance of his body, &c. Moreover they alleged and followed the words of

Wickliff's Wicket. The Shepherd's Kalendar.

(1) Ex Regist. Longland, fol. 72.
(2) "Wickliff's Wicket" was reprinted at the university press at Oxford, in 12mo. 1828. edited by Rev. T. P. Pantin.—Ed.

Christ spoken at the supper, at what time he, sitting with his disciples, and making with them his Maundy, took bread, and blessed, and brake, and gave to his disciples, and said, "Eat ye this," reaching forth his arm, and showing the bread in his hand; and then noting his own natural body, and touching the same, and not the bread consecrated, "This is my body, which shall be betrayed for you; do this in remembrance of me." And he likewise took the wine and bade them drink, saying, "This is my blood which is of the New Testament," &c.[1]

Henry VIII. A. D. 1518 to 1521.

Item, That Christ our Saviour sitteth on the right hand of the Father, and there shall be unto the day of doom. Wherefore they believed that in the sacrament of the altar was not the very body of Christ.

Item, said one of them, "Men speak much of the sacrament of the altar: but this will I abide by, that upon Share Thursday,[2] Christ brake bread unto his disciples, and bade them eat it; saying, it was his flesh and blood. And then he went from them, and suffered passion; and then he rose from death to life, and ascended into heaven, and there sitteth on the right hand of the Father; and there he is to remain unto the day of doom, when he shall judge both quick and dead;" and therefore how he should be here in the form of bread, he said, he could not see.

Such reasons and allegations as these and other such like, taken out of the Scripture, and out of the Shepherd's Kalendar, Wickliff's Wicket, and other books they had amongst them. And although there was no learned man with them to ground them in their doctrine, yet they, conferring and communing together among themselves, did convert one another, the Lord's hand working with them marvellously: so that in short space the number of these 'known' or 'just-fast-men, as they were then termed, did exceedingly increase; in such sort that the bishop, seeing the matter almost past his power, was driven to make his complaint to the king, and required his aid for suppression of these men. Whereupon king Henry, being then young, and inexpert in the bloody practices and blind leadings of these apostolical prelates, incensed with his suggestions and cruel complaints, directed down letters to his sheriffs, bailiffs, officers, and subjects, for the aid of the bishop in this behalf; the tenor of which letters here ensueth:

The bishop complaineth to the king.

The Copy of the King's Letter for the aid of John Longland, Bishop of Lincoln, against the Servants of Christ, falsely then called Heretics.

Henry the Eighth, by the grace of God king of England and of France, lord of Ireland, defender of the faith: to all mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, and constables, and to all other our officers, ministers, and subjects, these our letters hearing or seeing, and to every of them, greeting. Forasmuch as the right reverend father in God, our trusty and right well-beloved counsellor the bishop of Lincoln hath now within his diocese no small number of heretics, as it is thought, to his no little discomfort and heaviness: we therefore, being in will and mind safely to provide for the said right reverend father in God and his officers, that neither they, nor any of them, shall bodily be hurt or damaged by any of the said heretics or their fautors, in the executing and ministering of justice unto the said heretics, according to the laws of holy church: do straitly charge and command you, and every of you, as ye tender our high displeasure, to be aiding, helping, and assisting the said right reverend father in God, and his said officers,

(1) Ex Regist. Joh. Longland. Lincoln, fol. 105. (2) "Share Thursday," Maundy Thursday.—Ed.

Henry VIII. A. D. 1518 to 1521.

in the executing of justice in the premises, as they or any of them shall require you so to do; not failing to accomplish our commandment and pleasure in the premises, as ye intend to please us, and will answer to the contrary at your uttermost perils.

Given under our signet, at our castle of Windsor, the twentieth day of October, the thirteenth year of our reign. 1521.

The bishop, thus being armed no less with the authority of the king's letter, than incited with his own fierceness, foreslacked no time, but eftsoons, to accomplish his moody violence upon the poor flock of Christ, called before him, sitting upon his tribunal-seat, both these afore-named persons, and all other in his diocese, who were ever so little noted or suspected to incline towards those opinions; of whom to such as had but newly been taken, and had not before abjured, he enjoined most strait and rigorous penance. The others in whom he could find any relapse, yea, albeit they submitted themselves ever so humbly to his favourable courtesy; and though also, at his request, and for hope of pardon, they had showed themselves great detecters of their brethren, being moreover of him feed and flattered thereunto; yet notwithstanding, contrary to his fair words, and their expectation, he spared not, but read sentence of relapse against them, committing them to the secular arm to be burnt.

The cruel falsehood of bishop Longland.

And first, as touching those, who being brought to abjuration, were put to their penance; long it were to recite the names of all. Certain I thought to recite here in a catalogue: first reciting the persons; afterwards the rigorous penance to them enjoined.

The Names of those who were abjured in the diocese of Lincoln, A. D. 1521.

William Colins.	Richard Bartlet.	Robert Bruges.
John Colins.	William Phip.	John Stampe.
Joan Colins.	John Phip.	Joan Stampe.
Robert Colins.	Thomas Couper.	Richard White.
John Hacker.	William Littlepage.	Benet Ward.
John Brabant the father.	John Littlepage.	John Baker.
John Brabant his son.	Joan Littlepage.	Agnes Wellis.
John Brabant the younger son.	John Say.	Marian Morden.
	John Frier.	Isabel Morwin.
John Edmonds.	Richard Vulford.	John Butler.
Edward Pope.	Thomas Tredway.	John Butler the younger.
Henry Phip.	William Gudgame.	Richard Carder.
John Steventon.	Roger Heron.	Richard Bernard.
Joan Steventon.	Francis Funge.	Joan Bernard.
Robert Bartlet.	Robert Pope.	John Grace.
Thomas Clerke.	Roger Dods.	John French.
John Clerke.	John Harris.	John Edings.

The Towns, Villages, and Countries where these aforesaid Persons did inhabit, are named chiefly to be these.

Amersham.	Asthall.	Claufield.
Chesham.	Beaconsfield.	Walton.
Hichenden.	Denham.	Marlow.
Missenden the Great.	Ginge.	Dorney.
Missenden the Less.	Betterton.	Iver.
East-hundred.	Charney.	Burton.
West-hundred.	Stanlake.	Uxbridge.

Woburn.	Hungerford.	Shoreditch by London.	*Henry VIII.*
Henley.	Upton.	St. Giles in London.	
Wycombe.	Windsor.	Essex.	A. D.
West-Wycombe.	London.	Suffolk.	1518
Newbury.	Coleman-street in London.	Norfolk.	to
Burford.	Cheapside in London.	Norwich.	1521.
Witney.			

The books and opinions which these were charged withal, and for which they were abjured, partly are before expressed, partly here follow, in a brief summary to be seen.

A brief Summary of their Opinions.

The opinions of many of these persons were, That he or she never believed in the sacrament of the altar, nor ever would; and that it was not as men did take it.[1]

For that he was known of his neighbours to be a good fellow, meaning, that he was a known-man.[2]

For saying, that he would give forty pence on condition that such a one knew as much as he did know.[3]

Some for saying, that they of Amersham, who had been abjured before by bishop Smith, were good men, and perfect Christians, and simple folk who could not answer for themselves, and therefore were oppressed by power of the bishop.[4]

Some, for hiding others in their barns.[5]

Some, for reading the Scriptures, or treatises of scripture, in English: some, for hearing the same read.

Some, for defending, some for marrying with, them that had been abjured.

Some, for saying that matrimony was not a sacrament.[6]

Some, for saying that worshipping of images was mawmetry; some for calling images carpenters' chips; some for calling them stocks and stones; some for calling them dead things.

Some, for saying that money spent upon pilgrimage, served but to maintain thieves and harlots.[7]

Some, for calling the image in the rood-loft, 'Block-almighty.'

Others for saying, that nothing graven with man's hand was to be worshipped.[8]

Some, for calling them fools who came from Master John Shorne in pilgrimage.[9]

Another, for calling his vicar a poll-shorn priest.[10]

Another, for calling a certain blind chapel, being in ruin, an old fair milk-house.[11]

Another, for saying that he threshed God Almighty out of the straw.[12]

Another for saying, that alms should not be given before they did sweat in a man's hand.[13]

Some, for saying, that those who die, pass straight either to heaven or hell.[14]

Isabel Bartlet was brought before the bishop and abjured, for lamenting her husband, when the bishop's man came for him; and saying, that he was an undone man, and she a dead woman.[15]

For saying, that Christ, departing from his disciples into heaven, said that once he was in sinner's hands, and would come there no more.[16]

Robert Rave, hearing a certain bell in an uplandish steeple, said, 'Lo, yonder is a fair bell, an it were to hang about any cow's neck in this town;' and therefore, as for other such-like matters more, he was brought 'coram nobis!'

Item, For receiving the sacrament at Easter, and doubting whether it was the very body of Christ, and not confessing their doubt to their ghostly father.

Some for saying, that the pope had no authority to give pardon, or to release man's soul from sin, and so from pain; and that it was nothing but blinding of the people, and to get their money.

The penance to these parties enjoined by this John Longland, bishop of Lincoln, was almost uniform, and all after one condition; Order of penance.

(1) Ex Regist. fol. 32. (2) Fol. 32. (3) Fol. 33. (4) Fol. 34. (5) Fol. 34.
(6) Fol. 36. (7) Fol. 33. (8) Fol. 37. (9) Fol. 40. (10) Fol. 40. (11) Fol. 40.
(12) Fol. 4. (13) Fol. 34. (14) Fol. 35. (15) Fol. 9. (16) Fol. 45.

Henry VIII. A. D. 1518 to 1521.

save only that they were severally committed and divided into several and divers monasteries, there to be kept and found of alms all their life, except they were otherwise dispensed with by the bishop. As for example, I have here adjoined the bishop's letter for one of the said number, sent to the Abbey of Ensham, there to be kept in perpetual penance; by which one, an estimation may be taken of the rest, who were bestowed likewise sundrily into sundry abbeys, as to Osney, to Frideswide, to Abingdon, to Thame, to Bicester, to Dorchester, to Netley, to Ashridge, and divers more. The copy of the bishop's letter, sent to the abbot of Ensham, here followeth under written.

Copy of the Bishop's Letter to the Abbot of Ensham.

My loving brother, I recommend me heartily unto you: And whereas I have, according to the law, put this bearer R. T. to perpetual penance within your monastery of Ensham, there to live as a penitent, and not otherwise; I pray you, and nevertheless according unto the law command you, to receive him, and see ye order him there according to his injunctions, which he will show you, if ye require the same. As for his lodging, he will bring it with him; and for his meat and drink, he may have such as you give of your alms. And if he can so order himself by his labour within your house in your business, whereby he may deserve his meat and drink; so may you order him as ye see convenient to his deserts, so that he pass not the precinct of your monastery. And thus fare you heartily well: From my place, &c.

As touching the residue of the penance and punishment inflicted on these men, they do little or nothing disagree, but had one order in them all; the manner and form whereof in the said bishop's register doth proceed in condition as followeth:

Penance enjoined under pain of relapse, by John Longland, Bishop of Lincoln, the 19th day of December, A.D. 1521.[1]

In primis, That every one of them shall, upon a market-day, such as shall be limited unto them, in the market-time, go thrice about the market at Burford, and then to stand up upon the highest greece[2] of the cross there, a quarter of an hour, with a faggot of wood every one of them upon his shoulder, and every one of them once to bear a faggot of wood upon their shoulders, before their procession upon a Sunday, which shall be limited unto them at Burford, from the choir-door going out, to the choir-door going in; and all the high mass time, to hold the same faggot upon their shoulders, kneeling upon the greece afore the high altar there; and every of them to do likewise in their own parish church, upon such a Sunday as shall be limited unto them: and once to bear a faggot at a general procession at Uxbridge, when they shall be assigned thereto; and once to bear a faggot at the burning of a heretic, when they shall be admonished thereto.

Also every one of them to fast, bread and ale only, every Friday during their life; and every Even of Corpus Christi, every one of them to fast bread and water during their life, unless sickness unfeigned let the same.

Also, to be said by them every Sunday, and every Friday, during their life, once our lady-psalter; and if they forget it one day, to say as much another day for the same.

Also neither they, nor any of them, shall hide their mark upon their cheek, neither with hat, cap, hood, kerchief, napkin, or none otherwise; nor shall suffer their beards to grow past fourteen days; nor ever haunt again together with any suspected person or persons, unless it be in the open market, fair, church, or common inn or alehouse, where other people may see their conversation.

(1) Ex Registro, fol. 90. (2) "Greece," a step.—Ed.

And all these injunctions they and every of them to fulfil with their penance, and every part of the same, under pain of relapse. *Henry VIII.*

A.D. 1518 to 1521.

And thus have you the names, with the causes and the penance of those who were at this present time abjured. By this word 'abjured' is meant, that they were constrained by their oath, swearing upon the evangelists, and subscribing with their hand, and a cross to the same, that they did utterly and voluntarily renounce, detest, and forsake, and never should hold hereafter these or any other like opinions, contrary to the determination of the holy mother church of Rome: And further, that they should detect unto their ordinary, whomsoever they should see or suspect hereafter to teach, hold, or maintain the same. 'Abjured, what it signifieth.

THE NAMES OF THEM THAT WERE CONDEMNED FOR RELAPSE, AND COMMITTED UNTO THE SECULAR POWER.

Among these aforenamed persons who thus submitted themselves, and were put to penance, certain there were, who, because they had been abjured before,[1] as is above-mentioned, under bishop Smith, were now condemned for relapse, and had sentence read against them, and so were committed to the secular arm to be burned: whose names here follow: Thomas Bernard, James Morden, Robert Rave, and John Scrivener, martyrs. A.D.1521.

Of these mention is made before, both touching their abjuration, and also their martyrdom; unto whom we may adjoin, Joan Norman, and Thomas Holmes.

This Thomas Holmes, albeit he had disclosed and detected many of his brethren, as in the table above is expressed; thinking thereby to please the bishop, and to save himself, and was thought to be a feed man of the bishop for the same: yet, notwithstanding, in the said bishop's register appeareth the sentence of relapse and condemnation, written and drawn out against him; and most likely he was also adjudged and executed with the others.

As touching the burning of John Scrivener, here is to be noted, that his children were compelled to set fire unto their father; in like manner as Joan Clerke also, daughter of William Tylsworth, was constrained to give fire to the burning of her own natural father, as is above specified.[2] Children compelled to set fire to their own father.

The example of which cruelty, as it is contrary both to God and nature, so it hath not been seen or heard of in the memory of the heathen.

Where moreover is to be noted, that at the burning of this John Scrivener, one Thomas Dorman,[3] mentioned before, was present, and bare a faggot, at Amersham; whose abjuration was afterwards laid against him, at what time he should depose for recovery of certain lands from the school of Berkhamstead. This Thomas Dorman[4] (as I am credibly informed of certain about Amersham) was then uncle

(1) See vol. iv. page 205.—Ed.
(2) Ibid. page 123.—Ed.
(3) "Thomas Dorman." See vol. iv. p. 123, where he is called "Yomand Dorman:" he was probably Thomas Dorman, yeoman.—Ed.
(4) This Master Dorman, because he was put to school by his uncle at Berkhamstead to Master Reeve, being a protestant, therefore he, for the same cause, in the first sentence of his preface saith, that he was brought up in Calvin's school.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1518 to 1521.

to this our Dorman, and found him to school at Berkhamstead, under Master Reeve; who now so uncharitably abuseth his pen in writing against the contrary doctrine, and raileth so fiercely against the blood of Christ's slain servants, miscalling them to be a dunghill of stinking martyrs.

Well, howsoever the savour of these good martyrs do scent in the nose of Master Dorman, I doubt not but they give a better odour and sweeter smell in the presence of the Lord: "Pretiosa enim in conspectu Domini mors sanctorum ejus;" "Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints." And therefore, howsoever it shall please Master Dorman with reproachful language to misterm the good martyrs of Christ, or rather Christ in his martyrs; his unseemly usage (more cart-like than clerk-like) is not greatly to be weighed. For, as the danger of his blasphemy hurteth not them that are gone, so the contumely and reproach thereof as well comprehendeth his own kindred, friends, and country, as any others else; and especially redoundeth to himself, and woundeth his own soul, and none else, unto the great provoking of God's wrath against him, unless he be blessed with better grace, by time to repent.

Doctor John Colet, Dean of St. Paul's.

Much about this time, or not past two years before, died Dr. John Colet, of whom mention was made in the table above; to whose sermons these 'known-men,' about Buckinghamshire, had a great mind to resort. After he came from Italy and Paris, he first began to read the epistles of St. Paul openly in Oxford, instead of Scotus and Aquinas. From thence he was called by the king, and made dean of Paul's; where he accustomed much to preach, not without a great auditory, as well of the king's court, as of the citizens and others. His diet was frugal, his life upright; in discipline he was severe, insomuch that his canons, because of their straiter rule, complained that they were made like monks. The honest and honourable state of matrimony he ever preferred before the unchaste singleness of priests. At his dinner commonly was read either some chapter of St. Paul, or of Solomon's Proverbs. He never used to sup. Although the blindness of that time carried him away after the common error of popery, yet in ripeness of judgment he seemed something to incline from the vulgar trade of that age. The religious order of monks and friars he fantasied not; as neither he could greatly favour the barbarous divinity of the school-doctors, as of Scotus, but least of all of Thomas Aquinas: insomuch that when Erasmus, speaking in the praise of Thomas Aquinas, did commend him, that he had read many old authors, and had written many new works, as 'Catena Aurea,' and such like, to prove and to know his judgment: Colet, first supposing that Erasmus had spoken in jest, but after supposing that he meant good faith, bursteth out in great vehemency, saying, "What tell you me," quoth he, "of the commendation of that man, who, except he had been of an arrogant and presumptuous spirit, would not define and discuss all things so boldly and rashly; and also, except he had been rather worldly-minded than heavenly, would never have so polluted Christ's whole

Paul's epistles first read openly in Oxford.

Commendation of Dr. Colet.

His judgment of Thomas Aquinas.

doctrine with man's profane doctrine, in such sort as he hath done?" *Henry VIII.*

A.D. 1518 *to* 1521.

The bishop of London at that time was Fitzjames, of age no less than fourscore; who (bearing long grudge and displeasure against Colet), with other two bishops taking his part, like to himself, entered action of complaint against Colet to the archbishop of Canterbury, being then William Warham. The matter of his complaint was divided into three articles: the first was for speaking against worshipping of images. The second was about hospitality, for that he, treating upon the place of the gospel, "Pasce, pasce, pasce," "Feed, feed, feed:" when he had expounded the two first, for feeding with example of life, and with doctrine; in the third, which the schoolmen do expound for feeding with hospitality, he left out the outward feeding of the belly, and applied it another way. The third crime wherewith they charged him, was for speaking against such as used to preach only by bosom sermons, declaring nothing else to the people, but what they bring in their papers with them; which, because the bishop of London used then much to do for his age, he took it as spoken against him, and therefore bare him this displeasure. The archbishop, more wisely weighing the matter, and being well acquainted with Colet, so took his part against his accusers, that he at that time was rid out of trouble.

He is accused.

The bishop of London, an enemy to him.

The archbishop, a favourer of Dr. Colet.

William Tyndale, in his book answering Master More, addeth moreover, and testifieth, that the bishop of London would have made the said Colet, dean of Paul's, a heretic, for translating the 'Pater Noster' into English, had not the bishop of Canterbury holpen the dean.

But yet the malice of Fitzjames the bishop so ceased not; who, being thus repulsed by the archbishop, practised by another train how to accuse him unto the king. The occasion thus fell. It happened the same time, that the king was in preparation of war against France; whereupon the bishop with his coadjutors, taking occasion upon certain words of Colet, wherein he seemed to prefer peace before any kind of war, were it never so just;[1] accused him therefore in their sermons, and also before the king.

Furthermore it so befell at the same time, that upon Good Friday Dr. Colet, preaching before the king, treated of the victory of Christ, exhorting all Christians to fight under the standard of Christ, against the devil; adding moreover, what a hard thing it was to fight under Christ's banner, and that all they that upon private hatred or ambition took weapon against their enemy (one Christian to slay another), did not fight under the banner of Christ, but rather of Satan: and therefore concluding his matter, he exhorted that christian men, in their wars, would follow Christ their prince and captain, in fighting against their enemies, rather than the examples of Julius or Alexander, &c. The king, hearing Colet thus speak, and fearing lest by his words the hearts of his soldiers might be withdrawn from his wars which he had then in hand, took him aside and talked with him in secret conference, walking in his garden. Bishop Fitzjames, Bricot, and Standish, who were his enemies, thought now none other, but that Colet must needs be committed to the Tower; and waited for

Dr. Colet called before the king.

(1) 'Iniqua pax justissimo bello præferenda.'

Henry VIII. A. D. 1518 to 1521.

his coming out. But the king, with great gentleness entertaining Dr. Colet, and bidding him familiarly to put on his cap, in long courteous talk had with him in the garden, much commended him for his learning and integrity of life; agreeing with him in all points, but that only he required him (for that the rude soldiers should not rashly mistake that which he had said) more plainly to explain his words and mind in that behalf; which after he did. And so, after long communication and great promises, the king dismissed Colet with these words, saying: "Let every man have his doctor as him liketh, this shall be my doctor;" and so he departed. Hereby none of his adversaries durst ever trouble him after that time.

Commendeth of him.

The foundation of St. Paul's School.

Among many other memorable acts left behind him, he erected the worthy foundation of the school of Paul's (I pray God the fruits of the school may answer the foundation), for the cherishing up of youth in good letters, providing a sufficient stipend as well for the master, as for the usher; whom he willed rather to be appointed out of the number of married men, than of single priests with their suspected chastity. The first moderator of this school, was William Lily, a man no less notable for his learning, than was Colet for his foundation.[1] This Colet died the year of our Lord 1519.

The judgment of Grocine upon Hierarchia Ecclesiastica.

Not long before the death of this Colet and Lily, lived William Grocine and William Latimer, both Englishmen also, and famously learned. This Grocine, as he began to read in his open lecture, in the church of St. Paul, the book of Dionysius Areopagita, commonly called Hierarchia Ecclesiastica (for the reading of the holy Scriptures in Paul's was not in use), in the first entry of his preface cried out with great vehemency against them, whosoever they were, who either denied or stood in doubt of the authority of that book: in the number of whom he noted Laurence Valla, and divers others of the like approved judgment and learning. But afterwards the same Grocine, when he had continued a few weeks in his reading thereof, and did consider further in him, he utterly altered and recanted his former sentence, protesting openly, that the aforenamed book, in his judgment, was never written by that author whom we read in the Acts of the Apostles to be called Dionysius Areopagita.[2]

The tractation of these two couples above rehearsed, doth occasion me to adjoin also the remembrance of another couple of like learned men: the names of whom, not unworthy to be remembered, were Thomas Linacre, and Richard Pace; which two followed much upon the time of Colet and William Lily. But of Richard Pace, who was dean next after the aforesaid John Colet, more convenient place shall serve us hereafter to speak, coming to the story of cardinal Wolsey.

Thomas Linacre, and Richard Pace.

Geoffrey Chaucer, and John Gower.

Moreover, to these two I thought it not out of season, to couple also some mention of Geoffrey Chaucer and John Gower; who, although being much discrepant from these in course of years, yet may seem not unworthy to be matched with these aforenamed persons, in commendation of their study and learning. Albeit concerning the full certainty of the time and death of these two, we cannot find; yet it appeareth in the prologue of Gower's work, entitled 'Confessio Amantis,' that he finished it in the sixteenth year of king Richard II. And in the end of the eighth book of his said treatise, he declareth

(1) Ex Epist. Erasm. ad Jodoc. Jonam. (2) Ex Erasm. ad Parisienses.

that he was both sick and old when he wrote it; whereby it may appear that he lived not long after. Notwithstanding, by certain verses of the said Master Gower, placed in the latter end of Chaucer's works both in Latin and English, it may seem that he was alive at the beginning of the reign of king Henry IV., and also by a book which he wrote to the same king Henry. By his sepulture within the chapel of the church of St. Mary Overy's, which was then a monastery, where he and his wife lie buried, it appeareth by his chain and his garland of laurel, that he was both a knight, and flourishing then in poetry; in which place of his sepulture were made in his grave-stone three books: the first bearing the title, 'Speculum meditantis;' the second, 'Vox clamantis;' the third, 'Confessio amantis.' Besides these, divers chronicles and other works more he compiled.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1518 to 1521.

Books of John Gower.

Likewise, as touching the time of Chaucer, by his own words in the end of his first book of Troilus and Cressida, it is manifest that he and Gower were both of one time, although it seemeth that Gower was a great deal his ancient; both notably learned, as the barbarous rudeness of that time did give; both great friends together, and both in like kind of study together occupied; so endeavouring themselves, and employing their time, that they, excelling many others in study and exercise of good letters, did pass forth their lives here right worshipfully and godly, to the worthy fame and commendation of their name. Chaucer's works be all printed in one volume, and therefore known to all men.

Chaucer and Gower commended for their studious exercise.

This I marvel to see the idle life of the priests and clergymen of that time, seeing these lay-persons showed themselves in these kinds of liberal studies so industrious and fruitfully occupied. But much more I marvel to consider this, how that the bishops, condemning and abolishing all manner of English books and treatises which might bring the people to any light of knowledge, did yet authorise the works of Chaucer to remain still and to be occupied; who, no doubt, saw into religion as much almost as even we do now, and uttereth in his works no less, and seemeth to be a right Wicklevian, or else there was never any. And that, all his works almost, if they be thoroughly advised, will testify (albeit it be done in mirth, and covertly); and especially the latter end of his third book of the Testament of Love, for there purely he toucheth the highest matter, that is, the communion. Wherein, except a man be altogether blind, he may espy him at the full: although in the same book (as in all others he useth to do), under shadows covertly, as under a visor, he suborneth truth in such sort, as both privily she may profit the godly minded, and yet not be espied of the crafty adversary. And therefore the bishops, belike, taking his works but for jests and toys, in condemning other books, yet permitted his books to be read.

Chaucer a right Wicklevian.

His books.

So it pleased God then to blind the eyes of them, for the more commodity of his people, to the intent that through the reading of these treatises, some fruit might redound thereof to his church; as no doubt it did to many. As also I am partly informed, of certain who knew the parties, who to them reported, that by reading of Chaucer's works, they were brought to the true knowledge of religion. And not unlike to be true: for, to omit other parts of his volume, whereof some are more fabulous than others, what tale can be more plainly told than

Men brought to truth by reading Chaucer's works.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1518 to 1521.

the Tale of the Ploughman? or what finger can point out more directly the pope with his prelates to be Antichrist, than doth the poor pelican reasoning against the greedy griffon? Under which hypotyposis, or poesy, who is so blind that seeth not by the pelican, the doctrine of Christ and of the Lollards to be defended against the church of Rome? or who is so impudent that can deny that to be true which the pelican there affirmeth, in describing the presumptuous pride of that pretensed church? Again, what egg can be more like, or fig, unto another, than the words, properties, and conditions of that ravening griffon resembleth the true image, that is, the nature and qualities of that which we call the church of Rome, in every point and degree? And therefore no great marvel if that narration was exempted out of the copies of Chaucer's works; which notwithstanding now is restored again, and is extant for every man to read who is disposed. This Geoffrey Chaucer, being born, as is thought, in Oxfordshire, and dwelling in Woodstock, lieth buried in the church of the minster of St. Peter at Westminster, in an aisle on the south side of the said church, not far from the door leading to the cloister; and upon his grave-stone first were written these two old verses:

The Ploughman's Tale, in Chaucer.

"Galfridus Chaucer Vates, et fama Poësis
Maternæ, hac sacra sum tumulatus humo."

Afterwards, about A. D. 1556, one Master Brickham, bestowing more cost upon his tomb, did add thereunto these verses following:

"Qui fuit Anglorum Vates ter maximus olim,
Galfridus Chaucer conditur hoc tumulo.
Annum si quæras Domini, si tempora mortis,
Ecce notæ subsunt, quæ tibi cuncta notent.
25 Octob. Anno 1400."

HERE BEGINNETH THE REFORMATION OF THE CHURCH OF CHRIST, IN THE TIME OF MARTIN LUTHER.

The corruption of the church described.

Although it cannot be sufficiently expressed with tongue or pen of man, into what miserable ruin and desolation the church of Christ was brought in those latter days; yet partly by the reading of these stories afore past, some intelligence may be given to those who have judgment to mark, or eyes to see, in what blindness and darkness the world was drowned, during the space of these four hundred years heretofore and more. By the viewing and considering of which times and histories, thou mayest understand, gentle reader, how the religion of Christ, which only consisteth in spirit and verity, was wholly turned into outward observations, ceremonies, and idolatry. So many saints we had, so many gods; so many monasteries, so many pilgrimages; as many churches, as many relics forged and feigned we had: again, so many relics, so many lying miracles we believed. Instead of the only living Lord, we worshipped dead stocks and stones: in place of Christ immortal, we adored mortal bread: instead of his blood, we worshipped the blood of ducks. How the people were led, so that the priests were fed, no care was taken. Instead of God's Word, man's word was set up: instead of Christ's Testament, the pope's testament, that is, the canon

law: instead of Paul, the Master of Sentences took place, and almost full possession. The law of God was little read, the use and end thereof was less known; and as the end of the law was unknown, so the difference between the gospel and the law was not understood, the benefit of Christ not considered, the effect of faith not expended: through the ignorance whereof it cannot be told what infinite errors, sects, and religions crept into the church, overwhelming the world as with a flood of ignorance and seduction. And no marvel: for where the foundation is not well laid, what building can stand and prosper? The foundation of all our Christianity is only this: The promise of God in the blood of Christ his Son, giving and promising life to all that believe in him:[1] giving (saith the Scripture) unto us, and not bargaining or indenting with us: and that freely (saith the Scripture) for Christ's sake; and not conditionally for our merit's sake.[2]

Henry VIII. A.D. 1518 to 1521.

Foundation of christian religion.

Furthermore, freely (saith the Scripture) by grace,[3] that the promise might be firm and sure; and not by the works that we do, which are always doubtful. By grace (saith the Scripture), through promise to all and upon all that believe;[4] and not by the law, upon them that do deserve. For if it come by deserving, then it is not of grace: if it be not of grace, then it is not of promise,[5] and contrariwise, if it be of grace and promise, then is it not of works, saith St. Paul. Upon this foundation of God's free promise and grace first builded the patriarchs, kings, and prophets: upon this same foundation also Christ the Lord builded his church: upon which foundation the apostles likewise builded the church apostolical or catholical.

This apostolical and catholic foundation so long as the church did retain, so long it continued sincere and sound: which endured a long season after the apostles' time. But after, in process of years, through wealth and negligence crept into the church, as soon as this foundation began to be lost, came in new builders, who would build upon a new foundation a new church more glorious, which we call now the church of Rome; who, not being contented with the old foundation, and the Head-corner-stone, which the Lord by his word had laid, in place thereof laid the groundwork upon the condition and strength of the law and works. Although it is not to be denied, but that the doctrine of God's holy law, and of good works according to the same, is a thing most necessary to be learned, and followed of all men; yet it is not that foundation whereupon our salvation consisteth: neither is that foundation able to bear up the weight of the kingdom of heaven, but is rather the thing which is builded upon the foundation; which foundation is Jesus Christ, according as we are taught of St. Paul, saying; "No man can lay any other foundation beside that which is laid, Christ Jesus," &c.

Doctrine of the church corrupted.

But this ancient foundation, with the old ancient church of Christ, as I said, hath been now of long time forsaken; and instead thereof, a new church with a new foundation hath been erected and framed, not upon God's promise, and his free grace in Christ Jesus, nor upon free justification by faith, but upon merits and deserts of men's working. And hereof have they planted all these their new devices, so infinite, that they cannot well be numbered; as masses-trecenaries,

(1) Rom. iii. 22. (2) Rom. iv. 5. (3) Rom. iv. 6 (4) Rom. iii. 22. (5) Rom. xi. 6.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1518 to 1521.

dirges, obsequies, matins, and hours-singing-service, vigils, midnight-rising, bare-foot-going, fish-tasting, Lent-fast, ember-fast, stations, rogations, jubilees, advocation of saints, praying to images, pilgrimage-walking, works of supererogation, application of merits, orders, rules, sects of religion, vows of chastity, wilful poverty, pardons, relations, indulgencies, penance, satisfaction, auricular confession, founding of abbeys, building of chapels, giving to churches: and who is able to recite all their laborious buildings, falsely framed upon a wrong ground; and all for ignorance of the true foundation, which is the free justification by faith in Christ Jesus the Son of God.

Life and manners of the church corrupted.

Moreover note, that as this new-found church of Rome was thus deformed in doctrine, so no less was it corrupted in order of life and deep hypocrisy, doing all things only under pretences and dissembled titles. So, under the pretence of Peter's chair, they exercised a majesty above emperors and kings. Under the visor of their vowed chastity, reigned adultery; under the cloke of professed poverty, they possessed the goods of the temporalty; under the title of being dead to the world, they not only reigned in the world, but also ruled the world; under the colour of the keys of heaven to hang under their girdle, they brought all the states of the world under their girdle, and crept not only into the purses of men, but also into their consciences. They heard their confessions; they knew their secrets; they dispensed as they were disposed, and loosed what them listed. And finally, when they had brought the whole world under their subjections, yet neither did their pride cease to ascend, nor could their avarice be ever satisfied.[1] And if the example of cardinal Wolsey and other cardinals and popes cannot satisfy thee, I beseech thee, gentle reader! turn over the aforesaid book of 'the Ploughman's Tale' in Chaucer, above-mentioned, where thou shalt understand much more of their demeanour than I have here described.

The reformation of the church necessary.

In these so blind and miserable corrupt days of darkness and ignorance, thou seest, good reader! I doubt not, how necessary it was, and high time, that reformation of the church should come, which now most happily and graciously began to work, through the merciful and no less needful providence of Almighty God; who, although he suffered his church to wander and start aside, through the seduction of pride and prosperity a long time, yet at length it pleased his goodness to respect his people, and to reduce his church into the pristine foundation and frame again, from whence it was piteously before decayed. Hereof I have now consequently to entreat; intending by the grace of Christ to declare how, and by what means this reformation of the church first began, and how it proceeded, increasing by little and little unto this perfection which now we see, and more I trust shall see.

Printing the fountain of reformation.

And herein we have first to behold the admirable work of God's wisdom. For as the first decay and ruin of the church before began of rude ignorance, and lack of knowledge in teachers; so, to restore the church again by doctrine and learning, it pleased God to open to man the art of printing, the time whereof was shortly after the burning of Huss and Jerome. Printing being opened, incontinently ministered unto the church the instruments and tools of learning and

(1) 'Habentes speciem pietatis, sed vim ejus abnegantes.' 2 Tim. iii.

knowledge; which were good books and authors before lay hid and unknown. The science of printing being found, immediately followed the grace of God; which stirred up good wits aptly to conceive the light of knowledge and judgment: by which light darkness began to be espied, and ignorance to be detected; truth from error, religion from superstition, to be discerned, as is above more largely discoursed, where was touched the inventing of printing.[1] *Henry VIII.* A. D. 1518 to 1521.

Furthermore, after these wits stirred up of God, followed others besides, increasing daily more and more in science, in tongues, and perfection of knowledge; who now were able not only to discern in matters of judgment, but also were so armed and furnished with the help of good letters, that they did encounter also with the adversary, sustaining the cause and defence of learning against barbarity; of verity against error; of true religion against superstition. In number of whom, amongst many other here unnamed, were Picus, and Franciscus Mirandula, Laurentius Valla, Franciscus Petrarcha, Doctor de Wesalia, Revelinus, Grocinus, Doctor Colet, Rhenamus, Erasmus, &c. And here began the first push and assault to be given against the ignorant and barbarous faction of the pope's pretensed church; who, after that by their learned writings and laborious travail, they had opened a window of light unto the world, and had made, as it were, a way more ready for others to come after: immediately, according to God's gracious appointment, followed Martin Luther, with others after him; by whose ministry it pleased the Lord to work a more full reformation of his church, as by their acts and proceedings hereafter shall follow (Christ willing) more amply to be declared. The first beginning of reformation.

[2]And now coming to the time and story of Martin Luther, whom the Lord did ordain and appoint, *through his great mercy,* to be the principal organ and minister under him, to reform* and re-edify the desolate ruins of* religion; to subvert the see of the pope;* to abolish the abuses and pride of Antichrist, which so long had abused and deceived the simple flock of Christ's church;* first, before we enter into the tractation hereof, it shall not be impertinent to the purpose, to infer such prophecies and forewarnings as were sent before of God, by divers and sundry good men, long before the time of Luther, who foretold and prophesied of this reformation of the church to come.

PROPHECIES, GOING BEFORE MARTIN LUTHER, TOUCHING THE REFORMATION OF THE CHURCH.

And first to begin with the prophecy of John Huss and Jerome, it is both notable, and also before-mentioned, what the said John Huss, at the time of his burning, prophesied unto his enemies, saying: That after 'a hundred years come and gone, they should give account to God and to him.' Here is to be noted, that counting from the year 1415 (in which year John Huss was burned), or from the year 1416, (when Jerome did suffer), unto the year 1516 (when Martin Luther began first to write), we shall find the number of a hundred years expired. Prophecy of John Huss.

Likewise to this may be adjoined the prophetical vision or dream, which chanced to the said John Huss, lying in the dungeon of the Another prophecy.

(1) See Vol. iii. p 718.—Ed. (2) Collated with the edition of 1563, p. 400.—Ed

Henry VIII. A. D. 1518 to 1521.

Friars in Constance, a little before he was burned. His dream, as he himself reporteth in his epistles writing to Master John de Clum, and as I have also before recorded the same,[1] so do I now repeat the same again, in like effect of words hereunder written, as he wrote it himself in Latin,[2] the effect of which Latin is this:

'I pray you expound to me the dream which I had this night. I saw that in my church at Bethlehem (whereof I was parson) they desired and laboured to abolish all the images of Christ, and did abolish them. I, the next day following, rose up, and saw many other painters, who painted both the same, and many more images, and more fair, which I was glad to behold. Whereupon the painters, with the great multitude of people, said: Now let the bishops and priests come, and put out these images if they can. At which thing done, much people rejoiced in Bethlehem, and I with them. And rising up, I felt myself to laugh.'

This dream Master John of Clum first expounded. Then he, in the next epistle after, expounded it himself to this effect:[3]

'The commandment of God standing, that we must observe no dreams, yet, notwithstanding, I trust that the life of Christ was painted in Bethlehem by me, through his word, in the hearts of men; which preaching they went about in Bethlehem to destroy, first, in commanding that no preaching should be, neither in the church of Bethlehem, nor in the chapels thereby: secondly, that the church of Bethlehem should be thrown down to the ground. The same life of Christ shall be painted up again by more preachers much better than I, and after a much better sort, so that a great number of people shall rejoice thereat; all such as love the life of Christ: and also I shall rejoice myself, at what time I shall awake, that is, when I shall rise again from the dead.'

Another prophecy of John Huss.

Also in his forty-eighth epistle he seemeth to have a like prophetical meaning, where he saith; that he trusted that those things, which he spake then within the house, should afterwards be preached above on the house top, &c.

And because we are here in hand with the prophecies of John Huss, it is not to be omitted what he writeth in a certain treatise, "De Sacerdotum et Monachorum carnalium abominatione," thus prophesying of the reformation of the church.

Another.

'The church cannot be reduced to its former dignity, and reformed, before all things first be made new (the truth whereof appeareth by the temple of Soloman); as well the clergy and priests, as also the people and laity. Or else, except all such as now be addicted to avarice, from the least to the most, be first converted and renewed, as well the people as the clerks and priests, things cannot be reformed. Albeit, as my mind now giveth me, I believe rather the first, that is, that then shall rise a new people, formed after the new man, which is created after God: Of which people, new clerks and priests shall come forth and be taken, who all shall hate covetousness and glory of this life, labouring to a heavenly conversation. Notwithstanding, all these things shall be done and wrought in continuance and order of time, dispensed of God for the same purpose. And this God doth, and will do of his own goodness and mercy, and for the riches of his patience and sufferance, giving time and space of repentance

(1) See vol. iii. p. 508.—Ed.
(2) "Somnium hujus noctis exponatis. Videham quod in Bethlehem volebant delere omnes imagines Christi, et delebant. Ego surrexi sequenti die, et vidi multos pictores, qui pulchriores imagines et plures fecerant, quas lœte aspexi, et pictores cum multo populo dicebant, veniant episcopi et sacerdotes et deleant nobis? Quo facto multi gaudebant in Bethlehem, etego cum eis, et excitatus sensi me ridere." From the first edition, page 400, quoted from the 45th epistle of John Huss.—Ed.
(3) 'Stante mandato Dei,' &c.

to them that have long lain in their sins, to amend and flee from the face of the Lord's fury, until at length all shall suffer together, and until both the carnal people, and priests, and clerks, in process and order of time, shall fall away and be consumed, as is the cloth consumed and eaten by the moth,' &c.[1] *Henry VIII.* A.D. 1518 to 1521.

With this prophecy of John Huss above-mentioned, speaking of the hundred years, accordeth also the testimony of Jerome, his fellow-martyr, in these words: "And I cite you all to answer before the most high and just Judge, after a hundred years." Prophecy of Jerome.

This Jerome was burnt A. D. 1416;[2] and Luther began to write, A. D. 1516, which was just a hundred years, according to the right account of Jerome's prophecy.

Philip Melancthon, in his Apology,[3] testifieth of one John Hilton, a monk in Thuringia, who, for speaking against certain abuses of the place and order where he lived, was cast into prison. At length, being weak and feeble through imprisonment, he sent for the warden of the covent, desiring and beseeching him to have some respect of his woful state and pitiful case. The warden rebuking and accusing him for what he had done and spoken; he answered again and said, That he had spoken nothing which might be prejudicial or hurtful to their monkery, or against their religion: but there should come one (and assigned the year 1516), who should utterly subvert all monkery, and they should never be able to resist him, &c.[4] Another prophecy by John Hilton, monk of Thuringia.

Long it were to induce here all prophecies that be read in histories: certain I mind briefly to touch and pass over. And first to omit the revelations of Briget[5] (whereunto I do not much attribute), who, prophesying of the destruction of Rome, saith:

'Rome shall be scoured and purged with three things—with sword, fire, and the plough. Resembling, moreover, the said church of Rome to a plant removed out of the old place into a new: also to a body condemned by a judge to have the skin flayed off; the blood to be drawn from the flesh; the flesh to be cut out in pieces; and the bones thereof to be broken; and all the marrow to be squeezed out from the same; so that no part thereof remain whole and perfect,' &c. Briget prophesieth of reformation.

But to these speculations of Briget I give no great respect, as neither do I to the predictions of Katharine de Senis.

And yet notwithstanding, Antoninus,[6] writing of the same Katharine in his third part, reciteth her words thus (prophesying of the reformation of the church) to friar Reymund her ghostly father:

'By these tribulations (saith she) God after a secret manner unknown to man, shall purge his holy church; and after those things, shall follow such a reformation of the holy church of God, and such a renovation of the holy pastors, that only the cogitation and remembrance thereof, maketh my spirit to rejoice in the Lord. And, as I have oftentimes told you heretofore, the spouse, which is now all deformed and ragged, shall be adorned and decked with most rich and precious ouches[7] and brooches; and all the faithful shall be glad and rejoice to see themselves so beautified with so holy pastors. Yea, and also the infidels, then allured by the sweet savour of Christ, shall return to the catholic fold, and be converted to the true bishop and shepherd of their souls. Give thanks therefore to God; for after this storm he will give a great calm,' &c. Katharina Senensis prophesying of reformation.

(1) John Huss de Sacerd. et monachorum carnalium abominatione, cap. 73; [or rather, Historia et Monumenta Jo. Huss et Hierom. Pragensis; Norimb. 1715.—Ed.]
(2) See vol. iii. p. 525.—Ed.
(3) Cap. de Votis Monast.
(4) Ex Phil. Melanc. in Apologia, cap. de Monast.
(5) Ex Revel. Briget. l. 4. cap. 17.
(6) Antoninus, part 3. Hist. titul. 23. cap. 14.
(7) "Ouch," a collar of gold formerly worn by women.—Ed.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1518 to 1521.

Of the authority of this prophetess I have not to affirm or adjudge, but rather to hear what the catholic judges will say of this their own saint and prophet. For if they do not credit her spirit of prophecy, why then do they authorize her for a pure saint among the sisters of dear St. Dominic? If they warrant her prophecy, let them say then, When was this glorious reformation of the church ever true or like to be true, if it be not true now, in this marvellous alteration of the church in these our latter days? or when was there any such conversion of christian people in all countries ever heard of, since the apostles' time, as hath been since the preaching of Martin Luther?

Prophecy of Hierome Savonarola.

Of Hieronimus Savonarola I wrote before, showing that he prophesied, that one like to Cyrus should pass over the Alps, who should subvert and destroy all Italy: which may well be applied to God's word, and the gospel of Christ, spreading now abroad since Luther's time.

Theodoric, bishop of Croatia, lived near about the time when Huss and Jerome were martyred; who, in the end of his prophetical verses, which are extant in print, declareth,

Prophecy of Theodoric.

'That the see of Rome, which is so horribly polluted with simony and avarice, shall fall, and no more oppress men with tyranny, as it hath done, and that it shall be subverted by its own subjects; and that the church and true piety shall flourish more again, than ever it did before.'

Prophecy of Dr. Weselus.

Noviomagus testifieth, that he, A.D. 1520, heard Ostendorpius, a canon of Daventer, say, that when he was a young man, doctor Weselus, a Friesian, who was then an old man, told him, that he should live to see this new school divinity of Scotus, Aquinas, and Bonaventure, to be utterly forsaken and exploded of all true Christians.

Prophecy of the pope's head.

In a book of Charles Boville, mention is made of a certain vision which one Nicholas, a hermit of Helvetia, had; in which vision he saw the pope's head crowned with three swords proceeding from his face, and three swords coming toward it. This vision is also printed in the books of Martin Luther, with his preface before it.

Nicholas Medler, being of late superintendent of Brunswick, affirmed and testified,

That he heard and knew a certain priest in his country, that told the priests there, that they laid aside Paul under their desks and pews; but the time would come, when Paul should come abroad, and drive them under the desks and dark stalls, where they should not appear,' &c.

Matthius Flaccius, in the end of his book entitled, 'De Testibus Veritatis,' speaketh of one Michael Stifelius:

This Michael, being an old man, told him, that he heard the priests and monks say many times, by the old prophecies, that a violent reformation must needs come amongst them: and also that the said Michael heard Conrad Stifelius his father many times declare the same: who also, for the great hatred he bare against this filthy sect of monks and priests, told to one Peter Pirer, a friend and neighbour of his, that he should live and see the day; and therefore desired him, that when the day came, besides those priests that he should kill for himself, he would kill one priest more for his sake.'[1]

'(1) This anecdote occurs in the Catalogus Testium Veritatis, drawn up by M. Flaccius Illyricus, and re edited by Simon Gordart, A.D. 1608; at p. 1924.—Ed

This Stifelius thought, belike, that this reformation should be wrought by outward violence, and force of sword; but he was therein deceived; although the adversary useth all forcible means, and violent tyranny, yet the proceeding of the gospel always beginneth with peace and quietness. *Henry VIII.* A.D. 1518 to 1521.

In the table of Amersham men I signified a little before, how one Haggar of London, speaking of this reformation to come, declared, that the priests should make battle, and have the upper hand a while, but shortly they should be vanquished and overthrown for ever.

In the time of pope Alexander VI. and about A.D. 1500, as is before specified, the high angel which stood on the top of the pope's church and castle of St. Angelo, was thrown down with a terrible thunder into the river Tibur: whereby might seem to be declared the ruin and fall of the popedom. The fall of the popedom signified by the fall of the angel from the pope's church top.

To this may be adjoined, that which in certain chronicles, and in John Bale,[1] is recorded; which saith, that in the year of our Lord 1516 (which was the same year when Martin Luthur began), pope Leo X. did create one and thirty cardinals: in which year and day of their creation, there fell a tempest of thunder and lightning in Rome, which so struck the church where the cardinals were made, that it removed the little child Jesus out of the lap of his mother, and the keys out of St. Peter's hand: which thing many then did interpret to signify and foreshow the subversion and alteration of the see of Rome. Another signification of the pope's subversion.

Hitherto pertaineth also a strange portent and a prodigious token from heaven, A.D. 1505, in which year, under the reign of Maximilian the emperor,[2] there appeared in Germany, upon the vestures of men, as well of priests as laymen; upon women's garments also, and upon their rocks[3] as they were spinning, divers prints and tokens of the nails, of the sponge, of the spear, of the Lord's coat, and of bloody crosses, &c.: all which were seen upon their caps and gowns, as is most certainly testified and recorded by divers, who both did see, and also did write upon the same. Of these the first was Maximilian the emperor, who both had and showed the same to Franciscus Mirandula, who wrote thereupon a book in Latin metre called 'Staurosticon;' wherein, for the more credit, these verses be contained: Bloody marks of the Lord's passion, seen on men's garments.

> "Non ignota cano, Cæsar monstravit, et ipsi
> Vidimus: Innumeros prompsit Germania testes," &c.

Of this also writeth John Carion, Functius, Philip Melancthon, Flaccius, with divers others. These marks and tokens, as they were very strange, so were they diversely expounded of many, some thinking that they portended affliction and persecution of the church to draw near: some, that God by that token did admonish them, or foreshowed unto them the true doctrine of their justification, which only is to be sought in the cross and passion of Christ, and in no other thing. This I marvel, that Christianus Masseus, and others of Exposition of this portent.

(1) Ex Baleo, cent. 8. (2) Ex Johan. Carione Franc. Mirandula, et aliis.
(3) "Rock;" an instrument used in spinning flax.—Ed.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1518 to 1521.

that profession, do leave it out. Belike they saw something in it that made not to their liking. For, whether it signifieth persecution to come upon the Germans, they cannot be evil that suffer and bear the cross with Christ: or whether it signifieth the true doctrine of Christ coming to the Germans, it cannot otherwise be, but that the doctrine of the bishop of Rome must needs be wrong, which is contrary to this which God hath stirred up in Germany.

By these and such-like prophecies, it is evident to understand, the time not to be far off, when God, of his determinate providence, was disposed to reform and to restore his church. And not only by these prophecies the same might well appear, but also, and much rather, by the hearts of the people at that time; whose minds were so incensed and inflamed with hatred against the pomp and pride of Rome, both through all nations, and especially the people of Germany, that it was easy to perceive the time was near at hand, when the pride of popish prelacy would have a fall. Such disdain there was, such contempt and derision began to rise on every side then, against the pope and the court of Rome, that it might soon appear, by the hearts of the people, that God was not disposed to have it long to stand. For neither were their detestable doings so secret, that men did not see them, neither did any man behold them, having any sparkle of godliness, that could abide them. And thereupon grew these proverbs to their derision, in every country, as in Germany it hath been a proverb amongst them.

Proverbs against the corrupt See of Rome:

Was ist nu in der werlt fur ein wesen,
Wir moegen fur den pfaffen nicht genesen.

What is this, to see the world now round about,
That for these shaveling priests no man that once may rout?

Quam primum clericus suscipit rasuram, statim intrat in eum diabolus: i. e. As soon as a clerk is shorn into his order, by and by the devil entereth into him.

'In nomine Domini, incipit omne malum:' i. e. 'In the name of God beginneth all evil:' alluding to the pope's bulls, which commonly so begin.

Item, When bulls come from Rome, bind well your purses.
The nearer Rome, the further from Christ.
Item, He that goeth once to Rome, seeth a wicked man:
He that goeth twice, learneth to know him:
He that goeth thrice, bringeth him home with him.
Item, The court of Rome never regardeth the sheep without the wool.
Once were wooden chalices, and golden priests:
Now we have golden chalices, and wooden priests.
Once christian men had blind churches, and light hearts:
Now they have blind hearts, and light churches.
Item, Many are worshipped for saints in heaven, whose souls be burning in hell.[1]

What should I speak of our English proverb, which so vilely esteemeth the filthy friars, that it compareth them to something which, to save thy reverence, good reader, we mention not.

(1) Ex Aventino.

In France, Gallus Senonensis, writeth four hundred years ago, that amongst them it was an old saying, "Romæ solvi Satanam in perniciem totius ecclesiæ:" that is, "That Satan was let loose at Rome to destroy the whole church." *Henry VIII.* A.D. 1518 to 1521.

Thomas Becket himself, in his time, writing to the college of cardinals, denieth it not but to be a common word both through town and city, "Quod non sit justitia Romæ:" that is, "That there is no right at Rome."

To these may be adjoined also the A, B, C, which we find in the margin of a certain old register to be attributed to William Thorpe, whose story we have comprehended before.[1]

The A, B, C, against the pride of the Clergy.

A wake, ye ghostly persons, awake, awake,
B oth priest, pope, bishop, and cardinal!
C onsider wisely, what ways ye take,
D angerously being like to have a fall.
E very where the mischief of you all,
F ar and near, breaketh out very fast;
G od will needs be revenged at the last.

H ow long have ye the world captived,
I n sore bondage of men's traditions?
K ings and emperors ye have deprived,
L ewdly usurping their chief possessions:
M uch misery ye make in all regions.
N ow your frauds be almost at their latter cast,
O f God sore to be revenged at the last.

P oor people to oppress ye have no shame,
Q uaking for fear of your double tyranny.
R ightful justice ye have put out of frame,
S eeking the lust of your god, the belly.
T herefore I dare you boldly certify,
V ery little though you be thereof aghast,
Y et God will be revenged at the last.

By these and such-like sayings, which may be collected innumerable, it may soon be seen what hearts and judgments the people had in those days of the Romish clergy; which thing, no doubt, was of God as a secret prophecy, that shortly religion should be restored; according as it came to pass about this present time, when Dr. Martin Luther first began to write; after Picus Mirandula, and Laurentius Valla, and last of all Erasmus of Rotterdam, had somewhat broken the way before, and had shaken the monks' houses. But Luther gave the stroke, and plucked down the foundation, and all by opening one vein, long hid before, wherein lieth the touchstone of all truth and doctrine, as the only principal origin of our salvation, which is, our free justifying by faith only, in Christ the Son of God. The laborious travails, and the whole process, and the constant preachings of this worthy man, because they are sufficiently declared in the history of John Sleidan, I shall the less need to stay long thereupon; but only to run over some principal matters of his life and acts, as they are briefly collected by Philip Melancthon.

The article of our free justification beateth down all errors.

(1) See vol. iii. page 249.—Ed.

Henry VIII.

The History of Doctor Martin Luther,

WITH HIS LIFE AND DOCTRINE DESCRIBED.

A.D. 1518 to 1521.

Martin Luther, after he was grown in years, being born at Eisleben in Saxony, A.D. 1483, was set to the university, first of Magdeburg, then of Erfurt. In this university of Erfurt, there was a certain aged man in the convent of the Augustines (who is thought to be Weselus above mentioned) with whom Luther being then of the same order, a friar Augustine, had conference upon divers things, especially touching the article of remission of sins; which article the said aged Father opened unto Luther after this sort; declaring, that we must not generally believe only forgiveness of sins to be, or to belong to Peter, to Paul, to David, or such good men alone; but that God's express commandment is, that every man should particularly believe his sins to be forgiven him in Christ: and further said, that this interpretation was confirmed by the testimony of St. Bernard, and showed him the place, in the sermon of the Annunciation, where it is thus set forth: "But add thou that thou believest this, that by him thy sins are forgiven thee. This is the testimony that the Holy Ghost giveth thee in thy heart, saying, Thy sins are forgiven thee. For this is the opinion of the apostle, that man is freely justified by faith."

Excellent declaration of Bernard touching faith.

By these words Luther was not only strengthened, but was also instructed of the full meaning of St. Paul, who repeateth so many times this sentence, "We are justified by faith." And having read the expositions of many upon this place, he then perceived, as well by the purpose of the old man, as by the comfort he received in his spirit, the vanity of those interpretations, which he had read before of the schoolmen. And so, reading by little and little, with conferring the sayings and examples of the prophets and apostles, and continual invocation of God, and excitation of faith by force of prayer, he perceived that doctrine most evidently. Then began he to read St. Augustine's books, where he found many comfortable sentences: among others, in the exposition of the Psalms, and especially in the book of the 'Spirit and Letter,' which confirmed this doctrine of faith and consolation in his heart not a little. And yet he laid not aside the sententiaries, as Gabriel and Cameracensis. Also he read the books of Ocham, whose subtlety he preferred above Thomas Aquinas and Scotus. He read also and revolved Gerson: but above all the rest, he perused all over St. Augustine's works with attentive cogitation. And thus continued he his study at Erfurt the space of four years in the convent of the Augustines.

Profit of St. Augustine's books.

About this time one Staupitius, a famous man, ministering his help to further the erection of a university in Wittenberg, and endeavouring to have schools of divinity founded in this new university; when he had considered the spirit and towardness of Luther, called him from Erfurt, to place him in Wittenberg, A.D. 1508, and of his age twenty-six. There his towardness appeared in the ordinary exercise, both of his disputations in the schools, and preaching in churches; where many wise and learned men attentively heard Luther, especially Dr. Mellarstad.

Institution of the university at Wittenberg.

This Mellarstad would oftentimes say, that Luther was of such a marvellous spirit, and so ingenious, that he gave apparent signification, that he would introduce a more compendious, easy, and familiar manner of teaching, and alter and abolish the order that then was used.

There first he expounded the logic and philosophy of Aristotle, and in the mean while intermitted no whit his study in theology. Three years after he went to Rome, about certain contentions of the monks; and returning the same year, he was graded doctor, at the expense of the elector Frederic, duke of Saxony, according to the solemn manner of schools: for he had heard him preach; well understood the quickness of his spirit; diligently considered the vehemency of his words; and had in singular admiration those profound matters which in his sermons he ripely and exactly explained. This degree Staupitius, against his will, enforced upon him; saying merrily unto him, that God had many things to bring to pass in his church by him. And though these words were spoken merrily, yet it came so to pass anon after; as many predictions or presages prove true before a change.

Luther sent to Rome and commenceth doctor.

After this, he began to expound the Epistle to the Romans, and, subsequently, the Psalms: where he showed the difference betwixt the law and the gospel. He also confounded the error that reigned then in schools and sermons, teaching that men may merit remission of sins by their proper works, and that they be just before God by outward discipline; as the Pharisees taught. Luther diligently reduced the minds of men to the Son of God; and as John Baptist demonstrated the Lamb of God who took away the sins of the world; even so Luther, shining in the church as a bright star after a long cloudy and obscure sky, expressly showed, that sins are freely remitted for the love of the Son of God, and that we ought faithfully to embrace this bountiful gift;[1] * he also illustrated divers other points of ecclesiastical doctrine.*

Luther begins to read the Epistle to the Romans.

Luther taught Jesus Christ.

These[2] happy beginnings of so good matters, got him great authority, considering his life was correspondent to his profession; and it plainly appeared that his words were no lip-labour, but proceeded from the very heart. This admiration of his holy life much allured the hearts of his auditors, and therefore many notable personages, familiarly knowing him, and seeing him innovate the usual ceremonies, resisted him nothing, but, in respect of the authority he procured before (as well for that he revealed many good matters, as that his life was holy), consented with him in his opinions, with which they saw the world divided diversely, and therefore were pensive and very sore grieved.

All this while Luther yet altered nothing in the ceremonies, but precisely observed his rule among his fellows. He meddled in no doubtful opinions, but taught this only doctrine, as most principal of all others to all men, opening and declaring the doctrine of repentance, of remission of sins, of faith, of true comfort in times of adversity. Every man received good taste of this sweet doctrine, and the learned conceived high pleasure to behold Jesus Christ, the prophets and apostles, to come forth into light out of darkness; whereby they

(1 and 2) See Edition 1563, p. 403.—Ed.

Henry VIII. A. D. 1518 to 1521.

began to understand the difference betwixt the law and the gospel; betwixt the promises of the law, and the promise of the gospel; betwixt spiritual justice, and civil things: which certainly could not have been found in Thomas Aquinas, Scotus, and such-like school-clerks.

Erasmus openeth the way before Luther.

It happened moreover, about this time, that many were provoked, by Erasmus's learned works, to study the Greek and Latin tongues; who perceiving a more gentle and ready order of teaching than before, began to have in contempt the monks' barbarous and sophistical doctrine; and especially such as were of a liberal nature and good disposition. Luther began to study the Greek and Hebrew tongue, to this end, that after he had learned the phrase and property of the tongues, and drawn the doctrine from the very fountains, he might give more sound judgment.

As Luther was thus occupied in Germany, which was A.D. 1516, Leo X., succeeding after Julius II., was pope of Rome, who, under pretence of war against the Turk, sent a jubilee with his pardons abroad through all christian realms and dominions, whereby he gathered together innumerable riches and treasure; the gatherers and collectors whereof persuaded the people, that whosoever would give ten shillings, should at his pleasure deliver one soul from the pains of purgatory. For this they held as a general rule, that God would do whatsoever they would have him, according to the saying, "Quicquid solveritis super terram, erit solutum in cœlis," &c., i. e. "Whatsoever you shall loose upon earth, the same shall be loosed in heaven; but if it were but one jot less than ten shillings, they preached that it would profit them nothing.[1] This filthy kind of the pope's merchandise, as it spread through all quarters of christian regions, so it came also to Germany, through the means of a certain Dominic friar named Tetzel, who most impudently caused the pope's indulgences or pardons to be carried and sold about the country. Whereupon Luther, much moved with the blasphemous sermons of this shameless friar, and having his heart earnestly bent with ardent desire to maintain true religion, published certain propositions concerning indulgences, which are to be read in the first tome of his works, and set them openly on the temple that joineth to the castle of Wittenberg, the morrow after the feast of All Saints, A. D. 1517.

Ten shilling pardons.

Tetzel, preacher of the pope's pardons.

The first occasion why Luther wrote against pardons.

This beggarly friar, hoping to obtain the pope's blessing, assembled certain monks, and sophistical divines of his covent, and forthwith commanded them to write something against Luther. And while he would not himself seem to be dumb, he began not only to inveigh in his sermons, but to thunder against Luther; crying, "Luther is a heretic, and worthy to be persecuted with fire." And besides this, he burned openly Luther's propositions, and the sermon which he wrote of indulgences. This rage and fumish fury of this friar, enforced Luther to treat more amply of the cause, and to maintain his matter.

Slander of Tetzel the friar.

And thus rose the beginnings of this controversy; wherein Luther, neither suspecting, nor dreaming of any change that might happen in

(1) Ex Christia. Massæo, lib. xx. [Chronicon historiæ utriusque Testamenti: Antverpiæ, 1540. This volume is placed by the church of Rome in the second class of works needing expurgation. See Index lib. prohib. et expurgandorum, folio Madriti. 1612, p. 132.—Ed.]

the ceremonies, did not utterly reject the indulgences, but required a moderation in them: and therefore they falsely accuse him, who blaze, that he began with plausible matter, whereby he might get praise, to the end that in process of time he might change the state of the commonweal, and purchase authority either for himself or others.

And certes, he was not suborned or stirred up by them of the court (as the duke of Brunswick wrote), insomuch that the duke Frederic was sorely offended that such contention and controversy should arise, having regard to the sequel thereof.

The praise of Frederic duke of Saxony.

And as this good duke Frederic was one, of all the princes of our time, that loved best quietness and common tranquillity, neither was avaricious, but willingly bent to refer all his counsels to the common utility of all the world (as it is easy to be conjectured divers ways), so he neither encouraged nor supported Luther, but often represented semblance of heaviness and sorrow which he bare in his heart, fearing greater dissensions. But being a wise prince, and following the counsel of God's rule, and well deliberating thereupon, he thought with himself, that the glory of God was to be preferred above all things: neither was he ignorant what blasphemy it was, horribly condemned of God, obstinately, to repugn the truth. Wherefore he did as a godly prince should do, he obeyed God, committing himself to his holy grace, and omnipotent protection. And although Maximilian the emperor, Charles king of Spain, and pope Julius, had given commandment to the said duke Frederic, that he should inhibit Luther from all place and liberty of preaching; yet the duke, considering with himself the preaching and writing of Luther, and weighing diligently the testimonies and places of the Scripture by him alleged, would not withstand the thing which he judged sincere. And yet neither did he this, trusting to his own judgment, but was very anxious and inquisitive to hear the judgment of others, who were both aged and learned; in the number of whom was Erasmus, whom the duke desired to declare to him his opinion touching the matter of Martin Luther; saying and protesting, that he would rather the ground should open and swallow him, than he would bear with any opinions which he knew to be contrary to manifest truth; and therefore he desired him to declare his judgment in the matter to him, freely and friendly.

Judgment of Erasmus touching Luther.

Erasmus, thus being entreated of the duke, began thus jestingly and merrily to answer the duke's request, saying, that in Luther were two great faults; first, that he would touch the bellies of monks: the second, that he would touch the pope's crown; which two matters in no case are to be dealt withal. Then, opening his mind plainly to the duke, thus he said, that Luther did dwell in detecting errors, and that reformation was to be wished, and very necessary in the church: and added moreover, that the effect of his doctrine was true; but only that he wished in him a more temperate moderation and manner of writing and handling.[1] Whereupon duke Frederic shortly after wrote to Luther seriously, exhorting him to temper the vehemency of his style. This was at the city of Cologne, shortly after the coronation of the new emperor, where also Huttenus, Aloisius,

(1) Ex Chr. Casp. Peucer. lib. v.

Henry VIII. Marlianus, Ludovicus Vives, Halonius, with other learned men, were assembled together, waiting upon the emperor.[1]

Furthermore, the same Erasmus, in the following year, wrote up to the archbishop of Mentz a certain epistle touching the cause of Luther; in which epistle thus he signifieth to the bishop:

to 1521.

'Many things are in the books of Luther condemned of monks and divines, for heretical, which in the books of Bernard and Austin are read for sound and godly. The world is burdened with men's institutions, with school doctrines and opinions, and with the tyranny of begging friars; which friars, when they are but the pope's servants and underlings, yet they have so grown in power and multitude, that they are now terrible, both to the pope himself, and to all princes; who, so long as the pope maketh with them, so long they make him more than a God; but if he make any thing against their purpose or commodity, then they weigh his authority no more than a dream or fantasy. Once it was counted a heresy when a man repugned against the gospel, or articles of the faith. Now he that dissenteth from Thomas Aquinas, is a heretic: whatsoever doth not like them, whatsoever they understand not, that is heresy. To speak Greek is heresy, or to speak more finely than they do, that is with them heresy.'

And thus much by the way concerning the judgment of Erasmus.

REVIEW OF LUTHER'S CONDUCT AND WRITINGS.

*[1] It is also apparent, that Luther promised the cardinal Cajetan to keep silence, provided also his adversaries would do the like. Whereby we may gather, that at that time he determined not to stir any new debates, but rather coveted the common quietness, and that he was provoked by little and little to other matters, through the provoking of unlearned writers.

Declaration of the principal points of religion.

Then followed disputations of the difference betwixt divine and human law; also of the horrible profanation of the Supper of our Lord, in selling and applying the same for other purposes. Here he was forced to express the cause of the sacrifice, and to declare the use of the sacraments.

Now the godly and faithful Christians, closed in monasteries, understanding that images ought to be eschewed, began to abandon that wretched thraldom, in which they were detained. Now Luther, the plainer to express the doctrine of repentance, of remission of sins, of faith, and of indulgences, added also to these matters, the difference of divine and human laws, the doctrine of the use of our Lord's Supper, of baptism, and of vows; and these were his principal conflicts. As touching the question of the Roman bishop's power, Eckius was the author thereof; and for no other respect, than to inflame the fiery wrath of the pope and princes against Luther. The symbol of the apostles, also of Nice and Athanasius, he conserved in their integrity.

Further he sufficiently declareth in divers of his works what innovation is to be required in the ceremonies and traditions of men; and wherefore they ought to be altered. And what form of doctrine and

(1) Ex Epist. Erasm. ad Moguntinense. p. 470. [This Chronicum was published in folio, Argentorati; 1537. The continuation, called Paraleipomena, was probably drawn up by Melancthon.—Ed.]

(2) For the following passages in asterisks, extending to page 268, see Edition 1563, p. 404.—Ed.

administration of the Sacraments he required and approved, is apparent by the confession which the elector, John duke of Saxony, and prince Philip, landgrave of Hesse, presented to the emperor Charles V., A. D. 1530, in the assembly at Augsburg. It is manifest also by the ceremonies of the church in this city, and the doctrine that is preached in our church, the sum whereof is fully comprised in this confession. I allege this, that the godly may consider not only what errors he hath corrected and reproved, but also they may understand that he comprehended also the whole doctrine necessary for the church; he hath set the ceremonies in their purity, and given examples to the faithful to reform the churches, and it is necessary for posterity to know what Luther hath approved.

Henry VIII. A. D. 1518 to 1521. The confession of Augsburg.

I will not here rehearse, who were the first that published both parts of the Supper of our Lord, who first omitted private masses, and where first the monasteries were abandoned: for Luther disputed very little of these before the assembly which was made in the town of Worms, A. D. 1521: he changed not the ceremonies, but in his absence Carolostadt and others altered them. Then Luther returning (after Carolostadt had devised and done certain things rather to breed muttering than otherwise), manifested by evident testimonies, published abroad touching his opinion, what he approved, and what he misliked.

We know that politic men evermore detested all changes: and we must confess, there ensueth some evil upon dissensions, and yet it is our duty evermore in the church, to advance God's ordinance above human constitutions. The eternal Father pronounced this voice of his Son: "This is my well beloved Son, hear him!" And he menaced eternal wrath to all blasphemers, that is, such as endeavour to abolish the manifest verity. And therefore Luther did, as behoved a Christian faithfully to do: considering he was an instructor of the church of God. It was his office, I say, to reprehend pernicious errors, which the rabble of epicures most impudently heaped one upon another, and it was expedient his auditors dissented not from his opinion, since he taught purely. Wherefore if alteration be hateful, and many perils grow of dissension, as we certainly see many, whereof we be right sorry, they are partly in fault that spread abroad these errors, and partly they that with devilish disdain presently maintain them. I do not recite this to defend Luther and his auditors, but also that the faithful may consider now, and in time to come, what is the governance of the true church of God, and what it hath always been: how God hath gathered to himself one eternal church, by the voice of the gospel, of this lump of sin, and filthy heap of human corruption; among whom the gospel shineth as a spark in the dark. As in the time of the Pharisees, Zachary, Elizabeth, Mary, and many others, reverenced and observed the true doctrine: so have many gone before us, who purely invocated God, some understanding more clearly than others, the doctrine of the gospel. Such a one was the old man of whom I wrote, that oftentime comforted Luther, when his astonyings assailed him; and after a sort declared unto him the doctrine of the faith. And that God may preserve henceforth the light of his gospel, shining in many, let us pray with fervent affection, as Isaiah prayeth for his hearers: "Seal the law in my disciples." Further, this

Changes are dangerous.

Henry VIII. A. D. 1518 to 1521.

advertisement showeth plainly that coloured superstitions are not permanent, but abolished by God: and since this is the cause of changes, we ought diligently to endeavour, that errors be neither taught, nor preached in the church.

But I return to Luther. Even as at the beginning he treated of this matter, without any particular affection, so, though he was of a fiery nature, and subject to wrath, yet he always remembered his office, and prohibited wars to be attempted, and distinguished wisely offices wherein was any difference, as the bishop, to feed the flock of God; and the magistrates, by authority of the sword committed unto them, to repress the people subject unto them. Wherefore when Satan contendeth by slanders to dissipate the church of God, and contumeliously to rage against him, and delighteth to do evil, and rejoiceth to behold us wallow in the puddle of error and blindness, smiling at our destruction; he laboureth all he can to inflame and stir up mischievous instruments and seditious spirits to sow sedition; as Monetarius and his like. Luther repelled boldly these rages, and not only adorned, but also ratified, the dignity and bands of politic order and civil government. Therefore when I consider in my mind how many worthy men have been in the church, that in this erred, and were abused: I believe assuredly that Luther's heart was not only governed by human diligence, but with a heavenly light; considering how constantly he abode within the limits of his office.

Luther held not only in contempt the seditious doctors of that time, as Monetarius and the Anabaptists; but especially these horned bishops of Rome, who, arrogantly and impudently, by their devised decrees, affirmed, that St. Peter had not the charge alone to teach the gospel, but also to govern commonweals, and exercise civil jurisdiction. Moreover he exhorted every man to render unto God that which appertained unto God, and to Cæsar, that which belonged unto Cæsar; and said, that all should serve God with true repentance, knowledge, and maintaining of his true doctrine, invocation, and works, wrought with a pure conscience: and as touching civil policy, that every one should obey the magistrates under whom he liveth, in all civil duties and reverences, for God's sake. And such a one was Luther. He gave unto God, what belonged unto God: he taught God; he invocated God; and had other virtues necessary for a man that pleaseth God. Further, in politic conversation he constantly avoided all seditious counsels. I judge these virtues to be such excellent ornaments, that greater and more divine cannot be required in this mortal life. And albeit that the virtue of this man is worthy of commendation, and the rather for that he used the gifts of God in all reverence; yet our duty is to render condign thanks unto God, that by him he hath given us the light of the gospel, and to conserve and enlarge the remembrance of his doctrine. I weigh little the slander of the epicures and hypocrites, who scoff at and condemn the manifest truths; but I stay wholly hereupon, that the universal church hath consented perpetually to this very doctrine, which is preached in our church, whereunto we must frame our life and devotion conformably. And I believe that this is the doctrine, whereof the Son of God speaketh: "If any love me, he will keep my commandments, and my Father will love him, and we will come to him, and plant our dwelling

Assurance of the doctrine of the gospel.

with him." "I speak of the sum of the doctrine, as it is understood and explained in our churches, by the faithful and learned ministers. For albeit that some one oftentimes expoundeth the same more aptly and elegantly than some other: yet, as touching the effect, the learned and faithful do agree in all points. *Henry VIII.* A. D. 1518 to 1521.

Then weighing and perpending with myself long time, the doctrine that hath been of all times, it seemeth unto me that since the apostles there have been four notable alterations after the first purity of the gospel. Origen had his time; albeit there were some of a sound and sacred opinion, as Methodius, who reproved certain suspected doctrines of Origen, that he converted the gospel into philosophy in the hearts of many: that is to say, he advanced this persuasion, that the moral discipline of reason deserveth remission of sins, and that this is that justice, whereof is said, "The just shall live by his faith." That age lost almost the whole difference of the law and the gospel, and forgat the words of the apostles; for they understood not the natural signification of these words: Letter, Spirit, Justice, Faith. Now when the propriety of words was lost, which be notes of the very things, it was necessary that other things should be contrived. Four changes since the apostles.

Out of this seed sprang the error of Pelagius, which wandered largely abroad: and therefore, albeit the apostles had given unto the church a pure doctrine, as clear and wholesome fountains, yet Origen intermixed the same with some corruption in that part. Then, to correct the errors of that time, or at least some part of them, God raised up St. Austin, who purged in some part the fountains; and I doubt not, if he were judge of dissensions at this day, but he would speak for us, and defend our cause. Certainly, as concerning free remission, justification by faith, the use of the sacraments and indifferent things, he consenteth wholly with us. And, albeit that in some places he expoundeth more eloquently and aptly what he will say than in others, yet if in reading, any do carry with them a godly spirit and quick understanding, all evil judgment ceaseth: they shall soon perceive that he is of our opinion. And whereas our adversaries sometimes do cite sentences selected out of his books against us, and with clamour provoke us to the ancient Fathers, they do it not for any affection they bear unto the truth or antiquity, but maliciously to cloak them with the authority of the ancient Fathers, which antiquity never knew of any of these horned beasts and dumb idols, as we have known in these days. Nevertheless it is certain, there were seeds of superstition in the time of the Fathers and ancient doctors; and therefore St. Austin ordained something of vows, although he wrote not thereof so strangely as others: for the best some times shall be spotted with the blemish of such follies as reign in their age. For as naturally we love our country, so fondly we favour the present fashions, wherein we be trained and educated. And very well alluded Euripides to this effect:

'What customs we in tender youth
By nature's lore receive;
The same we love and like always,
And loath our lust to leave.'

But would to God, that such as vaunt they follow St. Austin, would

Henry VIII. A. D. 1518 to 1521.

always represent one like opinion and mind, as St. Austin: certainly they would not so clip his sentences, to serve their purposes. The light restored by St. Austin's works hath much profited posterity; for Prosper, Maximus, Hugo, and some other like writers, that governed studies to St. Bernard's time, have for the most part imitated the rule of St. Austin. And this, while the regiment and riches of the bishops still increased: and thereof ensued a monstrous regiment; profane and ignorant men governed the church, among whom, certain were instructed in sciences and practices of the Roman court, and some others exercised in pleadings.

Depravity of ecclesiastical ministers.

Then the orders of Dominican and Franciscan friars began; who, beholding the excess and riches of the bishops, and contemning their ungodly manners, determined to live in more modest order, or, as I might say, to enclose them in the prisons of discipline: but first ignorance increased the superstitions. Then after, when they considered men's minds wholly addicted to the study of the civil laws (for pleading at Rome advanced many to great authority, and enriched them), they endeavoured to revoke men to the study of divinity, but they missed of their purpose, and their counsel failed them. Albert, and such like, that were given to Aristotle's doctrine, began to convert the doctrine of the church into profane philosophy.

The beginning of two sorts of friars.

The fourth age not only corrupted the fountains of the gospel, but also gave out poison, that is to say, opinions manifestly approving all idolatries. Thomas Aquinas, Scotus and their like, have brought in so many labyrinths and false opinions, that the godly and sound sort of divines have always desired a more plain and purer kind of doctrine: neither can we deny without great impudency but it was expedient to alter this kind of doctrine, when it is manifest that such as employed their whole age in this manner of teaching, understood not a great part of the sophisms in their disputations. Further it is plainly idolatry confirmed, when they teach the application of sacrifice by work wrought; when they allow the invocation of saints; when they deny that sins be freely remitted by faith; when of ceremonies they make a slaughter of consciences. Finally, there are many other horrible and pernicious devices, that when I think on them, Lord! how I tremble and quake for fear.*

The gospel turned into philosophy.

Now to return, and to treat something orderly of the acts and conflicts of Luther with his adversaries. After that Tetzel, the aforesaid friar, with his fellow-monks and friarly fellows, had cried out with open mouth against Luther, in maintaining the pope's indulgences; and that Luther again, in defence of his cause, had set up propositions against the open abuses of the same, marvel it was to see how soon these propositions were sparkled abroad in sundry and far places, and how greedily they were caught up in the hands of divers both far and near. And thus the contention of this matter increasing between them, Luther was compelled to write thereof more largely and fully than otherwise he thought; which was A.D. 1517.[1]

Yet all this while Luther never thought of any alteration to come of any ceremony, much less such a reformation of doctrine and ceremonies as afterwards did follow; but only hearing that he was accused

(1) Ex Paralip. Abbat. Ursperg; [p. 470.—Ed.]

to the bishop of Rome, he did write humbly unto him: in the beginning of which writing he declareth the inordinate outrage of those his pardon-mongers, who so excessively did pill and poll the simple people, to the great slander of the church, and shame to his holiness. And so proceeding, in the end of the said his writing thus he submitteth himself: *Henry VIII.* A. D. 1518 to 1521.

'Wherefore, most holy father, I offer myself prostrate under the feet of your holiness, with all that I am, and all that I have. Save me, kill me, call me, recall me, approve me, reprove me, as you shall please. Your voice, the voice of Christ in you speaking, I will acknowledge. If I have deserved death, I shall be contented to die: for the earth is the Lord's, and all the fulness thereof, who is to be blessed for ever.[1] Amen.' Submission of Luther to the pope.

This was A.D. 1518.

After Martin Luther, provoked by Tetzel, had declared his mind in writing lowly and humbly, and had set up certain propositions to be disputed; not long after, among other monks and friars, steppeth up one Silvester de Priero, a Dominic friar, who first began to publish abroad a certain impudent and railing dialogue against him. Unto whom Luther answered again, first alleging the place of the apostle in 1 Thess. v., that we must prove all things. Also the place in Gal. ii., that if an angel from heaven do bring any other gospel than that we have received, he ought to be accursed. Item, he alleged the place of Austin unto Jerome, where the said Austin saith, That he was wont to give this honour only to the books of canonical Scripture, that whosoever were the writers thereof, he believeth them verily not to have erred. But as touching all other men's writings, were they ever so holy men, or learned, he doth not believe them therefore, because they so say; but in that respect as they do agree with the canonical Scripture, which cannot err. Item, he alleged the place of the canon law;[2] wherein he proved, that these pardon-sellers, in their setting forth of the pope's indulgences, ought to go no further by the law, than is enjoined them within the letters of their commission. And in the latter part of his answer, thus Luther writeth to the reader, "Let opinions remain opinions, so they be not yokes to the Christians. Let us not make men's opinions equal with the articles of faith, and to the decrees of Christ and Paul." "Moreover, I am ashamed," quoth he, "to hear the common saying of these divine school-doctors, who, holding one thing in the schools, and thinking otherwise in their own judgment, thus are wont secretly among themselves, and with their privy friends talking together, to say, 'Thus do we hold, and thus would we say being in the schools: but yet (be it spoken here amongst us) it cannot be so proved by the holy Scriptures,'" &c.[3] The raging dialogue of Silvester against Luther. Luther's answer.

Next after this Silvester, stepped forth Eckius, and impugned the conclusions of Luther. Against whom encountered Dr. Andreas Bedenstein, archdeacon of Wittenberg, making his apology in defence of Luther. Eckius writeth against Luther.

Then was Martin Luther cited, the 7th of August, by one Hierome, bishop of Ascalon, to appear at Rome. About which time Thomas Cajetan, cardinal, the pope's legate, was then lieger at the city of

(1) Psal. xxiv. 1. (2) Clement. de pœnit. et remiss. cap. 'Abusionibus.'
(3) Ex Paralip. Abb. Ursperg.

Henry VIII. A. D. 1518 to 1521.

Augsburg, who before had been sent down in commission, with certain mandates from pope Leo, unto that city. The university of Wittenberg, understanding of Luther's citation, eftsoons directed up their letters with their public seal, to the pope, in Luther's behalf. Also another letter they sent to Carolus Miltitius, the pope's chamberlain, being a German born. Furthermore, good Frederic ceased not for his part to solicit the matter with his letters and earnest suit with cardinal Cajetan, that the cause of Luther might be freed from Rome, and removed to Augsburg, in the hearing of the cardinal. Cajetan, at the suit of the duke, wrote unto the pope; from whom he received this answer again, the three and twentieth of the aforesaid month of August.

The university of Wittenberg writeth to the pope for Luther.

Substance of the Pope's Charge to his Legate, against Luther.

That he had cited Luther to appear personally before him at Rome, by Hierome, bishop of Ascalon, auditor of the chamber; which bishop diligently had done what was commanded him: but Luther, abusing and contemning the gentleness offered, did not only refuse to come, but also became more bold, and stubborn, continuing, or rather increasing in his former heresy, as by his writings did appear. Wherefore he would, that the cardinal should cite and call up the said Luther to appear at the city of Augsburg before him; adjoining withal, the aid of the princes of Germany, and of the emperor, if need required; so that when the said Luther should appear, he should lay hand upon him, and commit him to safe custody: and after, he should be brought up to Rome. And if he perceived him to come to any knowledge or amendment of his fault, he should release him and restore him to the church again; or else he should be interdicted, with all other his adherents, abettors, and maintainers, of whatsoever state or condition they were, whether they were dukes, marquisses, earls, barons, &c. Against all which persons and degrees, he willed him to extend the same curse and malediction (only the person of the emperor excepted); interdicting, by the censure of the church, all such lands, lordships, towns, tenements, and villages, as should minister any harbour to the said Luther, and were not obedient unto the see of Rome. Contrariwise, to all such as showed themselves obedient, he should promise full remission of all their sins.

Likewise the pope directeth other letters also at the same time to duke Frederic, with many grievous words, complaining against Luther.

The cardinal, thus being charged with injunctions from Rome, according to his commission, sendeth with all speed for Luther to appear at Augsburg before him.

Luther obedient to the see of Rome.

About the beginning of October, Martin Luther, yielding his obedience to the church of Rome, came to Augsburg at the cardinal's sending (at the charges of the noble prince elector, and also with his letters of commendation), where he remained three days before he came to his speech; for so it was provided by his friends, that he should not enter talk with the cardinal, before a sufficient warrant or safe-conduct was obtained of the emperor Maximilian. This being obtained, eftsoons he entered, offering himself to the speech of the cardinal; and was there received of the cardinal very gently; who, according to the pope's commandment, propounded unto Martin Luther three things, or, as Sleiden saith, but two: to wit,

Appeareth before cardinal Cajetan.

Three things put to Luther.

I. That he should repent and revoke his errors.

II. That he should promise, from that time forward, to refrain from the same.

III. That he should refrain from all things that might by any means trouble the church. *Henry VIII.*

A. D. 1518 to 1521.

When Martin Luther required to be informed wherein he had erred, the legate brought forth the extravagant of Clement, which beginneth, 'Unigenitus,' &c., because that he, contrary to that canon, had held and taught in his fifty-eighth proposition, that the merits of Christ are not the treasure of indulgences or pardons. Secondly, the cardinal, contrary to the seventh proposition of Luther, affirmed, that faith is not necessary to him that receiveth the sacrament.

Furthermore, another day, in the presence of four of the emperor's council, having there a notary and witnesses present, Luther protested for himself, and personally, in this manner following:

Protestation of Luther with his Answer and Propositions before the Cardinal.

Imprimis, I Martin Luther, a friar Augustine, protest, that I do reverence and follow the church of Rome in all my sayings and doings, present, past, and to come; and if any thing hath been, or shall be said by me to the contrary, I count it, and will that it be counted and taken, as though it had never been spoken.

But because the cardinal hath required, at the commandment of the pope, three things of me to be observed: First, That I should return again to the knowledge of myself: Secondly, That I should beware of falling into the same again hereafter: Thirdly, That I should promise to abstain from all things which might disquiet the church of God: I protest here this day, that whatsoever I have said, seemeth unto me to be sound, true, and catholic: yet for the further proof thereof, I do offer myself personally, either here or elsewhere, publicly to give a reason of my sayings. And if this please not the legate, I am ready also in writing to answer his objections, if he have any against me; and touching these things, to hear the sentence and judgment of the universities of the empire, Basil, Friburg, and Louvain. Answer of Luther, with his propositions.

Hereto when they had received an answer in writing, they departed.

After this, Luther by and by prepareth an answer to the legate, teaching, that the merits of Christ are not committed unto men: That the pope's voice is to be heard when he speaketh agreeable to the Scriptures: That the pope may err: That he ought to be reprehended. [Acts xv.] Moreover he showed, that in the matter of faith, not only the general council, but also every faithful Christian is above the pope, if he lean to better authority and reason: That the extravagant containeth untruths: That it is an infallible verity, that none is just: That it is necessary, for him that cometh to the receiving of the sacrament, to believe: That faith in the absolution and remission of sins, is necessary: That he ought not, nor might not decline from the verity of the Scripture: That he sought nothing but the light of the truth, &c.

But the cardinal would hear no Scriptures; he disputed without Scriptures; he devised glosses and expositions of his own head; and by distinctions (wherewith the divinity of the Thomists is full), like a very Proteus,[1] he avoided all things. After this, Luther, being

(1) Proteus was a monster noted in poets, which could change himself into all forms and likenesses.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1518 to 1521.

commanded to come no more into the presence of the legate except he would recant, notwithstanding abode there still, and would not depart. Then the cardinal sent for Johannes Stupitius, vicar of the Augustines, and moved him earnestly to bring Luther to recant of his own accord. Luther tarried the next day also, and nothing was said unto him. The third day moreover he tarried, and delivered up his mind in writing:

Substance of Luther's answer to the Cardinal.

First, Luther thanked the cardinal for his courtesy and great kindness, which he perceived by the words of Stupitius toward him; and therefore was the more ready to gratify him in whatsoever kind of office he could do him service: confessing moreover, that where he had been somewhat sharp and eager against the pope's dignity, that was not so much of his own mind, as it was to be ascribed to the importunity of certain who gave him occasion. Notwithstanding, as he acknowledged his excess therein, so he was ready to show more moderation in that behalf hereafter, and also promised to make amends for the same unto the bishop; and that in the pulpit, if he pleased. And as touching the matter of pardons, he promised also to proceed no further in any mention thereof, so that his adversaries likewise were bound to keep silence. But whereas he was pressed to retract his sentence before defended, forasmuch as he had said nothing but with a good conscience, and which was agreeable to the firm testimonies of the Scripture, therefore he humbly desired the determination thereof to be referred to the bishop of Rome; for nothing could be more grateful to him, than to hear the voice of the church speaking, &c.

Who doth not see by this so humble and honest submission of Luther, but that if the bishop of Rome would have been answered with any reason, or contented with sufficient mean, he had never been touched any further of Luther? But the secret purpose of God had a further work herein to do; for the time now was come, when God thought good that pride should have a fall. Thus while the immeasurable desire of that bishop sought more than enough (like to Æsop's dog coveting to have both the flesh and the shadow), not only he missed what he gaped for, but also lost that which he had.

Pride will have a fall. Æsop's dog; 'all covet, all lose.'

But to the purpose of our matter again: this writing Luther delivered to the cardinal, the third day after he was commanded out of his sight; which letter or writing the cardinal did little regard. When Luther saw that he would give no answer nor countenance to the letter; yet, notwithstanding, he remained, after that, the fourth day, and nothing was answered. The fifth day likewise was passed with like silence, and nothing done. At length, by the counsel of his friends, and especially because the cardinal had said before, that he had a commandment to imprison Luther and John Stupitius the vicar; after that he had made and set up his appeal where it might be seen and read, he departed; thinking that he had showed such dangerous obedience long enough. Luther, a beholder and a doer of these things, recordeth the same, and showeth the cause why he submitted himself to the church of Rome: declaring also, that even those things which are most truly spoken, yet ought to be maintained and defended with humility and fear. Some things he suppresseth and concealeth, which he supposeth the reader to understand, not without grief and sorrow. At length he protesteth, that he reverenceth and followeth the church of Rome in all things, and that he

Luther obedient to Rome.

setteth himself only against those, who, under the name of the church of Rome, go about to set forth and commend Babylon unto us. *Henry VIII.*

Thus have you heard how Luther, being rejected from the speech and sight of Cajetan the cardinal, after six days' waiting, departed by the advice of his friends, and returned unto Wittenberg; leaving a letter in writing to be given to the cardinal, wherein he declared sufficiently: first his obedience in his coming; the reasons of his doctrine; his submission reasonable to the see of Rome; his long waiting after he was repelled from the cardinal's speech; the charges of the duke; and finally, the cause of his departing. Besides this letter to the cardinal, he left an appellation to the bishop of Rome, from the cardinal, which he caused openly to be affixed before his departure. A.D. 1518 to 1521.

Luther appealeth to the pope.

After Luther was thus departed and returned again into his country, Cajetan writeth to duke Frederic a sharp and a biting letter, in which first he signifieth unto him his gentle entertainment and good will showed to reduce Luther from his error. Secondly, he complaineth of the sudden departing of him, and of Stupitius. Thirdly, he declareth the pernicious danger of Luther's doctrine against the church of Rome. Fourthly, he exhorteth the duke, that as he tendereth his own honour and safety, and regardeth the favour of the high bishop, he will send him up to Rome, or expel him out of his dominions, forasmuch as such a pestilence breeding, as that was, could not, neither ought by any means long so to be suffered.

The letters of Cajetan to duke Frederic.

To this letter of the cardinal the duke answereth again at large, purging both Luther and himself; Luther, in that he, following his conscience, grounded upon the word of God, would not revoke that for an error, which could be proved no error. And himself he excuseth thus: that whereas it is required of him to banish him his country, or to send him up to Rome, it would be little honesty for him so to do, and less conscience, unless he knew just cause why he should so do; which if the cardinal would or could declare unto him, there should lack nothing in him which were the part of a christian prince to do. And therefore he desired him to be a mean unto the bishop of Rome, that innocency and truth be not oppressed before the crime or error be lawfully convicted.

The duke's answer for Luther.

This done, the duke sendeth the letter of the cardinal unto Martin Luther, who answered again to the prince; showing first how he came obediently unto Cajetan with the emperor's warrant, and what talk there was between them: how Cajetan pressed him, against his conscience and manifest truth, to revoke these errors. First, that the merits of Christ's passion were not the treasure of the pope's pardons: secondly, that faith was necessary in receiving the sacraments. Albeit in the first he was content to yield to the cardinal; in the second, because it touched a great part of our salvation, he could not with a safe conscience relent, but desired to be taught by the Scripture, or at least, that the matter might be brought into open disputation in some free place of Germany, where the truth might be discussed and judged of learned men. The cardinal, not pleased with this, in great anger cast out many menacing words, neither would admit him any more to his presence or speech; whereas he yet, notwithstanding, persisting in his obedience to the church of Rome, gave attendance, waiting upon the cardinal's pleasure a sufficient time.

Luther's letters to duke Frederic

Henry VIII. A. D. 1518 to 1521.

At last when no answer would come, after he had waited the space of five or six days to his great detriment and greater danger, by the persuasion of his friends he departed: whereat if the cardinal were displeased, he had most cause to blame himself. "And now, whereas the cardinal threateneth me," saith he, "not to let the action fall, but that the process thereof shall be pursued at Rome, unless I either come and present myself, or else be banished your dominions; I am not so much grieved for mine own cause, as that you should sustain for my matter any danger or peril. And therefore, seeing there is no place nor country which can keep me from the malice of mine adversaries, I am willing to depart hence, and to forsake my country, whithersoever it shall please the Lord to lead me; thanking God, who hath counted me worthy to suffer thus much for the glory of Christ's name."

Luther ready to be exiled.

His cause in danger.

Here, no doubt, was the cause of Luther in great danger, being now brought to this strait, that both Luther was ready to fly the country, and the duke again was as much afraid to keep him, had not the marvellous providence of God, who had this matter in guiding, here provided a remedy where the power of man did fail, by stirring up the whole university of Wittenberg; who, seeing the cause of truth thus to decline, with a full and general consent addressed their letters unto the prince, in defence of Luther and of his cause; making their humble suit unto him, that he, of his princely honour, would not suffer innocency, and the simplicity of truth so clear as is the Scripture, to be foiled and oppressed by mere violence of certain malignant flatterers about the pope; but that the error first may be showed and convicted, before the party be pronounced guilty.

The university of Wittenberg writeth to the duke for Luther.

By the occasion of these letters, the duke began more seriously in his mind to consider the cause of Luther, and to read his works, and also to hearken to his sermons: whereby, through God's holy working, he grew to knowledge and strength; perceiving in Luther's quarrel more than he did before. This was about the beginning of December, A.D. 1518.

New indulgences set forth by pope Leo

As this past on, pope Leo, playing the lion at Rome, in the mean time, in the month of November (to establish his seat against this defection which he feared to come), had sent forth new indulgences into Germany, and all quarters abroad, with a new edict, wherein he declared this to be the catholic doctrine of the holy mother-church of Rome, prince of all other churches, that bishops of Rome, who are successors of Peter, and vicars of Christ, have this power and authority given to release and dispense, also to grant indulgences, available both for the living and for the dead lying in the pains of purgatory: and this doctrine he charged to be received of all faithful christian men, under pain of the great curse, and utter separation from all holy church. This popish decree and indulgence, as a new merchandise or ale-stake to get money, being set up in all quarters of Christendom for the holy father's advantage, came also to be received in Germany about the month of December. Luther, in the mean time, hearing how they went about in Rome to proceed and pronounce against him, provided a certain appellation conceived in due form of law, wherein he appealeth from the pope to the general council.

The pope's ale-stake, to pick men's purses.

When pope Leo perceived, that neither his pardons would prosper to his mind, nor that Luther could be brought to Rome; to essay how to come to his purpose by crafty allurements, he sent his chamberlain, Carolus Miltitius above-mentioned (who was a German), into Saxony, to duke Frederic, with a golden rose, after the usual ceremony accustomed every year to be presented to him; with secret letters also to certain noblemen of the duke's council, to solicit the pope's cause, and to remove the duke's mind, if it might be, from Luther. But before Miltitius approached into Germany, Maximilian the emperor deceased in the month of January, A.D. 1519. At that time two there were who stood for the election; to wit, Francis the French king, and Charles king of Spain, who was also duke of Austria, and duke of Burgundy. To make this matter short, through the means of Frederic prince elector (who having the offer of the preferment, refused the same), the election fell to Charles, called Charles V., surnamed Prudence: which was about the end of August.

Luther appealeth from the pope, to a council.

Death of Maximilian.

Charles V. elected emperor, by means of duke Frederic.

In the month of June before, there was a public disputation ordained at Leipsic, which is a city in Misnia, under the dominion of George duke of Saxony, uncle to duke Frederic. This disputation first began through the occasion of John Eckius, a friar, and Andreas Carolostadt, doctor of Wittenberg. This Eckius had impugned certain propositions or conclusions of Martin Luther, which he had written the year before touching the pope's pardons. Against him Carolostadt wrote in defence of Luther. Eckius again, to answer Carolostadt, set forth an apology, which apology Carolostadt confuted by writing. Upon this began the disputation, with safe-conduct granted by duke George to all and singular persons that would resort to the same. To this disputation came also Martin Luther, with Philip Melancthon, who, not past a year before, was newly come to Wittenberg; Luther not thinking then to dispute in any matter, because of his appellation above-mentioned, but only to hear what there was said and done.

Disputation at Leipsic.

Eckius against Carolostadt.

Luther cometh to the disputation.

First, before the entry into the disputation it was agreed, that the acts should be penned by notaries, and after divulged abroad. But Eckius afterwards went back from that, pretending that the penning of the notaries would be a hinderance and a stay unto them, whereby the heat of them in their reasoning should the more languish, and their vehemency abate. But Carolostadt without notaries would not dispute. The sum of their disputations was reduced to certain conclusions; amongst which, came first in question to dispute of free-will, which the Greeks call *αὐθαίρετον*: that is, "Whether a man have of himself any election or purpose to do that which is good:" or (to use the terms of the school) "Whether a man of congruence may deserve grace, doing that which in him doth lie?" Herein when the question was to be discussed, what the will of man may do of itself without grace, they, through heat of contention (as the manner is), fell into other by-matters and ambages[1] little or nothing appertaining to that which Carolostadt proposed. Eckius affirmed, that the pure strength to do good is not in man's will, but is given of God to man, to take interest and increase of man again, which first

The question of free-will.

(1) "Ambages," idle circumlocutions.—Ed.

Henry VIII. A.D 1518 to 1521.

he seemed to deny. Then, being asked of Carolostadt, whether the whole and full good work that is in man proceedeth of God; to this he answered, "the whole good work, but not wholly:" granting, that the will is moved of God; but to consent, to be in man's power. Against this reasoned Carolostadt, alleging certain places of Austin, and especially of St. Paul, who saith, that God worketh in us both to will, and to perform.[1] And this sentence of Carolostadt seemed to overcome. Eckius, for his assertion, inferred certain escripts out of Bernard, which seemed little to the purpose. And thus was a whole week lost about this contentious and sophistical altercation between Eckius and Carolostadt.

God giveth his grace to usury. 'Totum totaliter.'

Luther disputeth with Eckius against the pope's supre-

Luther (as was said) came, not thinking at all to dispute; but, having free liberty granted by the duke, and under the pope's authority, was provoked, and forced against his will, to dispute with Eckius. The matter of their controversy was about the authority of the bishop of Rome. Here is first to be admonished, that Luther before had set forth in writing this doctrine: that they that do attribute the preeminency to the church of Rome, have no foundation for them, but out of the pope's decrees, set forth not much past four hundred years heretofore: which decrees he affirmed to be contrary to all ancient histories, above a thousand years past; contrary also to the holy Scriptures, and unto the Nicene council.

Against this assertion Eckius set up a contrary conclusion; saying, that those who hold that the supremacy and pre-eminency of the church of Rome above all other churches was not before the time of pope Silvester I., do err, forasmuch as they that succeeded in the see and faith of Peter, were always received for the successors of Peter, and vicars of Christ on earth.

This being the last of all the themes of Eckius, yet thought he chiefly to begin with this against Luther, to bring him into more displeasure with the bishop of Rome; wherein Luther himself much refused to dispute, alleging that matter to be more odious than necessary for that present time, and that also, for the bishop of Rome's sake, he had much rather keep silence in the same. Whereunto, if he must needs be urged, he would the fault should be understood of all men to be where it was: namely, in his adversaries who provoked him thereunto, and not in himself. Eckius again, clearing himself, translateth all the fault unto Luther, who first, in his treatise 'De Indulgentiis Papæ' defended, that before pope Silvester's time the church of Rome had no place of majority or pre-eminence above other churches: and also before, the cardinal Cajetan affirmed, that pope Pelagian wrested many places of the Scripture out of their proper sense, unto his own affection and purpose: "Wherefore the fault hereof," said he, "to him rather is to be imputed, who ministered the first occasion."

Disputation between Luther and Eckius, about the pope's supremacy.

Thus Luther being egged and constrained to dispute, whether he would or no, the question began to be propounded touching the supremacy of the bishop of Rome; which supremacy Eckius did contend to be founded and grounded upon God's law. Martin Luther, on the other side, denied not the supremacy of the bishop of Rome above other churches, nor denied the same, moreover, to be

(1) Phil. ii. 3.

universal over all churches; but only he affirmed it not to be instituted by God's law. Upon this question the disputation did continue the space of five days;[1] during all which season, Eckius very unhonestly and uncourteously demeaned himself, studying by all means how to bring his adversary into the hatred of the auditors, and into danger of the pope. The reasons of Eckius were these: "Forasmuch as the church, being a civil body, cannot be without a head, therefore, as it standeth with God's law that other civil regiments should not be destitute of their head, so is it by God's law requisite, that the pope should be the head of the universal church of Christ." To this Martin Luther answered, that he confesseth and granteth the church not to be headless, so long as Christ is alive, who is the only head of the church; neither doth the church require any other head beside him, forasmuch as it is a spiritual kingdom, not earthly: and he alleged for him the place of Colossians i. Eckius again produceth certain places out of Jerome and Cyprian, which made very little to prove the primacy of the pope to hold by God's law. As touching the testimony of Bernard, neither was the authority of that author of any great force in this case, nor was the place alleged so greatly to the purpose.

Henry VIII. A. D. 1518 to 1521.

Reasons of Eckius for the supremacy.

Then came he to the place of St. Matthew, "Tu es Petrus," &c. "Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock will I build my church," &c. To this was answered, that this was a confession of faith, and that Peter there representeth the person of the whole universal church; as Austin doth expound it. Also that Christ in that place meaneth himself to be the Rock, as is manifest to collect, both by his words, and the order of the sentence, and many other conjectures. Likewise to the place of St. John, "Pasce oves meas," "Feed my sheep;" which words Eckius alleged to be spoken, properly and peculiarly, to Peter alone. Martin answered, that after these words spoken, equal authority was given to all the apostles, where Christ saith unto them, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost: whose sins soever ye remit, they are remitted," &c. "By these words," saith he, "Christ, assigning to them their office, doth teach what it is to feed; and what he ought to be, that feedeth."

Luther's answer to the place, 'Tu es Petrus.'

Answer of Luther to, 'Pasce oves meas.'

After this, Eckius came to the authority of the council of Constance, alleging this amongst other articles: "De necessitate salutis est, credere Romanum pontificem Œcumenicum esse:" that is, "That it standeth upon necessity of our salvation, to believe, the bishop of Rome to be supreme head of the church;" alleging moreover, that in the same council it was debated and discussed, that the general council could not err. Whereunto Martin Luther again did answer discreetly, saying, that all the articles which John Huss did hold in that council, were not condemned for heretical; with much other matter more. Again, of what authority that council of Constance is to be esteemed, that he left to other men's judgments. "This is most certain," said he, "that no council hath such authority to make new articles of faith." Here Martin Luther began to be cried out of by Eckius and his complices, for diminishing the authority of general councils: although indeed he meant nothing less, but ever laboured to confirm the authority of the same, yet was he called

Council of Constance.

(1) Ex Parilipomen. Abbat. Ursperg.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1518 to 1521.

heretic and schismatic, and one of the Bohemians' faction, with many other terms besides of reproachful contumely. Eckius then granted the authority of the apostles to be equal; and yet not to follow thereby, the authority of all bishops therefore to be equal; "for between apostleship and ministry," said he, "there is great difference."

To conclude, Eckius in no case could abide, that any creature should decline from any word or sentence of the pope's decrees, or the constitutions of the forefathers. To this again Luther answered, grounding himself upon the place in Galatians ii., where St. Paul, speaking of the principal apostles, saith; "And of them which seemed to be great, what they were before, it maketh no matter to me; for God accepteth no man's person. Nevertheless they that were of some reputation did avail nothing at all," &c. Eckius to this said, that as touching the authority of the apostles, they were all chosen of Christ, but were ordained bishops by St. Peter.[1] And whereas Luther brought in the constitution of the decree, which saith; "Ne Romanus pontifex universalis episcopus nominetur," &c. "Yea, let not the bishop of Rome be called universal bishop," &c. To this Eckius answered in this sort: that the bishop of Rome ought not to be called universal bishop; yet he may be called (saith he) bishop of the universal church. And thus much touching the question of the pope's supremacy.

Of purgatory.

From this matter they entered next to purgatory, wherein Eckius kept no order; for when they should have disputed what power the pope hath in purgatory, Eckius turned the scope of the question, and proved that there is purgatory; and alleged for him the place of Maccabees.[2] Luther, leaning upon the judgment of Jerome, affirmed the book of Maccabees not to be canonical. Eckius again replied, the book of Maccabees to be of no less authority than the gospels. Also he alleged the place, 1 Cor. iii., "He shall be saved, yet so as it were by fire." Moreover, he inferred the place of Matthew v.: "Agree thou with thine adversary while thou art in the way with him, lest he commit thee to prison; from whence thou shalt not escape till thou hast paid the uttermost farthing," &c. To this he added also the place of the Psalms,[3] "We have passed through the fire and water," &c. How these places be wrested to purgatory, let the reader discern and judge.

Of indulgences.

Then was inferred the question of indulgences, whereof Eckius seemed to make but a toy, and a matter of nothing, and so passed it over.

Of penances.

At last they came to the question of penance; touching which matter, the reasons of Eckius digressed much from the purpose, which went about to prove, that there be some manner of pains of satisfaction: which thing Luther did never deny. But that for every particular offence such particular penance is exacted of God's justice upon the repentant sinner, as it is in man's power to remit or release, as pleaseth him; such penance neither Luther, nor any other true Christian did admit.

And thus have ye the chief effect of this disputation between

(1) Here is good doctrine of Eckius, I trow.
(2) 2 Mac. xii. 43—45. (3) Psalm lxvi. 12.

Luther and Eckius at Leipsic, which was in the month of July, A.D. 1519. *Henry VIII.*

A.D. 1518 to 1521.

About the beginning of the same year, Ulderic Zuinglius came first to Zurich, and there began to teach; who, in the sixteenth article in his book of articles, recordeth, that Luther and he, both at one time, one not knowing nor hearing of another, began to write against the pope's pardons and indulgences. Albeit, if the time be rightly counted, I suppose we shall find that Luther began a year or two before Zuinglius. Notwithstanding, this doth Sleidan testify, that in this present year, when Sampson a Franciscan came with the pope's pardons to Zurich, Ulderic Zuinglius did withstand him, and declared his chaffer and pardons to be but a vain seducing of the people to inveigle away their money.[1]

Luther and Zuinglius begin to write against the pope.

The next year, which was 1520, the friars and doctors of Louvain, and also of Cologne, condemned the books of Luther as heretical; against whom Luther again effectually defended himself, and charged them with obstinate violence and malicious impiety. After this, within few days flashed out from Rome the thunderbolt of pope Leo against the said Luther, notwithstanding he so humbly and obediently before had reverenced both the person of the pope, and recognised the authority of his see, and had also dedicated unto him the book entitled, 'De Christiana Libertate:' that is, 'Of Christian Liberty;' in which book these two points principally he discusseth and proveth:

Luther's books condemned at Louvain and Cologne.

Pope Leo's bull against Luther.

I. That a christian man is free, and lord over all things, and subject to none.
II. That a christian man is a diligent underling and servant of all men, and to every man subject.

Moreover, in the same year he set out a defence of all his articles, which the pope's bull had before condemned.

Another book also he wrote, addressed to the nobility of Germany, in which he impugneth and shaketh the three principal walls of the papists: the first whereof is this:

Three walls or bulwarks of the papists.

I. Whereas the papists say, that no temporal or profane magistrate hath any power upon the spiritualty, but they have power over the other.
II. Where any place of Scripture, being in controversy, is to be decided, they say, No man may expound the Scripture, or be judge thereof, but only the pope.
III. When any council is brought against them, they say, that no man hath authority to call a council, but only the pope.

Moreover, in the aforesaid book divers other matters he handleth and discourseth: That the pope can stop no free council; also what things ought to be handled in councils; that the pride of the pope is not to be suffered; what money goeth out of Germany yearly to the pope, amounting to the sum of three millions of florins. The true meaning of this verse he expoundeth: "Tu supplex ora, tu protege, tuque labora:" wherein the three estates, with their offices and duties, are described; to wit, the minister, the magistrate, and the subjects. Furthermore, in the said book he proveth and discusseth, that the

1) Ex Sleid. lib. i.

Henry VIII. A. D. 1518 to 1521.

emperor is not under the pope; but contrariwise, that the donation of Constantine is not true, but forged: that priests may have wives: that the voices of the people ought not to be separate from the election of ecclesiastical persons: that interdicting and suspending of matrimony at certain times is brought in by avarice: what is the right use of excommunication: that there ought to be fewer holidays: that liberty ought not be restrained in meats: that wilful poverty and begging ought to be abolished: what damage and inconvenience have grown by the council of Constance; and what misfortunes Sigismund the emperor sustained, for not keeping faith and promise with John Huss and Jerome: that heretics should be convinced not by fire and faggot, but by evidence of Scripture, and God's word: how schools and universities ought to be reformed: what is to be said and judged of the pope's decretals: that the first teaching of children ought to begin with the gospel: Item, he writeth in the same book against excessive apparel among the Germans: also against their excess in spices, &c.

Charles the emperor crowned.

In this year moreover followed, not long after, the coronation of the new emperor Charles V., which was in the month of October, at Aix-la-Chapelle. After which coronation, being solemnized about the month of November, pope Leo sent again to duke Frederic, two cardinals his legates, of whom one was Hierome Aleander, who, after a few words of high commendation first premised to the duke touching his noble progeny, and other his famous virtues, made two requests unto him in the pope's name: first, that he would cause all books of Luther to be burned; secondly, that he would either see the said Luther there to be executed, or else would make him sure, and send him up to Rome, unto the pope's presence.

Duke Frederic's answer to the pope's legates.

These two requests seemed very strange unto the duke; who, answering again to the cardinals, said, that he, being long absent from thence about other public affairs, could not tell what there was done, neither did he communicate with the doings of Luther. Notwithstanding this he heard, that Eckius was a great perturber not only of Luther, but of divers other learned and good men of his university. As for himself, he was always ready to do his duty; first, in sending Luther to Cajetan the cardinal at the city of Augsburg; and afterwards, at the pope's commandment, would have sent him away out of his dominion, had not Meltitius, the pope's own chamberlain, given contrary counsel to retain him still in his own country, fearing lest he might do more harm in other countries, where he was less known: and so now also was he as ready to do his duty, wheresoever right and equity did so require. But forasmuch as in this cause he saw much hatred and violence showed on the one part, and no error yet convicted on the other part, but that it had rather the approbation of divers well learned and sound men of judgment; and forasmuch as also the cause of Luther was not yet heard before the emperor, therefore he desired the said legates to be a mean to the pope's holiness, that certain learned persons of gravity and upright judgment might be assigned to have the hearing and determination of this matter, and that his error might first be known, before he were made a heretic, or his books burned: which being done, when he should see his error by manifest and sound testimonies of Scripture revinced, Luther should

find no favour at his hands. Otherwise he trusted that the pope's holiness would exact no such thing of him, which he might not with equity, and honour of his place and estate, reasonably perform, &c. *Henry VIII.* A. D. 1518 to 1521.

Then the cardinals (declaring to the duke again, that they could no otherwise do, but that according to the form of their prescript commission they must proceed), took the books of Luther, and shortly after set fire unto them, and openly burnt them. Luther, hearing this, in like manner called all the multitude of students and learned men in Wittenberg, and there, taking the pope's decrees, and the bull lately sent down against him, openly and solemnly, accompanied with a great number of people following him, set them likewise on fire, and burnt them; which was the 10th of December A.D. 1520. The legates burn the books of Luther. Luther burneth the pope's decrees.

A little before these things thus passed between the pope and Martin Luther, the emperor had commanded and ordained a sitting or assembly of the states of all the empire to be holden at the city of Worms, against the 6th day of January next ensuing; in which assembly, through the means of duke Frederic, the emperor gave forth, that he would have the cause of Luther there brought before him; and so it was. For at what time the assembly was commenced in the city of Worms, the day and month aforesaid, which was the 6th of January; afterwards, upon the 6th of March following, the emperor, through the instigation of duke Frederic, directed his letters unto Luther; signifying, that forasmuch as he had set abroad certain books, he therefore, by the advice of his peers and princes about him, had ordained to have the cause brought before him in his own hearing; and therefore he granted him license to come, and return home again. And that he might safely and quietly so do, and be thereof assured, he promised unto him, by public faith and credit, in the name of the whole empire, his passport and safe-conduct; as by the instrument which he sent unto him, he might be more fully certified. Wherefore, without all doubt or distrust, he willed him eftsoons to make his repair unto him, and to be there present on the twenty-first day after the receipt thereof: and because he should not misdoubt fraud or injury herein, the emperor assured unto him his warrant and promise. The emperor's letter, with his safe conduct, sent to Luther.

Martin Luther being thus provided for his safe-conduct by the emperor, after he had been first accursed at Rome upon Maunday Thursday by the pope's censure, shortly after Easter speedeth his journey toward the emperor at Worms, where the said Luther, appearing before the emperor and all the states of Germany, how constantly he stuck to the truth, and defended himself, and answered his adversaries, and what adversaries he had, here followeth in full history, with the acts and doings which there happened; according as in our former edition partly was before described. Luther accursed at Rome, by the pope.

THE ACTS AND DOINGS OF MARTIN LUTHER BEFORE THE EMPEROR, AT THE CITY OF WORMS.

In the year of our salvation 1521, about seventeen days after Easter, Martin Luther entered into Worms, being sent for by the emperor Charles V., who, the first year of his empire, made an assembly of princes in the aforesaid city. And whereas Martin Luther had A.D. 1521

Henry VIII. A. D. 1521. published three years before, certain propositions to be disputed in the town of Wittenberg, in Saxony, against the tyranny of the pope (which, notwithstanding, were torn in pieces, condemned, and burned by the papists, and yet by no manifest Scriptures, nor probable reason convinced), the matter began to grow to a tumult and uproar; and yet Luther maintained all this while openly his cause against the clergy. Whereupon it seemed good to certain, that Luther should be called; assigning unto him a herald-at-arms, with a letter of safe-conduct by the emperor and princes. Being sent for, he came, and was brought to the knights of the Rhodes' place, where he was lodged, well entertained, and visited by many earls, barons, knights of the order, gentlemen, priests, and the commonalty, who frequented his lodging until night.

To conclude, he came, contrary to the expectation of many, as well adversaries as others. For albeit he was sent for by the emperor's messenger, and had letters of safe-conduct; yet for that a few days before his access, his books were condemned by public proclamation, it was much doubted of by many that he would not come: and the rather, for that his friends deliberated together in a village nigh hand, called Oppenheim (where Luther was first advertised of these occurrents); and many persuaded him not to adventure himself to such a present danger, considering how these beginnings answered not the faith of promise made. Who, when he had heard their whole persuasion and advice, answered in this wise: "As touching me, since I am sent for, I am resolved and certainly determined to enter Worms, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ; yea, although I knew there were as many devils to resist me, as there are tiles to cover the houses in Worms."

Luther's constancy.

The fourth day after his repair, a gentleman named Ulrick, of Pappenheim, lieutenant-general of the men-at-arms of the empire, was commanded by the emperor before dinner to repair to Luther, and to enjoin him at four o'clock in the afternoon to appear before the imperial majesty, the princes electors, dukes, and other estates of the empire, to understand the cause of his sending for: whereunto he willingly agreed, as his duty was. And after four o'clock, Ulrick of Pappenheim, and Caspar Sturm, the emperor's herald (who conducted Martin Luther from Wittenberg to Worms), came for Luther, and accompanied him through the garden of the knights of the Rhodes' place, to the earl palatine's palace; and, lest the people that thronged in should molest him, he was led by secret stairs to the place where he was appointed to have audience. Yet many, who perceived the pretence, violently rushed in, and were resisted, albeit in vain: many ascended the galleries, because they desired to behold Luther.

Luther brought before the emperor.

Thus standing before the emperor, the electors, dukes, earls, and all the estates of the empire assembled there, he was first advertised by Ulrick of Pappenheim to keep silence, until such time as he was required to speak. Then John Eckius above mentioned, who then was the bishop of Treves' general official, with a loud and intelligible voice, first in Latin, then in Dutch,[1] according to the emperor's commandment, said and proponed this sentence in manner as ensueth, or like in effect:

(1) "Dutch," that is High Dutch, or German; "Deutsch."—Ed.

'Martin Luther! the sacred and invincible imperial majesty hath enjoined, by the consent of all the estates of the holy empire, that thou shouldest be appealed before the throne of his majesty, to the end I might demand of thee these two points. *Henry VIII.* A.D. 1521.

'First, Whether thou confessest these books here [for he showed a heap of Luther's books written in the Latin and Dutch tongues], and which are in all places dispersed, entitled with thy name, be thine, and thou dost affirm them to be thine, or not?

'Secondly, Whether thou wilt recant and revoke them, and all that is contained in them, or rather meanest to stand to what thou hast written?'

Then, before Luther prepared to answer, Master Jerome Scurffe, a lawyer of Wittenberg, required that the titles of the books should be read. Forthwith the aforesaid Eckius named certain of the books, and those principally that were imprinted at Basil; among which he nominated his Commentaries upon the Psalter, his book of Good Works, his Commentary upon the Lord's Prayer, and divers others which were not contentious. Jerome Schuffe.

After this, Luther answered thus in Latin and in Dutch.

'Two things are proponed unto me by the imperial majesty: First, whether I will avouch for mine all those books that bear my name. Secondly, whether I will maintain or revoke any thing that hitherto I have devised and published: whereunto I will answer as briefly as I can. Luther's answer.

'In the first, I can do no other than recognise those books to be mine which lastly were named, and certainly I will never recant any clause thereof. In the second, to declare whether I will wholly defend, or call back any thing comprised in them: forasmuch as there be questions of faith, and the salvation of the soul (and this concerneth the Word of God, which is the greatest and most excellent matter that can be in heaven or earth, and which we ought duly evermore to reverence), this might be accounted in me a rashness of judgment, and even a most dangerous attempt, if I should pronounce any thing before I were better advised; considering I might recite something less than the matter importeth, and more than the truth requireth, if I did not premeditate that which I would speak. The which two things well considered, do set before mine eyes this sentence of our Lord Jesus Christ, wherein it is said, Whosoever shall deny me before men, I will deny him before my Father. I require then for this cause, and humbly beseech the imperial majesty to grant me liberty and leisure to deliberate; so that I may satisfy the interrogation made unto me, without prejudice of the Word of God, and peril of mine own soul.' He refuseth to revoke his books. Desireth respite to answer.

Whereupon the princes began to deliberate. This done, Eckius, the prolocutor, pronounced what was their resolution, saying,

'Albeit, Master Luther! thou hast sufficiently understood by the emperor's commandment, the cause of thy appearance here, and therefore dost not deserve to have any further respite given thee to determine; yet the emperor's majesty, of his mere clemency, granteth thee one day to meditate for thine answer, so that to-morrow, at this instant hour, thou shalt repair to exhibit thine opinion, not in writing, but to pronounce the same with lively voice.' Speech of Eckius.

This done, Luther was led to his lodging by the herald. But herein I may not be oblivious, that in the way going to the emperor, and when he was in the assembly of princes, he was exhorted by others to be courageous, and manly to demean himself, and not to fear them that kill the body, but not the soul; but rather to dread Him, that is able to send both body and soul to everlasting fire. Luther exhorted to be constant.

Furthermore, he was encouraged with this sentence; "When thou

Henry VIII. art before kings, think not what thou shalt speak, for it shall be given thee in that hour." Matt. x.

A. D. 1521. The next day, after four o'clock, the herald came and brought Luther from his lodging, to the emperor's court, where he abode till six o'clock, for that the princes were occupied in grave consultations; abiding there, and being environed with a great number of people, and almost smothered for the press that was there. Then after, when the princes were set, and Luther entered, Eckius, the official, began to speak in this manner:

Eckius again propoundeth against Luther. 'Yesterday, at this hour, the emperor's majesty assigned thee to be here, Master Luther! for that thou didst affirm those books that we named yesterday to be thine. Further, to the interrogation by us made, whether thou wouldest approve all that is contained in them, or abolish and make void any part thereof, thou didst require time of deliberation, which was granted, and is now expired; albeit thou oughtest not to have opportunity granted to deliberate, considering it was not unknown to thee wherefore we cited thee. And as concerning the matter of faith, every man ought to be so prepared, that at all times, whensoever he shall be required, he may give certain and constant reason thereof; and thou especially, being counted a man of such learning, and so long time exercised in theology. Then go to; answer even now to the emperor's demand, whose bounty thou hast proved in giving thee leisure to deliberate. Wilt thou now maintain all thy books which thou hast acknowledged, or revoke any part of them, and submit thyself?'

The official made this interrogation in Latin and in Dutch.[1] Martin Luther answered in Latin and in Dutch in this wise, modestly and lowly, and yet not without some stoutness of stomach, and christian constancy; so that his adversaries would gladly have had his courage more humbled and abased, but yet more earnestly desired his recantation; whereof they were in some good hope, when they heard him desire respite of time to make his answer.

Luther's Answer to Eckius.

Emperor, and my most magnificent lord, and you most excellent princes, and my most gentle lords! I appear before you here at the hour prescribed unto me yesterday, yielding the obedience which I owe; humbly beseeching, for God's mercy, your most renowned majesty, and your graces and honours, that ye will minister to me this courtesy, to attend this cause benignly, which is the cause (as I trust) of justice and verity: and if by ignorance I have not given unto every one of you your just titles, or if I have not observed the ceremonies and countenances of the court, offending against them; it may please you to pardon me of your benignities, as one that only hath frequented cloisters, and not courtly civilities. And first, as touching myself, I can affirm or promise no other thing but only this: that I have taught and instructed hitherto, in simplicity of mind, that which I have thought to tend to God's glory, to the salvation of men's souls, *and to the institution of the faithful Christians in all sincerity and doctrine.*[1]

He giveth account of his faith. Now, as concerning the two articles objected by your most excellent majesty, Whether I would acknowledge those books which were named, and be published in my name; or whether I would maintain and not revoke them: I have given resolute answer to the first, in which I persist, and shall persevere for evermore, that these books be mine, and published by me in my name; unless it hath since happened, by some fraudulent misdealing of mine enemies, there be any thing foisted into them, or corruptly corrected. For I will acknowledge nothing but what I have written, and that which I have written I will not deny.

Now to answer to the second article; I beseech your most excellent majesty,

(1) 'Dutch,' German.—Ed. (2) See Edition 1563, p. 410.—Ed

and your graces, to vouchsafe to give ear. All my books are not of one sort: there be some in which I have so simply and soundly declared and opened the religion of christian faith, and of good works, that my very enemies are compelled to confess them to be profitable and worthy to be read by all Christians. And truly the pope's bull (how cruel and tyrannous soever it be) judgeth certain of my books inculpable; albeit the same, with severe sentence, thundereth against me, and with monstrous cruelty condemneth my books: which books if I should revoke, I might worthily be thought to neglect and transgress the office of a true Christian, and to be one alone that repugneth the public confession of all people. There is another sort of my books which containeth invectives against the papacy, and others of the pope's retinue, who have, with their pestiferous doctrine, and pernicious examples, corrupted the whole state of our Christianity: neither can any deny or dissemble this (whereunto universal experience and common complaint of all bear witness), that the consciences of all faithful men be most miserably entrapped, vexed, and cruelly tormented by the pope's laws and doctrines of men; also that the goods and substance of christian people are devoured, especially in this noble and famous country of Germany; and yet, without order, and in most detestable manner, are suffered still to be devoured without all measure, by incredible tyranny: notwithstanding that they themselves have ordained to the contrary in their own proper laws, as in the 9th and 25th distinctions, and in the 1st and 2d questions; where they themselves have decreed, that all such laws of popes as be repugnant to the doctrine of the gospel, and the opinions of the ancient Fathers, are to be judged erroneous, and reproved. If then I should revoke these, I can do no other but add more force to their tyranny, and open not only windows, but wide gates to their impiety, which is likely to extend more wide, and more licentiously, than ever it durst heretofore. And by the testimony of this my retraction, their insolent kingdom shall be made more licentious, and less subject to punishment, intolerable to the common people, and also more confirmed and established; especially if this be bruited, that I, Luther, have done this by the authority of your most excellent majesty, and the sacred Roman empire. O Lord! what a cover or shadow shall I be then, to cloak their naughtiness and tyranny. The rest, or third sort of my books, are such as I have written against certain private and singular persons; to wit, against such as with tooth and nail labour to maintain the Romish tyranny, and to deface the true doctrine and religion which I have taught and professed. As touching these, I plainly confess, I have been more vehement than my religion and profession required. For I make myself no saint, and I dispute not of my life, but of the doctrine of Christ. And these I cannot without prejudice call back. For by this recantation it will come to pass, that tyranny and impiety shall reign, supported by my means; and so shall they exercise cruelty against people more violently and ragingly than before. Nevertheless, for that I am a man, and not God, I can none otherwise enterprise to defend my books, than did my very Lord Jesus Christ defend his doctrine; who, being examined of his learning before Annas, and having received a buffet of the minister, said, 'If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the evil' [John xviii.] If the Lord, who was perfect and could not err, refused not to have testimony given against his doctrine, yea of a most vile servant, how much the more then I, that am but vile corruption, and can of myself do nothing but err, ought earnestly to see and require if any will bear witness against my doctrine. Therefore I require, for God's mercy, your most excellent majesty, your graces and right honourable lordships, or whatsoever he be of high or low degree, here to lay in his testimony, to convict my errors, and confute me by the Scriptures, either out of the prophets, or the apostles; and I will be most ready, if I be so instructed, to revoke any manner of error: yea, and will be the first that shall consume mine own books and burn them.

He divideth his works into three parts.

The pope proceedeth contrary to his own doctrine.

Luther requireth to be instructed, if he have erred.

Dissensions and divisions follow the doctrine of Christ, not for any cause in the doctrine, but in the adversary.

I suppose hereby it may appear, that I have perpended and well weighed before the perils and dangers, the divisions and dissensions, which have arisen throughout the whole world by reason of my doctrine, whereof I was vehemently and sharply yesterday admonished: concerning which divisions of men's minds what other men do judge I know not; as touching myself, I conceive no greater delectation in any thing, than when I behold discords and dissensions stirred up for the word of God; for such is the course and proceeding of the

Henry VIII. gospel: Jesus Christ saith, 'I came not to send peace but a sword; I came to set a man at variance with his father.' [Matt. x.]

A. D. 1521. And further we must think, that our God is marvellous and terrible in his counsels; lest perhaps that which we endeavour with earnest study to achieve and bring to pass (if we begin first with condemning of his word), the same rebound again to a huge sea of evil; and lest the new reign of this young and bounteous prince Charles (in whom, next after God, we all conceive singular hope), be lamentably, unfortunately, and miserably begun. I could exemplify this with authorities of the Scriptures more effectually, as by Pharaoh, the king of Babylon, and the kings of Israel, who then most obscured the bright sun of their glory, and procured their own ruin, when by sage counsels they attempted to pacify and establish their governments and realms, and not by God's counsels: for it is he that entrappeth the wily in their wiliness, and subverteth mountains before they be aware. Wherefore it is good, and God's work, to dread the Lord.

Man's counsel, without God's word and his fear, is unfortunate.

I speak not this, supposing that such politic and prudent heads have need of my doctrine and admonition, but because I would not omit to profit my country, and offer my duty or service, that may tend to the advancement of the same. And thus I humbly commend me to your most excellent majesty, and your honourable lordships; beseeching you that I may not incur your displeasures, neither be contemned of you, through the pursuit of my adversaries. I have spoken.

Luther again urged to submit himself.

These words pronounced, then Eckius, the emperor's prolocutor, with a stern countenance began and said, that Luther had not answered to any purpose; neither behoved it him to call in question things in time past, concluded and defined by general councils: and therefore they required of him a plain and direct answer, whether he would revoke or no?—Then Luther said:

His absolute answer.

'Considering your sovereign majesty, and your honours, require a plain answer; this I say and profess as resolutely as I may, without doubting or sophistication, that if I be not convinced by testimonies of the Scriptures, and by probable reasons (for I believe not the pope, neither his general councils, which have erred many times, and have been contrary to themselves), my conscience is so bound and captived in these Scriptures and the word of God which I have alleged, that I will not, nor may not revoke any manner of thing; considering it is not godly or lawful to do any thing against conscience. Hereupon I stand and rest: I have not what else to say. God have mercy upon me!'

The princes consulted together upon this answer given by Luther; and when they had diligently examined the same, the prolocutor began to repel him thus:

Eckius again replieth.

'Martin, thou hast more immodestly answered than beseemed thy person, and also little to the purpose. Thou dividest thy books into three sorts, in such order as all that thou hast said maketh nothing to the interrogation proponed: and therefore, if thou hadst revoked those wherein the greatest part of thine errors is contained, the emperor's majesty, and the noble clemency of others, would have suffered the rest that be sound, to sustain no injury. But thou dost revive, and bringest to light again, all that the general council of Constance hath condemned, which was assembled of all the nation of Germany, and now dost require to be convinced with Scriptures; wherein thou errest greatly. For what availeth it to renew disputation of things so long time past condemned by the church and councils, unless it should be necessary to give a reason to every man of every thing that is concluded? Now were it so, that this should be permitted to every one that gainstandeth the determination of the church and councils, that he may once get this advantage, to be convinced by the Scriptures, we should have nothing certain and established in Christendom. And this is the cause wherefore the emperor's majesty requireth of thee a simple answer, either negative or affirmative, whether thou mindest to defend all thy works as christian, or no?'

The papists stand only upon their church and councils.

Then Luther, turning to the emperor and the nobles, besought them not to force or compel him to yield against his conscience, confirmed with the holy Scriptures, without manifest arguments alleged to the contrary by his adversaries. *Henry VIII.* A. D. 1521.

'I have declared and rendered,' said he, 'mine answer simply and directly, neither have I any more to say, unless mine adversaries, with true and sufficient probations grounded upon the Scripture, can reduce and resolve my mind, and refel mine errors which they lay to my charge. I am tied, as I said, by the Scriptures; neither may I, or can I, with a safe conscience assent unto them. For, as touching general councils, with whose authority only they press me, I am able to prove, that they have both erred, and have defined many times, things contrary to themselves. And therefore the authority of them,' he said, 'is not sufficient, for which I should call back those things, the verity whereof standeth so firm and manifest in the holy Scripture, that neither of me it ought to be inquired, neither can he so do without impiety.' General councils have erred, and been contrary to themselves.

Whereunto the official again answered, denying that any man could prove the councils to have erred. But Luther alleged that he could, and promised to prove it; and now night approaching, the lords arose and departed. And after Luther had taken his leave of the emperor, divers Spaniards scorned and scoffed the good man in the way going toward his lodging, hallooing and whooping after him a long while.

Upon the Friday following, when the princes electors, dukes, and other estates were assembled, the emperor sent to the whole body of the council a certain letter, containing in effect as followeth.

The Emperor's Letter against Luther.

Our predecessors, who truly were christian princes, were obedient to the Romish church, which Martin Luther presently impugneth. And therefore, in as much as he is not determined to call back his errors in any one point, we cannot, without great infamy and stain of honour, degenerate from the examples of our elders, but will maintain the ancient faith, and give aid to the see of Rome. And further, we be resolved to pursue Martin Luther and his adherents, by excommunication, and by other means that may be devised, to extinguish his doctrine. Nevertheless we will not violate our faith, which we have promised him, but mean to give order for his safe return to the place whence he came.

CONSULTATION UPON THE EMPEROR'S LETTER.

The princes, electors, dukes, and other estates of the empire, sat and consulted upon this sentence, on Friday all the afternoon, and Saturday the whole day, so that Luther as yet had no answer from the emperor.

During this time, divers princes, earls, barons, knights of the order, gentlemen, priests, monks, with others of the laity and common sort, visited him. All these were present at all hours in the emperor's court, and could not be satisfied with the sight of him. Also there were bills set up, some against Luther, and some, as it seemed, with him. Notwithstanding many supposed, and especially such as well conceived the matter, that this was subtilely done by his enemies, that thereby occasion might be offered to infringe the safe-conduct given him; which the Roman ambassadors with all diligence endeavoured to bring to pass. Great resort to Luther.

Henry VIII A.D. 1521.

The Monday following, before supper, the archbishop of Treves advertised Luther, that on Wednesday next he should appear before him, at nine o'clock before dinner, and assigned him the place. On St. George's day, a certain chaplain of the archbishop of Treves, about supper-time, came to Luther by the commandment of the bishop, signifying, that at that hour and place prescribed, he must, the morrow after, have access to his master.

He appeareth before the archbishop of Treves.

The morrow after St. George's day, Luther, obeying the archbishop's commandment, entered his palace, being accompanied thither by his said chaplain, and one of the emperor's heralds, and such as came in his company out of Saxony to Worms, with others his chief friends.

SUBSTANCE OF DR. VŒUS'S ORATION TO LUTHER.

Dr. Vœus, the marquis of Baden's chaplain, began to declare and protest (in the presence of the archbishop of Treves, Joachim marquis of Brandenburg, George duke of Saxony, the bishops of Augsburg and Brandenburg, the earl George, John Bock of Strasburg, Verdeheymer and Peutiger, doctors), as followeth:

The authority of councils.

That Luther was not called to be conferred with, or to disputation, but only that the princes had procured license of the emperor's majesty, through christian charity, to have liberty granted unto them to exhort Luther benignly and brotherly.—He said further, that albeit the councils had ordained divers things, yet they had not determined contrary matters. And albeit they had greatly erred, yet their authority was not therefore abased; or at the least not so erred, that it was lawful for every man to impugn their opinions: inferring moreover many things of Zaccheus and the centurion, also of the traditions, and of constitutions, and of ceremonies ordained of men: affirming that all these were established to repress vices, according to the quality of times; and that the church could not be destitute of human constitutions.[1] It is true, said he, that by the fruits the tree may be known; yet of these laws and decrees of men, many good fruits have proceeded; and St. Martin, St. Nicholas, and many other saints have been present at the councils.'

'Moreover, he said, that Luther's book would breed a great tumult and incredible troubles; and that he abused the common sort with his book of christian liberty, encouraging them to shake off their yoke, and to confirm in them a disobedience: that the world now was at another stay, than when the believers were all of one heart and soul, and therefore it was requisite and behoveful to have laws. It was to be considered (said he), albeit he had written many good things, and no doubt of a good mind, as 'De triplice Justitia,' and other matters, yet how the devil now, by crafty means, goeth about to bring to pass, that all his works for ever should be condemned. For by these books which he wrote last, men (said he) would judge and esteem him, as the tree is known, not by the blossom, but by the fruit.'

Psal. xc. v. 5.

Here he added something of the noon devil, and of the spirit coming in the dark, and of the flying arrow. All his oration was exhortatory, full of rhetorical places of honesty, of utility of laws, of the dangers of conscience, and of the common and particular wealth; repeating oft this sentence in the proem, middle, and epilogue of his oration: That this admonition was given him of a singular good will, and great clemency. In the shutting up of his oration he added menacings, saying, that if he would abide in his purposed intent, the emperor would proceed further, and banish him from the empire;

(1) This he spake of Luther's words, who denied any good fruits to come of their laws.

persuading him deliberately to ponder, and to advise these and other things. Martin Luther answered: *Henry VIII.* A.D. 1521.

The Substance of Luther's Answer to Vœus.

'Most noble princes, and my most gracious lords! I render most humble thanks for your benignities and singular good wills, whence proceedeth this admonition: for I know myself to be so base, as by no means I can deserve to be admonished of so mighty estates.' Then he frankly pronounced that he had not reproved all councils, but only the council of Constance; and for this principal cause, for that the same had condemned the word of God, which appeared in the condemnation of this article proponed by John Huss: 'The church of Christ is the communion of the predestinate.' 'It is evident,' said he, 'that the council of Constance abolished this article, and consequently the article of our faith: I believe the holy church universal.' And further he said, that he was ready to spend life and blood, so he were not compelled to revoke the manifest word of God; for in defence thereof we ought rather to obey God than men: and that in this he could not avoid the scandal or offence of faith; for there be two manner of offences, to wit, of charity, and of faith. The slander of charity consisteth in manners and in life: the offences of faith or doctrine rest in the word of God: and as touching this last, he could escape it no manner of ways; for it lay not in his power to make Christ not to be a stone of offence. If Christ's sheep were fed with pure pasture of the gospel; if the faith of Christ were sincerely preached, and if there were good ecclesiastical magistrates who duly would execute their office; we should not need, said he, to charge the church with men's traditions. Further, that he knew well we ought to obey the magistrates and higher powers, how unjustly and perversely soever they lived: we ought also to be obedient to their laws and judgment: all which he had taught (said he) in all his works; adding further, that he was ready to obey them in all points, so that they forced him not to deny the word of God.

The council of Constance condemned the word of God.

Scandal of faith and charity.

These words finished, Luther was bade to stand aside, and the princes consulted what answer they might give him. This done, they called him into a parlour, where the aforesaid doctor Vœus repeated his former matters, admonishing Luther to submit his writings to the emperor, and to the princes' judgment. Luther answered humbly and modestly to this effect:

The princes consult about Luther.

That he could not, neither would, permit that men should say he would shun the judgment of the emperor, princes, and superior powers of the empire. So far was it off that he would refuse to stand to their trial, that he was contented to suffer his writings to be discussed, considered, and judged by the simplest, so that it were done with the authority of the word of God, and the holy Scripture: and that the word of God made so much for him, and was so manifest unto him, that he could not give place, unless they could confound his doctrine by the word of God. This lesson he said he learned of St. Augustine, who writeth, that he gave his honour only to those books which are called canonical; that he believed the same only to be true. As touching other doctors, albeit in holiness and excellency of learning they surpassed, yet he would not credit them further than they agreed with the touchstone of God's word. Further, said he, St. Paul giveth us a lesson, writing to the Thessalonians,[1] 'Prove all things, follow that is good.' And to the Galatians,[2] 'Though an angel should descend from heaven, if he preach any other doctrine, let him be accursed,' and therefore not to be believed!

The word of God, only true.

Finally, he meekly besought them not to urge his conscience, captived in the bands of the word of God and holy Scripture, to deny the same excellent word. And thus he commended his cause and himself to them, and especially to the emperor's majesty, requiring their favour, that he might not be com-

(1) 1 Thess. v. 21. (2) Gal. i. 8.

Henry VIII. pelled to do any thing in this matter, against his conscience: in all other causes he would submit himself, with all kind of obedience and due subjection.

A.D. 1521. As Luther had thus ended his talk, Joachim elector, marquis of Brandenburg, demanded if his meaning was this, that he would not yield, unless he were convinced by the Scripture? "Yea truly, right noble lord!" quoth Luther, "or else by ancient and evident reasons." And so the assembly brake up, and the princes repaired to the emperor's court.

After their departure the archbishop of Treves, accompanied with a few of his familiars, namely John Eckius his official, and Cochleus, commanded Luther to repair into his parlour. With Luther was Jerome Scurffe, and Nicholas Ambsdorff, for his assistants. Then the official began to frame an argument, like a sophist and canonist, defending the pope's cause: that for the most part at all times holy Scriptures have engendered errors, as the error of Helvidius the heretic, out of that place in the gospel, where it is expressed, "Joseph knew not his wife till she was delivered of her first child." Further, he went about to overthrow this proposition: that the catholic church is the communion of saints.

False arguments for the pope.

Martin Luther and Jerome Scurffe reproved (but modestly) these follies, and other vain and ridiculous matters, which Eckius brought forth, as things not serving to the purpose. Sometime Cochleus would come in with his five eggs, and laboured to persuade Luther to desist from his purpose, and utterly to refrain thenceforth to write or teach; and so they departed.

About evening the archbishop of Treves advertised Luther by Ambsdorff, that the emperor's promise made unto him was prolonged two days, and in the mean season he would confer with him the next day, and for that cause he would send Peutinger, and the doctor of Baden (which was Vœus), the morrow after to him; and he himself would also talk with him.

Solicitation to cause Luther to yield.

The Friday after, which was St. Mark's day, Peutinger, and the doctor of Baden, travailed in the forenoon to persuade Luther simply and absolutely to submit the judgment of his writings to the emperor and empire. He answered, he would do it, and submit any thing they would have him, so they grounded it upon authority of holy Scripture; otherwise he would not consent to do any thing: for God said by his prophet (saith he), "Trust ye not in princes, nor in the children of men, in whom there is no health." Also, "Cursed be he that trusteth in man." And seeing that they did urge him more vehemently, he answered; "We ought to yield no more to the judgment of men, than the word of God doth suffer." So they departed, and prayed him to advise for better answer; and said, they would return after dinner. And after dinner they returned, exhorting him as before, but in vain. They prayed him, that at least he would submit his writing to the judgment of the next general council. Luther agreed thereunto, but with this condition, that they themselves should present the articles collected out of his books to be submitted to the council in such sort, as, notwithstanding the sentence awarded by the council, should be authorised by the Scripture, and confirmed with the testimonies of the same.

Luther's condition.

They then, leaving Luther, departed, and reported to the archbishop of Treves, that he had promised to submit his writings in certain articles to the next council, and in the mean space he would keep silence; which Luther never thought: who neither with admonitions, nor yet menaces, could be induced to deny or submit his books to the judgments of men (he had so fortified his cause with clear and manifest authorities of the Scripture), unless they could prove by sacred Scripture, and apparent reasons to the contrary. *Henry VIII.* A.D. 1521. False witness.

It chanced then by the special grace of God, that the archbishop of Treves sent for Luther, thinking presently to hear him. And when he perceived otherwise than Peutinger and the doctor of Baden had told him, he said that he would for no good, but that he had heard himself speak: for else he was even now going to the emperor, to declare what the doctors had reported. The providence of God.

Then the archbishop entreated Luther, and conferred with him very gently, first removing such as were present, as well of the one side as of the other. In this conference Luther concealed nothing from the archbishop; affirming, that it was dangerous to submit a matter of so great importance to them, who, after they had called him under safe-conduct, attempting him with new commandments, had condemned his opinion and approved the pope's bull. Familiar talk between the archbishop and Luther.

Moreover the archbishop, bidding a friend of his draw nigh, required Luther to declare what remedy might be ministered to help this. Luther answered, that there was no better remedy than such as Gamaliel alleged in the 5th chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, as witnesseth St. Luke, saying; "If this counsel, or this work, proceed of men, it shall come to nought: but if it be of God, ye cannot destroy it." And so he desired that the emperor might be advertised to write the same to the pope, that he knew certainly, if this his enterprise proceeded not of God, it would be abolished within three, yea within two years. Luther's prophecy out of Gamaliel.

The archbishop inquired of him what he would do, if certain articles were taken out of his books, to be submitted to the general council. Luther answered, "So that they be not those which the council of Constance condemned." The archbishop said, "I fear they will be the very same: but what then?" Luther replied, "I neither will nor can hold my peace of such, for I am sure by their decrees the word of God was condemned: therefore I will rather lose head and life, than abandon the manifest word of my Lord God." Luther's constancy.

Then the archbishop, seeing Luther would in no wise give over the word of God to the judgment of men, gently bade Luther farewell; who at that instant prayed the archbishop to entreat the emperor's majesty to grant him gracious leave to depart. He answered, he would take order for him, and speedily advertise him of the emperor's pleasure.

Within a small while after, John Eckius, the archbishop's official, in the presence of the emperor's secretary, who had been Maximilian's chancellor, said unto Luther in his lodging, by the commandment of the emperor: that since he had been admonished diversely by the imperial majesty, the electors, princes, and estates of the empire, and that notwithstanding, he would not return to unity and concord, it remained that the emperor, as advocate of the catholic faith, should

Henry VIII. A. D. 1521.

proceed further: and it was the emperor's ordinance, that he should within twenty-one days return boldly under safe-conduct, and be safely guarded to the place whence he came; so that in the mean while he stirred no commotion among the people in his journey, either in conference, or by preaching.

Luther sent home.

Luther, hearing this, answered very modestly and christianly, "Even as it hath pleased God, so is it come to pass; the name of the Lord be blessed!" He said further, he thanked most humbly the emperor's majesty, and all the princes and estates of the empire, that they had given to him benign and gracious audience, and granted him safe-conduct to come and return. Finally, he said, he desired none other of them, than a reformation according to the sacred word of God, and consonancy of holy Scriptures, which effectually in his heart he desired: otherwise he was pressed to suffer all chances for the imperial majesty, as life, and death, goods, fame, and reproach: reserving nothing to himself, but only the word of God, which he would constantly confess to the latter end: humbly recommending himself to the emperor's majesty, and to all the princes and other estates of the sacred empire.

His departure from Worms.

The morrow after, which was April the 26th, after he had taken his leave of such as supported him, and of others, his benevolent friends that oftentimes visited him, and had broken his fast, at ten o'clock he departed from Worms, accompanied with such as repaired thither with him; having space of time limited unto him, as is said, for twenty-one days, and no more. The emperor's herald, Casper Sturm, followed and overtook him at Oppenheim, being commanded by the emperor to conduct him safely home.

The usual Prayer of Martin Luther.

Confirm, O God! in us that thou hast wrought, and perfect the work that thou hast begun in us, to thy glory: so be it.[1]

Luther, in his journey writeth to the emperor and nobles of Germany.

Martin Luther, thus being dismissed by the emperor, according to the promise of his safe-conduct made, as you have heard, departed from Worms towards his country, April the 26th, accompanied by the emperor's herald, and the rest of his company, having only twenty-one days granted to him for his return, and no more. In that mean space of his return he writeth to the emperor, and to other nobles of the empire, repeating briefly to them the whole action and order of things there done, desiring of them their lawful good will and favour; which, as he hath always stood in need of, so now he most earnestly craveth, especially in this, that his cause, which is not his, but the cause of the whole church universal, may be heard with indifferency and equity, and may be decided by the rule and authority of holy Scripture: signifying moreover, that whensoever they shall please to send for him, he shall be ready at their commandment, at any time or place, upon their promise of safety, to appear, &c.

The doctors of Paris condemn his books.

During the time of these doings, the doctors and schoolmen of Paris were not behind on their parts, but, to show their cunning, condemned the books of Luther, extracting out of the same, espe-

(1) Ex Histor. Philip. Melancth.; ex Sleidano.; ex Pariali. Abb. Ursperg.; et ex Casp. Perocuo.

cially out of the book 'De Captivitate Babylonica,' certain articles touching the sacraments, laws, and decrees of the church, equality of works, vows, contrition, absolution, satisfaction, purgatory, free-will, privileges of holy church, councils, punishment of heretics, philosophy, school-divinity, and other points. Unto whom Philip Melancthon maketh answer, and also Luther himself, albeit pleasantly and jestingly.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1521. Melancthon answereth them.

It was not long after this, but Charles, the new emperor, to purchase favour with the pope (because he was not yet confirmed in his empire), provideth and directeth out a solemn writ of outlawry against Luther, and all them that took his part; commanding the said Luther, wheresoever he might be gotten, to be apprehended, and his books burned. By which decree, proclaimed against Luther, the emperor procured no small thanks with the pope; insomuch that the pope, ceasing to take part with the French king, joined himself wholly to the emperor. In the mean time duke Frederic, to give some place for the time to the emperor's proclamation, conveyed Luther a little out of sight secretly, by the help of certain noblemen whom he well knew to be faithful and trusty unto him in that behalf. There Luther, being close and out of company, wrote divers epistles, and certain books also unto his friends; among which he dedicated one to his company of Augustine friars, entitled, 'De abroganda Missa:' which friars the same time being encouraged by him, began first to lay down their private masses. Duke Frederic, fearing lest that would breed some great stir or tumult, caused the censure and judgment of the whole university of Wittenberg to be asked in the matter: committing the doing thereof to four; Justus Jonas, Philip Melancthon, Nicholas Ambsdorff, Johannes Dulcius.

Luther outlawed by the emperor.

The minds of the whole university being searched, it was showed to the duke, that he should do well and godly, by the whole advice of the learned there, to command the use of the mass to be abrogated through his dominion: and though it could not be done without tumult, yet that was no let why the course of true doctrine should be stayed for the multitude, which commonly overcome the better part; neither ought such disturbance to be imputed to the doctrine taught, but to the adversaries, who willingly and wickedly kick against the truth, whereof Christ also giveth us forewarning before. For fear of such tumults therefore, we ought not to surcease from that which we know is to be done, but constantly must go forward in defence of God's truth, howsoever the world doth esteem us, or rage against it. Thus showed they their judgment to duke Frederic.

The mass laid down first at Wittenberg.

Judgment of the university against it.

It happened moreover about the same year and time, that king Henry also, pretending an occasion to impugn the book 'De Captivitate Babylonica,' wrote against Luther. In which book, first, he reproveth Luther's opinion about the pope's pardons; secondly, he defendeth the supremacy of the bishop of Rome; thirdly, he laboureth to refell all his doctrine of the sacraments of the church.

A.D. 1521. King Henry writeth against Luther.

This book, albeit it carried the king's name in the title, yet it was another that ministered the motion, another that framed the style. But whosoever had the labour of this book, the king had the thanks and also the reward; for consequently upon the same, the bishop of Rome gave to the said king Henry, for the style against Luther, the

Made 'Defender of the Faith.'

Henry VIII. style and title of 'Defender of the Christian Faith;' and to his successors for ever.[1]

A. D. 1521. Shortly after this, within the compass of the same year, pope Leo, after he had warred against the Frenchmen, and had gotten from them, through the emperor's aid, the cities of Parma, Placentia, and Milan, he, sitting at supper, and rejoicing at three great gifts that God had bestowed upon him: first, that he, being banished out of his country, was restored to Florence again with glory; secondly, that he had deserved to be called apostolic; thirdly, that he had driven the Frenchmen out of Italy: After he had spoken these words, he was stricken with sudden fever, and died shortly after, being of the age of forty-seven years: albeit some suspect that he died of poison. Successor to him was pope Adrian VI., schoolmaster some time to Charles the emperor, who lived not much above one year and a half in his papacy; during whose small time these three especial things were incident: a great pestilence in Rome, wherein above a hundred thousand were consumed; the loss of Rhodes by the Turk; and the capital war which the said pope Adrian, with the emperor, and the Venetians, and the king of England, did hold against Francis the French king. This pope Adrian was a German born, brought up at Louvain, and as in learning he exceeded the common sort of popes, so in moderation of life and manners he seemed not altogether so intemperate as some other popes have been: and yet, like a right pope, nothing degenerating from his see, he was a mortal enemy against Martin Luther and his partakers. In his time, shortly after the council of Worms was broken up, another meeting or assembly was appointed by the emperor at Nuremberg, of the princes, nobles, and states of Germany, A.D. 1522.

Death of Leo in the midst of his triumph.

Great pestilence in Rome.

Adrian an enemy to Luther.

A diet at Nuremberg.

Unto this assembly the said Adrian sent his letters in manner of a brief, with an instruction also unto his legate Cheregatus, to inform him how to proceed, and what causes to allege against Luther, before the princes there assembled. His letters, with the instruction sent, because they are so hypocritically shadowed over with a fair show and

Painted pretences ought to be examined.

(1) The title of this curious production is 'Assertio Septem Sacramentorum.' A good edition was printed in London in 1688, to which are adjoined Henry VIII.'s epistle to the pope, Mr. John Clark's oration, and the pope's answer thereunto. As also the pope's bull, by which his holiness was pleased to bestow upon king Henry VIII. (for composing this book) 'that most illustrious, splendid, and most christian title of Defender of the Faith. Faithfully translated into English by J. W. gent.' A copy of the portion of the bull which conferred the title is subjoined. 'Considering that it is but just, that those who undertake pious labours in defence of the faith of Christ, should be extolled with all praise and honour; and being willing, not only to magnify with condign praise, and approve with our authority, what your majesty has with learning and eloquence writ against Luther; but, also, to honour your majesty with such a title, as shall give all Christians to understand, as well in our times as in succeeding ages, how acceptable and welcome your gift was to us, especially in this juncture of time: We, the true successor of St. Peter, whom Christ, before his ascension, left as his vicar upon earth, and to whom he committed the care of his flock; presiding in this holy see, from whence all dignity and titles have their source, having with our brethren maturely deliberated on these things, and, with one consent, unanimously decreed to bestow on your majesty this title, viz. Defender of the Faith. • And as we have by this title honoured you; we likewise command all Christians, that they name your majesty by this title; and, in their writings to your majesty, that immediately after the word KING, they add DEFENDER OF THE FAITH. Having thus weighed and diligently considered your singular merits, we could not have invented a more congruous name, nor more worthy your majesty, than this worthy and most excellent title: which as often as you hear or read, you shall remember your own merits and virtues; nor will you by this title exalt yourself or become proud, but, according to your accustomed prudence, rather more humble in the faith of Christ, and more strong and constant in your devotion to this holy see, by which you were exalted. And you shall rejoice in our Lord, who is the giver of all good things, for leaving such a perpetual and everlasting monument of your glory to posterity, and showing the way to others; that if they also covet to be invested with such a title, they may study to do such actions, and to follow the steps of your most excellent majesty, whom, with your wife, children, and all who shall spring from you, we bless with a bountiful and liberal hand, in the name of Him from whom the power of benediction is given to us, and by whom kings reign and princes govern, and in whose hands are the hearts of kings.' The Bull is dated 'the fifth of the Ides of October, A. D. 1521.'—ED.

colour of painted zeal and religion, and bear resemblance of great truth and care of the church, able to deceive the outward ears of those who are not inwardly in true religion instructed: I thought therefore to give the reader a sight thereof, to the intent that by the experience of them he may learn hereafter, in cases like, to be prudent and circumspect in not believing over-rashly the smooth talk or pretensed persuasions of men, especially in church-matters, unless they carry with them the simplicity of plain truth; going not upon terms, but grounded upon the word and revealed will of God, with particular demonstrations, proving that by the Scripture which they pretend to persuade. First, the letter of this pope, conceived and directed against Luther, proceedeth to this effect:

Henry VIII. A. D. 1521.

Pope Adrian the Sixth, to the Renowned Princes of Germany, and to the Peers of the Roman Empire.

Right honourable brethren, and dear children, greeting and apostolic benediction. After that we were first promoted (through God's divine providence) to the office of the see apostolic, he who hath so advanced us is our witness, how we, both day and night revolving in our minds, did cogitate nothing more than how to satisfy the parts of a good pastor, in attending to the health and cure of the flock, both universally and singularly committed unto us: so that there is no one particular sheep through the whole universal flock so infected, so sick, or so far gone astray, whom our desire is not to recover, to seek out, and to reduce into the Lord's fold again.[1] And chiefly, from the first beginning of our pastoral function, our care hath always been, as well by our messengers, as by our daily letters, how to reclaim the minds of christian princes from the intestine wars and dissensions among themselves to peace and concord; or at least, if they would needs fight, that they would convert their strength and armour against the common enemies of our faith. And to declare this not only in word, but rather in deed, God doth know with what charges and expenses we have burdened ourselves, to extend our subsidy and relief to the soldiers of Rhodes for defence of themselves, and of the christian faith, against the Turkish tyranny, by which they were besieged.

And now, to bend our care from these foreign matters, and to consider our inward troubles at home, we hear, to the great grief of our heart, that Martin Luther, a new raiser-up of old and damnable heresies,[2] first after the fatherly advertisements of the see apostolic; then after the sentence also of condemnation awarded against him, and that by the assent and consent of the best learned, and of sundry universities also; and lastly, after the imperial decree of our well-beloved son Charles, elect emperor of the Romans, and catholic king of Spain, being divulged through the whole nation of Germany; yet hath neither been by order restrained, nor of himself hath refrained from his madness begun, but daily more and more, forgetting and contemning all christian charity and godliness, ceaseth not to disturb and replenish the world with new books, fraught full of errors, heresies, contumelies and sedition (whether of his own head, or by the help of others), and to infect the country of Germany, and other regions about, with this pestilence; and endeavoureth still to corrupt simple souls and manners of men, with the poison of his pestiferous tongue. And (which is worst of all) hath for his fautors and supporters, not of the vulgar sort only, but also divers personages of the nobility; insomuch that they have begun also to invade the goods of priests (which perhaps is the chief ground of this stir begun) contrary to the obedience which they owe to ecclesiastical and temporal persons, and now also at last have grown unto civil war and dissension among themselves. Which thing how unfortunately it falleth out now, at this present season, especially amongst us Christians, you may soon repute with yourselves, and consider. For although the apostle hath told us before,[3] That

Terms without truth.

Evil called good, and good evil.

(1) If these pastors care any thing for the sheep, it is only for the wool.
(2) Rather a new raiser-up of the old doctrine of the patriarchs, prophets, and apostles!
(3) 1 Cor. xi. 19.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1521.

heresies must needs be, that they which be tried may be made manifest, &c., yet was there never time so inconvient to raise up heresies, or so necessary for the repressing thereof when any such are raised, as now: For whereas the devil, the perpetual enemy of mankind, roaring in the shape of a lion, by the power of the Turks doth continually invade the flock of Christ; how can we then resist the violent invasions of him oppressing us without, so long as we nourish at home the same devil, under the colour of a wily dragon, sowing such heresies, discords, and seditions among ourselves? And albeit it were in our power easily to vanquish these foreign adversaries, yet were that but labour lost, serving to no profit, to subdue our enemies without, and at home with heresies and schisms to be divided.

Who soweth these heresies, but he who will not let the Scripture take place?

We remember, before the time of our papacy, when we were in Spain, many things we heard then of Luther, and of his perverse doctrine; which rumours and tidings, although of themselves they were grievous to be heard, yet more grievous they were for this, because they proceeded out of that country, where we ourself, after the flesh, took our first beginning. But yet this comfort we had, supposing that either for the iniquity, or else for the foolishness thereof being so manifest, this doctrine would not long hold; reputing thus with ourself, that such pestiferous plants,[aa] translated from other countries to Germany, would never grow up to any proof in that ground, which was ever wont to be a weeder out of all heresies and infidelity. But now, since this evil tree (whether by God's judgment correcting the sins of the people, or by the negligence of such as first should have resisted such beginnings) hath so enlarged, and spread its branches so far; you therefore, both princes and people of Germany, must this consider and provide, lest you, who, at the first springing up of this evil, might peradventure be excused, as no doers thereof, now, through this your overmuch sufferance, might be found inexcusable, and seem to consent to that which you do not resist.

Here we omit and pass over, what enormity, and more than enormity that is, that such a great and so devout a nation should by one friar (who, relinquishing the catholic faith and christian religion, which he before professed, playeth the Apostate, and hath lied to God), be now seduced from that way, which first Christ our Redeemer[bb] and his blessed apostles have opened unto us; which so many martyrs, so many holy fathers, so many great learned men, and also your own fore-elders, and old ancestors have always hitherto walked in; as though Luther only had all wit and cunning: as though he only now first had received the Holy Ghost (as the heretic Montanus used to boast of himself); or as though the church (from which Christ our Saviour promised himself never to depart) hath erred hitherto always in dark shadows of ignorance and perdition, till now it should be illuminate with new resplendent beams of Luther. All which things there is no doubt but to such as have judgment, will seem ridiculous, but yet may be pernicious to simple and ignorant minds; and to others, who, being weary of all good order, do gape still for new changes, may breed matter and occasion of such mischiefs, as partly yourselves have experience already. And therefore do you not consider, O princes and people of Germany! that these be but prefaces and preambles to those evils and mischiefs which Luther, with the sect of his Lutherans, do intend and purpose hereafter? Do you not see plainly, and perceive with your eyes, that this defending of the verity of the Gospel, first begun by the Lutherans to be pretended, is now manifest to be but an invention to spoil your goods, which they have long intended?[cc] or do you think that these sons of iniquity do tend to any other

(*aa*) He meaneth the doctrine of John Huss translated into Germany.

(*bb*) Christ and his apostles taught us, that we are saved by faith only in the Son of God: the same doth Luther preach, and the pope deny. Holy martyrs and fathers in the old time, ministered the communion in both kinds to the people, and taught that faith was necessary in receiving the sacraments: the same doth Luther affirm, and the pope deny. The old way of the fathers was this, that they never had any advocates and mediators but Christ alone, and that they never sold the merits of Christ's passion for money. In the same way doth Luther now walk; whereas the pope hath devised a new way to walk in for money, with a hundred other new devices new sects, and new ordinances, which the old fathers never knew.

(*cc*) The doctrine of Luther hath been preached in Germany above these forty years; and yet is there never a prince, nor magistrate, nor citizen in Germany, God be praised! who, by the doctrine of Luther, is worse by one half-penny: whereas by the pope, good reckoning hath been made, that Germany hath been worse by three millions of florins by the year. Out of the territory of the bishop of Mentz amount to the pope, for the archbishop's pall, twenty-six thousand florins. In the council of Basil it was openly declared, that nine millions of gold were gathered in the time of pope Martin, and translated to Rome. Now let the princes of Germany consider this. [See

thing, than under the name of liberty to supplant obedience, and so to open a general license to every man to do what him listeth?[dd] And suppose you that they will any thing regard your commandments, or esteem your laws, who so contemptuously vilipend the holy canons and decrees of the fathers, yea, and the most holy councils also (to whose authority the emperor's laws have always given room and place), and not only vilipend them, but also, with a diabolical audacity, have not feared to rend them in pieces, and set them on a lighted fire?[ee] They who refuse to render due obedience to priests, to bishops, yea, to the high bishop of all, and who daily before your own faces make their booties of church-goods, and of things consecrated to God; think ye that they will refrain their sacrilegious hands from the spoil of laymen's goods? yea, that they will not pluck from you whatsoever they can rap or reave? Finally, to conclude, how can you hope that they will more spare you,[ff] or hold their murdering hands from your throats, who have been so bold to vex, to kill, to slay the Lord's anointed, who are not to be touched? Nay, think you not contrary, but this miserable calamity will at length redound upon you, your goods, your houses, wives, children, dominions, possessions, and these your temples which you hallow and reverence; except you provide some speedy remedy against the same.

Wherefore we exhort your fraternities, nobilities, and devotions of all and singular in the Lord, and beseech you for christian charity and religion (for which religion your forefathers ofttimes have given their blood to uphold and increase the same), and notwithstanding require you also, in virtue of that obedience[gg] which all Christians owe to God, and blessed St. Peter, and to his vicar here on earth, that setting aside all other quarrels and dissensions among ourselves, you confer your helping hands every man to quench this public fire, and endeavour and study, the best way ye can, how to reduce the said Martin Luther, and all other fautors of these tumults and errors, to better conformity and trade both of life and faith. And if they who be infected, shall refuse to hear your admonitions; yet provide that the other part, which yet remaineth sound, by the same contagion be not corrupted. He, to whom all secrets of men are open, doth know how we, both for our nature, and also for our pastoral office, whereto we are called, are much more prone to remit, than to revenge. But when this pestiferous canker cannot with supple and gentle medicines be cured, more sharp salves must be proved, and fiery searings. The putrefied members must be cut off from the body, lest the sound parts also be infected. So God did cast down into hell the schismatical brethren[hh] Dathan and Abiram; and him that would not obey the authority of the priest, God commanded to be punished with death. So Peter, prince of the apostles, denounced sudden death to Ananias and Sapphira, who lied unto God. So the old and godly emperors commanded Jovinian and Priscillian, as heretics, to be beheaded.[ii] So St. Jerome wished Vigilant, as a heretic, to be given to the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit might be saved in the day of the Lord. So also did our predecessors in the council of Constance[kk] condemn to death John Huss and his fellow Jerome, who now appeareth to revive again in Luther.

Vita Io. Tonell questionis sacri a G. Hechtio; (8vo. Vitemb. 1717) pp. 34, 35. Sleidan, lib. iv. p. 207. Edit. Francof. 1785.—Ed.]

(*dd*) The preaching of christian liberty of the soul, breaketh no civil order touching the outward obedience of the body. But the pope would have the souls of men in his bondage, and therefore he cannot abide this inward liberty of the spirit to be touched, for that were against the pope's purse and profit, which were a heresy intolerable.

(*ee*) This is no good consequence: Luther burned the pope's stinking decretals, ergo he will not stick also to burn the books of the civil law.

(*ff*) The persecuting Pagans in the old time, did object to the old fathers of the primitive church, the blasphemies of Thieste's supper, of the incest of Oedipus, and the worshipping of an ass's head. In much like sort doth the pope here lay unto Luther riots, rebellions, and all mischiefs he can devise; not because they are true, but because he would have the world so to believe.

(*gg*) Obedience to God, and obedience to St. Peter and his vicar, do not well matchy together by the Scripture; for the obedience to the Creator is one, and the obedience to the creature is another.

(*hh*) Let the pope follow the word of God as Moses did, and be sent of God expressly as Moses was; and then let Luther be punished as Dathan and Abiram were. Again; if the pope be the successor of Peter, and have his authority, why then doth not the pope, bearing the keys of Peter, exercise the power of his spirit upon Luther his great enemy, as Peter did upon Ananias and Sapphira?

(*ii*) If Jovinian, Priscillian, and Vigilant were proved heretics, they were proved not only by canons and councils, but by Scripture; so was Luther never.

(*kk*) Your fathers in the council of Constance did kill the prophets of God, and you make up their graves. But thanks be unto God, who hath given such light unto the world, to understand your cruel impiety in killing John Huss, which you thought should never be espied.

Henry VIII. A. D. 1522.

The worthy acts and examples of which forefathers,[ll] if you in these doings (seeing otherwise ye cannot) shall imitate, we do not doubt but God's merciful clemency shall eftsoons relieve his church; which, being now sore vexed of infidels, hath her eyes chiefly and principally directed upon you, as being the most puissant and most populous nation that we have in Christendom.

Wherefore, upon the blessing of Almighty God, and of blessed St. Peter, which here we send unto you, take courage unto you, as well against the false dragon,[mm] as the strong lion, that both these, that is, as well the inward heresies, as the foreign enemies, by you being overcome, you may purchase to your honours an immortal victory, both here and in the world to come. This we give you to understand, that whatsoever the Lord hath given us to aid you withal, either in money or authority, we will not fail to support you therein, yea, and to bestow our life also in this holy quarrel, and for the health of our sheep to us committed.[nn] Other things as touching the matter of Luther, we have committed to this Cheregatus our legate, whom we have directed purposely for the same unto your assembly, whom we wish you to credit, as being our trusty legate.

Datum Roma, apud Sanct. Petrum, sub annulo piscatoris, die 25 Novemb. Anno 1522, pontificatus nostri anno primo.

Given at St. Peter's at Rome, under the ring of the fisher, the 25th day of November, A. D. 1522, in the first year of our pontificate.

By this letter above prefixed, thou hast, gentle reader! to note and understand, what either wily persuasions or strength of authority could devise against Luther, here not to have lacked. If plausible terms, or glozing sentences, or outward facing and bracing, could have served, where no ground of Scripture is brought, this might seem apparently a pithy epistle. But if a man should require the particulars or the specialties of this doctrine which he here reprehendeth, to be examined and tried by God's word, there is no substance in it, but only words of office, which may seem well to serve for waste paper. And yet I thought to exhibit the said letter unto thee, to the intent that the more thou seest man's strength with all his policy bent against Luther, the more thou mayest consider the almighty power of God, in defending the cause of this poor man against so mighty enemies.

Now hear further what instructions the said pope Adrian sent to his legate Cheregatus,[1] how and by what reasons to move and inflame the princes of Germany to the destruction of Luther and his cause, and yet was not able to bring it to pass.

Instructions given by Pope Adrian to Cheregatus his Legate, touching his proceedings in the Diet of Nuremberg, how and by what persuasions to incense the Princes against Luther.

Imprimis, you shall declare to them the great grief of our heart for the prospering of Luther's sect, to see the innumerable souls, redeemed with Christ's blood, and committed to our pastoral government, to be turned away from the true faith and religion into perdition by this occasion; and that especially in the nation of Germany, being our native country, which hath been ever heretofore, till these few years past, most faithful and devout in religion: and therefore our desire to be the greater that this pestilence should be stopped betimes, lest the same happen to that country of Germany, which happened of late to

(*ll*) You have well imitated your forefathers already, in burning so many Lutherans; and yet how have you prospered against the Turkish infidels the space of these forty years?

(*mm*) The false dragon resembleth the pope, and the strong lion the Turk.

(*nn*) The false dragon here seeth that it is time to bestir him.

(1) The 'Instructions to Cheregatus,' are reprinted in the Historia Concil. general. auct. Edmundo Richeric. (4to Colonia, 1691) tom. iv. part 2, pp. 65-69.—Ed.

Bohemia. And as for our part, there shall be no lack to help forward what we may; as likewise we desire them to endeavour themselves to the uttermost of their power, whom these causes ought to move, which here we direct unto you to be declared to them.

Henry VIII. A. D. 1522.

First, the honour of God,[aa] which, before all other things, ought to be preferred, whose honour by these heresies is greatly defaced, and his worship not only diminished, but rather wholly corrupted. Also the charity toward our neighbour, by which charity every man is bound to reduce his neighbour out of error; otherwise God will require at their hands all such as by their negligence do perish. The first cause to stir men against Luther.

The second cause to move them against Luther, is the infamy of their nation; which, being counted before time always most christian, now by these sectaries of Luther, is evil spoken of in all other quarters. Second cause.

The third cause is the respect of their own honour, which notoriously will be distained, if they who most excel in nobility and authority among the Germans, shall not bend all their power to expel these heresies: first, for that they shall appear to degenerate from their progenitors, who, being present at the condemnation of John Huss and other heretics, are said, some of them, with their own hands to have led John Huss to the fire. Secondly, for that they, or the greater part of them, approving with their authority the imperial edict set forth of late in condemnation of Martin Luther, now, except they shall follow the execution of the same, shall be noted inconstant, or may be thought to favour the same; seeing it is manifest, that they may easily exterminate him if they were disposed.[bb] Third cause.

The fourth cause is the injury wrought by Luther to them, their parents, and their progenitors, forasmuch as their fathers, progenitors, and themselves also, have always holden the same faith which the Catholic church of Rome hath appointed; contrary to which faith Luther, with his sectaries, now doth hold, saying, that many things are not to be believed which their aforesaid ancestors have holden to be of faith. It is manifest therefore, that they be condemned by Luther for infidels and heretics: and so consequently, by Luther's doctrine, all their fore-elders and progenitors who have deceased in this our faith, be in hell; for error in faith importeth damnation. Fourth cause.

The fifth cause to move them, is, that they should well advise and consider the end whereunto all these Lutherans do tend;[cc] which is, that under the shadow of evangelical liberty, they may abolish all superiority and power. For although, at the first beginning, they pretended only to annul and repress our power ecclesiastical, as being falsely and tyrannously usurped against the gospel; yet, forasmuch as liberty is all their foundation and pretence (by which liberty, the secular power and magistrates cannot bind men by any commandments, be they ever so just or so reasonable,[dd] to obey them under pain of mortal sin), it is manifest that their scope is to enfeeble and infringe, as much or more, the secular state also, although covertly they pretend to salve it; to the end, that when the secular princes shall believe this their working not to be directed against them, but only against the usurped domination of the church and churchmen, then the laity (which commonly hath been always against men of the church) holding with them, shall suffer the churchmen to be devoured: which done, no doubt but[ee] they will afterward practise the like upon the Fifth cause.

(*aa*) The honour of God consisteth principally in honouring Jesus the Son of God, whom the Father hath sent. Now examine, good reader! whether more extolleth the honour of Christ, the doctrine of Luther, or the doctrine of the pope? Luther sendeth us only to Christ; the pope sendeth us to other patrons and helpers. Luther's doctrine tendeth wholly to the glory of Christ; the pope's doctrine, if it be well weighed, tendeth to the glory of man. Luther cleaveth only to the Scripture; the pope leaneth to the canons and councils of men.

(*bb*) This edict of the emperor above touched, was devised and set out unknown to divers of the princes there, and seemeth chiefly to be brought about by the pope and his flatterers about him. Look more hereof in the story of Sleidan. lib. iii.

(*cc*) The doctrine of Luther tendeth against the usurped power of the see of Rome; ergo the doctrine of Luther dissolveth all obedience due to magistrates. This consequent is to be denied, for the power of magistrates is of God; and he that resisteth them, resisteth God. So is not the usurped power of the pope.

(*dd*) If the pope doth say, that no precepts of magistrates do oblige under pain of mortal sin, he saith not true; if he say that Luther so teacheth, he belieth Luther; who teacheth all men to be subject unto magistrates; no man more.

(*ee*) Whoso considereth the doctrine of Luther, 'De libertate Christiana,' shall find this to be a false slander: for how is it likely that he meaneth any rebellion, who, describing a Christian, calleth him a servant, and an underling to all men?

Henry VIII. secular princes and potestates, which now they attempt against our ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

A. D. 1522. The sixth cause to move and persuade them against Luther, is this, for them to consider the fruits which follow that sect: as slanders, offences, disturbance, robberies, murders, seditions,[ff] dissensions, which this sect hath stirred, and daily doth stir up through whole Germany: also blasphemies, slanderous words, scoffings, jests, and bitter taunts,[gg] which are ever in their mouths; against which, unless that they shall find a present remedy, it is to be feared lest the desolation of God's wrath will fall upon Germany, being so divided; or rather upon the princes of Germany, who, having the sword given of God into their hands for the suppression of malefactors, suffer such enormities among their subjects. 'Cursed is he,' saith the prophet, 'which doth the work of the Lord negligently, and holdeth back his sword from the blood of wicked doers.' Jeremiah xxviii.

Sixth cause.

Seventh cause. The seventh reason is, that the princes should consider how Luther useth the same way of seducing the people of Christ, as hath the venomous viper Mahomet practised in deceiving so many thousands of souls, in permitting to them the liberty of those things which flesh desireth, and afterwards in exempting them from such things as be more sharp in the law; but that Luther a little more temperately handleth the matter, whereby he may deceive more effectually: for Mahomet[hh] giveth license to have many wives, and to divorce and marry others at their pleasure. This Luther, to draw unto him the favour of nuns, monks, and priests, such as be lascivious in flesh, preacheth that vows of perpetual continency be unlawful; much less to be obligatory; and therefore permitteth unto them that they may marry; forgetting, by the way, what the apostle writeth of young widows, saying; 'that when they wax wanton against Christ, then will they marry; having condemnation, because they have made void their first faith,' 1 Tim. v. 12.

These and other such like reasons being opened and laid before them, you shall then in our name exhort the aforesaid princes, prelates, and people, to awake and employ their diligence how to gainstand, first, the injury of these Lutherans toward God, and toward his holy religion: secondly, their villany toward the whole nation of the Germans and their princes, and especially the shameful contumely towards their fathers and elders, whom in effect they condemn to hell. In consideration whereof you shall call upon them to remember themselves, and to proceed effectually to the execution of the apostolical sentence, and of the emperor's edict; giving pardon to them that will amend and acknowledge their fault: the others, who obstinately persist in their error, punishing with the rod of district severity, according to the decrees of the canons and laws of the church; that, by their example, such as stand may remain in faith, and they that are fallen may be reduced.

And if any shall object again, that Luther was condemned by the apostolic see before he was heard, and that his cause ought first to have been heard and adjudged before he was convicted, you shall answer, that those[ii] things which pertain to faith are to be believed for their own authority, and not to be proved. 'Take away,' saith Ambrose, 'arguments where faith is sought: there the fishers, not the philsophers, must be trusted.' True it is, and we grant no less but that the lawful defence and hearing ought not to be denied in such cases, where the question is of the fact, whether it were done or not; as whether he spake, preached, wrote, or not. But where the matter is of God's law, or in

(*ff*) The cause why the pope doth charge the Lutherans with sedition, did rise upon this: because one Fransiscus Sickingus, a valiant man, and a great favourer of Luther, did war against the archbishop of Treves, for withholding two certain persons from judgment, who should have appeared, and by his means did not.

(*gg*) As for slanderous words and bitter taunts, with what face can the pope charge Luther, being himself so impudent and bitter, as in this his present letter is manifest to be seen? wherein he showeth himself in his own colours what he is.

(*hh*) If the doings and properties of Mahomet be rightly considered, none should be found so aptly to resemble him, as the pope himself. He detaineth from the word of God, and setteth up another law: so doth the pope. He killeth and slayeth the contrary part; so doth the pope. He holdeth salvation by works of the law; so doth the pope: and if Mahomet give liberty of flesh, so doth not Luther; but the pope both taketh it, and also dispenseth with the same. Mahomet would not have his religion reasoned upon; no more will the pope. Briefly, as the sect of Mahomet is divided into many sundry sorts of religion, and of religious men; so hath the sect of the pope its friars, monks, nuns, hermits, and other swarms of an infinite variety.

(*ii*) Here the pope agreeth rightly with Mahomet, for he will not have his religion reasoned upon, no more will the pope have his.

the cause of the sacraments, there must we always stand to the authority of holy fathers, and of the church. Now all things almost, wherein Luther dissenteth from others, are reproved before by divers councils; neither ought those things to be called into question, which have been defined before by general councils, and the universal church; but ought to be received by faith: for else he doth injury to the synod of the church, who so bringeth again into controversy things once rightly discussed and settled. Otherwise what certainty can there be amongst men, or what end shall there be of contending and disputing, if it shall be lawful for every lewd and presumptuous person to decline from the things which have been received and ratified by the consent, not of one, nor of a few, but of so many ages, so many wise heads, and of the catholic church, which God never permitteth to err in matters unto faith appertaining? And how can it otherwise be chosen, but that all must be full of disturbance, offences, and confusion, unless the things which have been once, yea, many times by right judgment constituted, be observed by all men as inviolable? Wherefore, seeing Luther and his fellows do condemn the councils of holy fathers, do burn the holy canons, do confound all things at their pleasure, and do disquiet the whole world, what remaineth, but that they are to be rejected and exploded, as enemies and perturbers of the public peace?

Grant this to the pope, and he may play the lord of misrule, and do what he listeth.

Further, this you shall say unto them, that we confess ourselves, and deny not, but that God suffereth this persecution to be inflicted upon his church for the sins of men, especially of priests and prelates of the clergy. For certain it is, that the hand of the Lord is not shortened, that he cannot save; but our sins have divided between God and us; and therefore he hideth his face from us that he will not hear us. The Scripture testifieth,[1] that the sins of the people do issue out from the sins of the priests. 'And therefore,' saith Chrysostom, 'Christ, going about to cure the sick city of Jerusalem, first entered into the temple, to correct the sins of the priests, like a good physician, who first beginneth to cure the disease from the very root.' We know that in this holy see[kk] there have been many abominable things of long time wrought and practised; as abuses in matters spiritual, and also excesses in life and manners, and all things turned clean contrary. And no marvel if the sickness,[ll] first beginning at the head, that is, at the high bishops, have descended afterwards to inferior prelates. All we (that is, prelates of the church) have declined every one after his own way; 'neither hath there been one that hath done good, no not one.' Wherefore need it is, that all we give glory to God, and that we humble our souls to him, considering every one of us from whence he hath fallen; and that every one do judge himself, before he be judged of God with the rod of his fury. For the redress whereof you shall insinuate unto them, and promise in our behalf, that in us shall be lacking no diligence of a better reformation, first beginning with our own court: that like as this contagion first from thence descended into all inferior parts, so reformation and amendment of all that is amiss, from the same place again, shall take its beginning; whereunto they shall find us so much the more ready, for that we see the whole world so desirous of the same. We ourselves, as you know, never sought this dignity, but rather coveted, if we otherwise might, to lead a private life, and in a quiet state to serve God; and also would utterly have refused the same, had not the fear of God, and the manner of our election, and misdoubting of some schism to follow after, have urged us to take it. And thus took we the burden upon us, not for any ambition of dignity, or to enrich our friends and kinsfolks, but only to be obedient to the will of God, and for reformation of the catholic church, and for relief of the poor, and especially for the advancement of learning and learned men, with such other things besides, as appertaineth to the charge of a good bishop and lawful heir of St. Peter. And though all errors, corruptions, and abuses be not straightways amended by us, men ought not thereat to marvel. The sore is great, and far grown, and is

Caiaphas himself could never prophecy more truly.

The pope promiseth reformation of his own court, but when beginneth he?

(1) Isaiah lix.

(*kk*) And how then can this be called a holy see, where so many abominable impieties, and manifold excesses, both in spiritual matters, and also in external life, are seen and practised? such ambition in the prelates; such pride in the pope; such avarice in the court; and, finally, where such corruption is of all things, as you yourselves do here confess, and cannot deny?

(*ll*) True it is, that the sickness hath begun in the head, that is, at the very triple crown: and therefore the sickness being great, and having need of a sharp physician, God hath sent Luther unto the pope (as Erasmus writeth of him), as a meet physician to cure his disease; yet he refuseth to be healed.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1522.

not single, but of manifold maladies together compacted; and therefore to the curing thereof we must proceed by little and little, first beginning to cure the greater and the most dangerous, lest, while we intend to amend all, we destroy all.[mm] 'All sudden mutations in a commonwealth,' saith Aristotle, 'are perilous;' and 'He that wringeth too hard, straineth out blood.' Prov. xxx.

And whereas in your last letters you wrote, that the princes complain, how this see hath been, and is, prejudicial to their ordinances and agreements, hereunto you shall thus answer: that such excesses, which have been done before our time, ought not to be imputed to us, who always have disliked these derogations; and therefore bid them so assure themselves, that though they had required no such matter, we of our own accord would have refrained the same; partly for that it is good, right, and reason, that every one have that which is due unto him: and partly also that the said noble nation of Germany shall have by us no hinderance, but furtherance rather, so much as in us shall lie to do for them.

And as touching the processes which they desired to have removed away 'a rota,'[nn] and to be referred down to the parties, you shall signify unto them, that we will gratify them herein as much as honestly we may. But because our auditors are now presently absent from the city, by reason of the plague, we cannot be informed as yet touching the quality of those processes. As soon as they shall return (which we hope will be shortly), we shall do in the prince's favour what reasonably we may.

Further: whereas we understand, that there be many fresh flourishing wits in Germany, and many well-learned men,[oo] who are not seen unto, but be rejected and unlooked to, while in the mean time, through the apostolical provisions, dignities and promotions are bestowed upon tapsters and dancers, and unfit persons; we will, therefore, that you inquire out what those learned men are, and what be their names, to the intent that when any such vacation of benefices in Germany doth fall, we, of our own voluntary motion, may provide for them accordingly. For why? we consider how much it is against God's glory, and against the health and edification of souls, that benefices and dignities of the church have now so long time been bestowed upon unworthy and unable persons.

As touching the subsidy for the Hungarians, we send no other information to you, but that which we gave you at your departure; save only that we will you to extend your diligence therein, as we also will do the like, in soliciting the matter with the princes and cities of Italy, that every one may help after his ability.[1]

These popish suggestions and instructions of the pope himself against Luther, I thought, christian reader! to set before thine eyes, to the intent thou mayest see here (as in a pattern, and go no further) all the crimes, objections, exclamations, suspicions, accusations, slanders, offensions, contumelies, rebukes, untruths, cavillations, railings, whatsoever they have devised, or can devise, invent, articulate, denounce, infer, or surmise, against Luther and his teaching. They cry, 'Heresy, heresy!' but they prove no heresy. They cry, 'Councils, councils!' and yet none transgress councils more than themselves. If councils go always with Scripture, then Luther goeth with them: if councils do jar sometimes from the Scripture, what heresy is in Luther in standing with Scripture against those councils? And yet neither hath he hitherto spoken against any councils, save only the council of Constance. They inflame kings and princes against Luther, and yet they have no just cause where-

Luther cried out of, without any just cause.

(*mm*) You proceed so by little and little, that nothing at all is seen. Sudden mutations be not for the pope's purpose; but the Lord promiseth to come suddenly, when he is not looked for.

(*nn*) 'Rota' is some office in the court or chancery of Rome.

(*oo*) The pope flattereth for advantage. And why then have you abused the church so long with these apostolical provisions, and yet do not redress the same?

(1) Ex Orth. Gratian.

fore. They accuse him for teaching liberty. If they mean the liberty of flesh, they accuse him falsely; if they mean the liberty of spirit, they teach wickedly who teach contrary; and yet when they have said all, none live so licentiously as themselves. They pretend the zeal of the church, but under that church lie their own private welfare and belly-cheer. They charge Luther with disobedience, and none are so disobedient to magistrates and civil laws, as they. They lay to his charge oppression and spoiling of laymen's goods; and who spoileth the laymen's livings so much as the pope? For probation hereof, let the pope's accounts be cast, what he raketh out of every christian realm. Briefly, turn only the names of the persons, and instead of Luther's name, place the name of the pope, and the effect of this letter above prefixed shall agree upon none more aptly than upon the pope himself, and his own sectaries.

Liberty of flesh and spirit.

Turn only the names of the persons in the letter.

Now to proceed further in the process of this aforesaid matter, let us see what the princes again for their parts answer to these aforesaid suggestions and instructions of pope Adrian, sent unto them in the diet of Nuremberg, in the cause of Luther: the answer of whom here followeth under-written.

The Answer of the Noble and Reverend Princes, and of the States of the sacred Roman Empire, exhibited to the Pope's Ambassador.

The noble and renowned prince lord Ferdinand, lieutenant to the emperor's majesty, with other reverend peers in Christ, and mighty princes electors, and other states and orders of this present assembly of the Roman empire in Nuremberg convented, have gratefully received, and diligently perused, the letters sent in form of a brief, with the instructions also of that most holy father in Christ and lord, lord Adrian, the high bishop of the holy and universal church of Rome, presented unto them in the cause of Luther's faction. By which aforesaid letters and writings whereas, first, they understand his holiness to have been born, and to have had his native origin and parentage out of this noble nation of Germany, they do not a little rejoice. Of whose egregious virtues and ornaments, both of mind and body, they have heard great fame and commendation, even from his tender years: by reason whereof they are so much the more joyous of his advancement and preferment, by such consent of election, to the high top of the apostolical dignity, and yield to God most hearty thanks for the same: praying also, from the bottom of their hearts, for his excellent clemency, and the perpetual glory of his name, and for health of souls, and incolumity of the universal church, that God will give his holiness long continuance of felicity: having no misdoubt but that by such a full and consenting election of such a pastor of the universal catholic church, great profit and commodity will ensue. Which thing to hope and look for, his holiness openeth to them an evident declaration in his own letters, testifying and protesting what a care it is to him both day and night, how to discharge his pastoral function, in studying for the health of the flock to him committed; and especially in converting the minds of christian princes from war to peace. Declaring moreover what subsidy and relief his holiness hath sent to the soldiers of Rhodes, &c. All which things they, perpending with themselves, conceive exceeding hope and comfort in their minds, thus reputing and trusting that this concord of christian princes will be a great help and stay to the better quieting of things now out of frame; without which neither the state of the commonwealth nor of christian religion, can be rightly redressed, and much less the tyranny of the barbarous Turks repressed.

Pope Adrian a German born.

Wherefore the excellent prince, lord lieutenant to the emperor's majesty, with the other princes electors, and the orders of this present assembly, most heartily do pray, that his holiness will persist in this his purpose and diligence, as he hath virtuously begun, leaving no stone unremoved, how the disagreeing

Henry VIII. A. D. 1522.

hearts of christian princes may be reduced to quiet and peace; or if that will not be, yet at least some truce and intermission of domestical dissensions may be obtained for the necessity of the time now present, whereby all Christians may join their powers together, with the help of God, to go against the Turk, and to deliver the people of Christ from his barbarous tyranny and bondage; whereunto both the noble prince lord lieutenant, and other princes of Germany, will put to their helping hands, to the best of their ability.

Can any good thing come out of Rome? The pope grieved for the prospering of Luther.

And whereas by the letters of his holiness, with his instruction also exhibited unto them by his legate, they understand that his holiness is afflicted with great sorrow for the prospering of Luther's sect, whereby innumerable souls committed to his charge are in danger of perdition, and therefore his holiness vehemently desireth some speedy remedy against the same to be provided, with an explication of certain necessary reasons and causes, whereby to move the German princes thereunto; and that they will tender the execution of the apostolic sentence, and also of the emperor's edict set forth touching the suppression of Luther: To these the lord lieutenant, and other princes and states do answer, that it is to them no less grief and sorrow than to his holiness; and also they do lament as much for these impieties and perils of souls, and inconveniences which grow in the religion of Christ, either by the sect of Luther, or any otherwise. Further, what help or counsel shall lie in them for the extirpating of errors, and decay of souls' health, what their moderation can do, they are willing and ready to perform; considering how they stand bound and subject, as well to the pope's holiness, as also to the emperor's majesty. But why the sentence of the apostolic see, and the emperor's edict against Luther, hath not been put in execution hitherto, there hath been (said they) causes great and urgent, which have led them thereto: as first, in weighing and considering themselves, that great evils and inconveniences would thereupon ensue. For the greatest part of the people of Germany have always had this persuasion, and now, by reading Luther's books, are more therein confirmed, that great grievances and inconveniences have come to this nation of Germany by the court of Rome: and therefore, if they should have proceeded with any rigour in executing the pope's sentence, and the emperor's edict, the multitude would conceive and suspect in their minds, this to be done for subverting the verity of the gospel, and for supporting and confirming the former abuses and grievances, whereupon great wars and tumults, no doubt, would have ensued: which thing of the princes and states there hath been well perceived by many arguments; for the avoiding whereof, they thought to use more gentle remedies, serving more opportunely for the time.

Why the princes have not proceeded against Luther.

Grievances received by the court of Rome.

The pope answered with his own words.

Again, whereas the reverend lord legate (said they) in the name of the pope's holiness, hath been instructed, to declare unto them, that God suffereth this persecution to rise in the church for the sins of men, and that his holiness doth promise therefore to begin the reformation with his own court, that as the corruption first sprang from thence to the inferior parts, so the redress of all again should first begin with the same. Also, whereas his holiness, of a good and fatherly heart, doth testify in his letters, that he himself did always mislike that the court of Rome should intermeddle so much, and derogate from the concordats of the princes, and that his holiness doth fully purpose in that behalf, during his papacy, never to practise the like, but so to endeavour, that every one, and especially the nation of the Germans, may have their proper due and right, granting especially to the said nation his peculiar favour: who seeth not by these premises, but that this most holy bishop omitteth nothing which a good father, or a devout pastor may or ought to do to his sheep? or who will not be moved hereby to a loving reverence, and to amendment of his defaults, namely, seeing his holiness so intendeth to accomplish the same in deed, which in word he promiseth, according as he hath begun?

Grievances of the Germans.

And thus undoubtedly both the noble lord lieutenant, and all other princes and states of the empire, well hope that he will, and pray most heartily that he may do, to the glory of our eternal God, to the health of souls, and to the tranquility of the public state. For unless such abuses and grievances, with certain other articles also, which the secular princes (assigning purposely for the same) shall draw out in writing, shall be faithfully reformed, there is no true peace and concord between the ecclesiastical and secular estates, nor any true extirpation of this tumult and errors in Germany, that can be hoped. For partly by

long wars, partly by reason of other grievances and hinderances, this nation of Germany hath been so wasted and consumed in money, that scarcely it is able to sustain itself in private affairs, and necessary upholding of justice within itself; much less then to minister aid and succour to the kingdom of Hungary, and to the Croatians, against the Turk. And whereas all the states of the sacred Roman empire do not doubt, but the pope's holiness doth right well understand how the German princes did grant and condescend for the money of Annates[1] to be levied to the see of Rome for term of certain years, upon condition that the said money should be converted to maintain war against the Turkish infidels, and for defence of the catholic faith: and whereas the term of these years is now expired long since, when the said Annates should be gathered, and yet that money hath not been so bestowed to that use, whereto it was first granted; therefore if any such necessity should now come, that any public helps or contributions against the Turk should be demanded of the German people, they would answer again, Why is not that money of Annates, reserved many years before to that use, now to be bestowed and applied? and so would they refuse to receive any more such burdens for that cause to be laid upon them.

Hen. VIII. A.D. 1521.

Annates falsely pretended by the pope to maintain war against the Turk.

Wherefore the said lord lieutenant, and other princes and degrees of the empire, make earnest petition, that the pope's holiness will with a fatherly consideration expend the premises, and surcease hereafter to require such Annates, as are accustomed after the death of bishops and other prelates, or ecclesiastical persons, to be paid to the court of Rome, and suffer them to remain to the chamber of the empire, whereby justice and peace may be more commodiously administered, the tranquillity of the public state of Germany maintained; and also, by the same, due helps may be ordained and disposed to other christian potentates in Germany, against the Turk, which otherwise without the same is not to be hoped for.

Item, Whereas the pope's holiness desireth to be informed, what way were best to take in resisting these errors of the Lutherans: to this the lord lieutenant, with other princes and nobles, do answer, that whatsoever help or counsel they can devise, with willing hearts they will be ready thereunto. Seeing therefore the state, as well ecclesiastical as temporal, is far out of frame, and hath so much corrupted its ways; and seeing not only by Luther's part, and by his sect, but also by divers other occasions besides, so many errors, abuses, and corruptions have crept in; very requisite and necessary it is, that some effectual remedy be provided, as well for redress of the church, as also for repressing the Turk's tyranny. Now what more present or effectual remedy can be had, the lord lieutenant, and other estates and princes do not see, than this, that the pope's holiness, by the consent of the emperor's majesty, do summon a free christian council in some convenient place of Germany, as at Strasburg, or at Mentz, or at Cologne, or at Metz? and that with as much speed as conveniently may be, so that the congregating of the said council be not deferred above one year: in which council it may be lawful for every person that there shall have interest, either temporal or ecclesiastical, freely to speak and consult, to the glory of God, and health of souls, and the public wealth of Christendom, without impeachment or restraint; whatsoever oath or other bond to the contrary notwithstanding: yea, and it shall be every good man's part there to speak, not only freely, but to speak that which is true, to the purpose, and to edifying, and not to pleasing or flattering, but simply and uprightly to declare his judgment, without all fraud or guile. And as touching by what ways these errors and tumults of the German people may best be stayed and pacified in the meantime, until the council be set, the aforesaid lord lieutenant, with the other princes, thereupon have consulted and deliberated; that forasmuch as Luther, and certain of his fellows, be within the territory and dominion of the noble duke Frederic, the said lord lieutenant and other states of the empire shall so labour the matter with the aforenamed prince, duke of Saxony, that Luther and his followers, shall not write, set forth, or print any thing during the said mean space; neither do they doubt but that the said noble prince of Saxony, for his christian piety, and obedience to the Roman empire, as becometh a prince of such excellent virtue, will effectually condescend to the same.

General council in Germany required.

Writing and printing for a time suspended.

(1) Annates is a certain portion of money wont to be paid to the court of Rome, out of the one year's fruits, at the vacation of an ecclesiastical living.

Henry VIII. A. D. 1521.

Item, That the said lord lieutenant and princes shall labour so with the preachers of Germany, that they shall not in their sermons teach or blow into the people's ears such matters, whereby the multitude may be moved to rebellion or uproar, or be induced into error; and that they shall preach and teach nothing but the true, pure, sincere, and holy gospel, and approved Scripture, godly, mildly, and christianly, according to the doctrine and exposition of the Scripture; being approved and received of Christ's church, abstaining from all such things as are better unknown than learned of the people, and which to be subtilely searched, or deeply discussed, it is not expedient. Also, that they shall move no contention or disputation among the vulgar sort; but whatsoever hangeth in controversy, the same they shall reserve to the determination of the council to come.

The office of preaching tempered.

Item, The archbishops, bishops, and other prelates within their dioceses, shall assign godly and learned men, having good judgment in the Scripture, who shall diligently and faithfully attend upon such preachers: and if they shall perceive the said preachers either to have erred, or to have uttered any thing inconveniently, they shall godly, mildly, and modestly advertise and inform them thereof, in such sort that no man shall justly complain the truth of the gospel to be impeached. But if the preachers, continuing still in their stubbornness, shall refuse to be admonished, and will not desist from their lewdness, then shall they be restrained and punished by the ordinaries of the place, with punishment for the same convenient

Preachers limited within certain bounds.

Furthermore, the said princes and nobles shall provide and undertake, so much as shall be possible, that, from henceforth, during the aforesaid time, no new book shall be printed, especially none of these famous libels,[1] neither shall they privily or apertly be sold. Also order shall be taken amongst all potentates, that if any shall set out, sell, or print any new work, it shall first be seen and perused of certain godly, learned, and discreet men appointed for the same; so that if it be not admitted and approved by them, it shall not be permitted to be published in print, or to come abroad. Thus, by these means, they hope well, that the tumults, errors, and offences among the people, shall cease; especially if the pope's holiness himself shall begin with an orderly and due reformation, in the aforesaid grievances above mentioned, and will procure such a free and christian council as hath been said; and so shall the people be well contented and satisfied. Or if the tumult shall not so fully be calmed as they desire, yet the greater part thus will be quieted; for all such as be honest and good men, no doubt, will be in great expectation of that general council, so shortly, and now ready at hand, to come. Finally, as concerning priests who contract matrimony, and religious men leaving their cloisters, whereof intimation was also made by the apostolical legate, the aforesaid princes do consider, that forasmuch as in the civil law there is no penalty for them ordained, they shall be referred to the canonical constitutions, to be punished thereafter accordingly; that is, by the loss of their benefices and privileges, or other condign censures: and that the said ordinaries shall in no case be stopped or inhibited by the secular powers, from the correction of such: but that they shall add their help and favour to the maintenance of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and shall direct out their public edicts and precepts, that none shall impeach or prohibit the said ordinaries in their ecclesiastical castigaton, upon such transgressors to be administered.

Against telling and printing of famous libels

Priests, or religious men, that marry.

To conclude; the redoubted prince, the lord lieutenant, and other princes, estates, and orders of the public empire, vehemently and most heartily do pray and beseech, that the pope's holiness, and the reverend lord his legate will accept and take all the premises to be no otherwise spoken and meant, than of a good, free, sincere, and a christian mind: neither is there any thing that all the aforesaid princes, estates, and nobles, do more wish and desire, than the furtherance and prosperous estate of the holy catholic church of Rome, and of his holiness; to whose wishes, desires, and obedience, they offer and commend themselves most readily and obsequiously, as faithful children.[2]

Thus hast thou, loving reader! the full discourse both of the pope's

(1) 'Famous libels' be such books as rail against the fame of any person, showing no name of the author thereof.

(2) Ex Orinth. Gratian, [vol. i. p. 346, in his 'Fasciculus rerum expetend. et fugiendarum.' Edit. by Browne, Lond. 1690.—Ed.]

letter, and of his legate's instructions, with the answer also of the states of Germany to the said letter and instructions to them exhibited in the diet of Nuremberg: in which diet what was concluded, and what order and consultation were taken, first touching the grievances of Germany, which they exhibited to the pope, then concerning a general council to be called in Germany, also for printing, preaching, and for priests' marriage, hath been likewise declared, &c.[1]

Ministers of Strasburg troubled for their wives.

The occasion of this matter, moved against priests' marriage, came first by the ministers of Strasburg, who about this time began to take wives, and therefore were cited by the bishop of Strasburg to appear before him at a certain day, as violators of the laws of holy church, the holy fathers, the bishops of Rome, and of the emperor's majesty, to the prejudice both of their own order of priesthood, and the majesty of Almighty God: but they referred their cause to the hearing of the magistrates of the same city; who, being suitors for them unto the bishops, laboured to have the matter either released, or at least to be delayed for a time.

Luther expoundeth the decree of Nuremberg.

Long it were to recite all the circumstances following upon this diet or assembly of Nuremberg, how their decree was received of some, of some neglected, of divers diversely wrested and expounded. Luther, writing his letters upon the same decree to the princes, thus made his exposition of the meaning thereof: that whereas the preachers were commanded to preach the pure gospel, after the doctrine of the church received, he expounded the meaning thereof to be, not after the doctrine of Thomas Aquinas, or Scotus, or such other late school writers, but after the doctrine of Hilary, Cyprian, and Austin, and other ancient doctors; and yet the doctrine of the said ancestors no further to be received, but as it should agree with the Scripture.

Secondly, As concerning new books not to be sold nor printed, he expounded the meaning thereof to extend no further, but that the text of the Bible, and books of the holy Scripture might be printed notwithstanding, and published to all men.

And for the prohibition of priests' marriage, he writeth to the princes, and desireth them to bear with the weakness of men; declaring that branch of their decree to be very hard, which though it standeth with the pope's law, yet it accordeth not with the gospel, neither conduceth to good manners, nor to honesty of life, &c.

A hundred grievances of the Germans against the pope.

Furthermore, Whereas in the same session of Nuremberg, mention was made before of certain grievances collected to the number of a hundred, and exhibited to the bishop of Rome, it were tedious likewise to insert them all; yet to give some taste of a few, I judge it not unprofitable, to the intent that the world may see and judge, not only what abuses and corruptions, most monstrous and incredible, lay hid under the glorious title of the holy church of Rome, but also may understand, with what hypocrisy and impudence the pope taketh upon him so grievously to complain upon Master Luther and others; when in all the universal church of Christ, there is none so much to be blamed all manner of ways, as he himself, according as by these heinous complaints of the German princes, here following, against the pope's intolerable oppressions and grievances, may right well appear. These grievances being collected by the princes of Germany at

(1) Ex Johan. Sleidano.

Henry VIII. A. D. 1521.

Nuremberg, to the number of a hundred,[1] I wish might be fully and at large set forth to the studious reader, whereby might appear the subtle sleights and intolerable frauds of that pretensed church. But forasmuch as it were too long to comprehend the whole, I have thought good to exhibit some part thereof for example, as giving only a certain taste, whereby thou mayest more easily conceive, what to think and esteem of all the residue, which both to me would be tedious to write, and perhaps more grievous to thee to hear.

CERTAIN GRIEVANCES OR OPPRESSIONS OF GERMANY, AGAINST THE COURT OF ROME, COLLECTED AND EXHIBITED BY THE PRINCES, AT THE COUNCIL OF NUREMBERG, TO THE NUMBER OF A HUNDRED, WHEREOF CERTAIN SPECIALTIES HERE FOLLOW.

Forbidding of Marriage in divers degrees, not forbidden by God's Law.

Amongst other burdens and grievances, this is not least to be regarded, that many things are prohibited by men's constitutions, and many things exacted, which are not prohibited or commanded by any precept of God: as the innumerable obstacles of matrimony invented and brought in, whereby men are forbid to marry in cases of kindred, which stand upon divers degrees: as upon affinity, public honesty, spiritual kindred, kindred by law, and kindred in blood, &c.

Forbidding of Meats, not forbidden by God's Law.

And likewise in forbidding the use of meats, which God hath created for man's necessity, and taught by the apostle indifferently to be received with thanksgiving. By these, and many other human constitutions, men are yoked in bondage, until, by money they obtain some dispensation of those laws, at their hands who made them; so that money shall make that lawful for rich men, which is clearly prohibited unto the poor. By these snares of men's laws and constitutions, not only great sums of money are gathered out of Germany, and carried over the Alps, but also great iniquity is sprung up among Christians; many offences and privy hatreds do arise by reason that poor men do see themselves entangled with these snares for no other cause, but for that they do not possess the thorns of the gospel; for so Christ doth often call riches.

Of Times of Marriage restrained, and afterwards released for Money.

The like practice also is to be seen in the times restrained from marriage, by the heads of the church of Rome, from the Septuagesima Sunday, somewhat before Lent; when, notwithstanding, both the clergy and the seculars in the meantime will live licentiously, and that openly in the face of all the world. But this interdict proceedeth to this effect: if a man shall presume so to do upon his own liberty, without compounding. But otherwise, if there be any hope of money, then that which was before unlawful, is now made lawful, for every man to do freely. And this is also another drawing net, whereby great sums of money are dragged out of the Germans' purses. Whereupon also hangeth another grievance as great as this; that in suing out a dispensation, the state of the poor and of the rich is not indifferently weighed: for where the rich escapeth many times for little or nought, and goeth clear away, the poor man shall be sure to pay for the shot.

(1) The first edition of the "Centum grav. natio. Germanicæ, was published in 4to. at Nuremberg, 1523; See Panzer's Annales Typographici. It is inserted also in Browne's Fasciculus Rerum expetend. et fugiendarum, tom. i. p. 354, Lond. 1690: and in Le Plat's Monumentorum ad hist Concilii Tridentini illustrand. collectio. Lovanii, 1781.—Ed.

Complaint for selling Remission of Sins for Money.

Henry VIII. A. D. 1521.

But especially the burden and grievance of the pope's indulgences and pardons be most importable: when the bishops of Rome, under pretence of building some church in Rome, or to war against the Turk, do make out their indulgences with their bulls; persuading and promising to the simple people strange and wonderful benefits of remission 'a pœna et culpa,' that is, from all their sins and punishment due for the same, and that not in this life only, but also after this life, to them that be dead, burning in the fire of purgatory. Through the hope and occasion thereof, true piety is almost extinct in all Germany, while every evil-disposed person promiseth to himself, for a little money, license and impunity to do what him listeth: whereupon follow fornication, incest, adultery, perjury, homicide, robbing and spoiling, rapine, usury, with a whole flood of all mischiefs, &c.

Complaint against the Immunities of Clergymen.

Item, Whosoever he be that hath received any ecclesiastical orders, great or small, thereby he doth contend to be freed from all punishment of the secular magistrate, how great offence soever he do; neither doth he unadvisedly presume thereupon, but is maintained in that liberty to sin, by the principal estates of the clergy. For it hath often been seen, that whereas by the canonical laws, priests are forbidden to marry, afterwards they diligently labour and go about day and night to attempt and try the chastity of matrons, virgins, and of the wives, daughters, and sisters of the laymen: and through their continual instance and labour, partly with gifts and rewards, and flattering words, partly by their secret confessions (as they call them), as it hath been found by experience, they bring to pass that many virgins and matrons, who otherwise would be honest, have been overcome and moved to sin and wickedness. And it happeneth oftentimes, that they do detain and keep away the wives and daughters from their husbands and fathers, threatening them with fire and sword, that do require them again. Thus, through their raging lust, they heap and gather together innumerable mischiefs and offences. It is to be marvelled at, how licentiously, without punishment, they daily offend in robberies, murder, accusing of innocents, burning, rapine, theft, and counterfeiting of false coin; besides a thousand other kinds of mischiefs, contrary and against all laws both of God and man, not without great offence of others, trusting only upon the freedom and liberty of sin, which they usurp unto themselves by the privilege of their canons. For when they once perceive that it is lawful for them to do what they lust without controlment, then they do not only contemn the civil magistrates, but also their bishops and superiors, whatsoever they either command or forbid them to do.

The licentiousness of priests.

And moreover, to the intent they may be the more maintained in their mischief and wickedness, contrary to all reason and equity, it is partly forbidden the archbishops and bishops to condemn these malefactors openly, except they be first degraded, which must be done with sumptuousness and pomp: whereby it happeneth very seldom, that those anointed naughty packs do receive condign punishment. Besides that, the bishops are so bound by their chapters, that they dare not punish any person who hath taken orders, by the canonical laws, be the punishment ever so light or small; by reason whereof, the matter so falleth out, that through this unequal partiality between the laity and the clergy, great hatred, discord, and dissension are sprung and risen up. It is also not a little to be feared, that if the clergy, who are the cause of this grievance, and of other mischiefs (which daily they do proceed to perpetrate), have not like laws, equal judges, and like punishment, their offensive life will move and stir up some great tumults and sedition amongst the common people, not only against the clergy themselves, but also against the superiors and magistrates, for that they leave such notorious offences unpunished.

Wherefore necessity and justice do require, that the said prejudicial privileges of the clergy should be abrogated and taken away, and in their place it be provided, ordained, and decreed, that the clergy, of what order or degree soever they be, shall have like laws, like judgment, and punishment, as the laity have: so that they shall pretend no prerogative or freedom in like offence, more than

Henry VII. A.D. 1521.

the laymen; but that every one of the clergy offending, under the judge where the offence is committed, shall be punished for his fact, according to the measure and quality of his offence, in such like manner as other malefactors are, with the punishment appointed by the common laws of the empire. This thing, without doubt, will please the true ministers of the church, such as are honest and learned, and they will not think their power and authority thereby in any case diminished. By this means it shall be brought to pass, that such as are of the clergy only by name, and otherwise naughty wicked men, through the obedience due unto their magistrates, shall be compelled to live more honestly; and all sedition and privy hatred between them and the laity shall be put away; and finally, thereby the laity shall be more moved and stirred to love and reverence such of the clergy as be of a sound life.

Priests ought to be subject to the same punishments as are the lay-people.

Complaint of Excommunication being abused in the Church of Rome.

Item, at Rome and in other places many Christians are excommunicated by the archbishops, bishops, or by their ecclesiastical judges, for profane causes, through the desire and covetousness of money and lucre. The consciences of men, who are weak in faith, thereby are burdened and brought unto desperation. And finally, for money and lucre, a matter of no importance is made to tend to the destruction both of body and soul, contrary to the law both of God and man; forasmuch as no man ought to be excommunicated but only for heresy, or for some heinous fact perpetrated; nor to be counted as separate from the christian catholic church, as the Scriptures do witness. Therefore the princes, nobles, states, and laity of the sacred empire, desire and require the pope's holiness, that as a faithful Christian and loving father, he will remove the said burden of excommunication, used both in the see of Rome, and also in the sees of all other archbishops and ecclesiastical judges; and finally decree, that no man shall hereafter be excommunicated, but only for a manifest convicted crime of heresy; for it is too wicked a thing, that faithful Christians, for every light offence touching any temporal goods or gain, or for any other worldly matter, but only for obstinacy of heresy, or some great enormity, should be excluded from Almighty God, and the catholic congregation.

Complaint that the Church is burdened with a number of Holidays, which ought to be diminished.

Moreover, the common people are not a little oppressed with the great number of holidays, for that there are now so many holidays, that the husbandmen have scarcely time to gather the fruits of the earth, which they have brought forth with so great labour and travail, being often in danger of hail, rain, and other storms; which fruits notwithstanding, if they were not letted with so many holidays, they would gather and bring home without any loss. Besides that, upon these holidays innumerable offences are committed and done, rather than God honoured or worshipped: which thing is so manifest, that it needeth no witness. For that cause the estates of the sacred empire think it best and most profitable for the christian commonwealth, that this great number of holidays should be diminished; which ought rather to be celebrated in spirit and verity, than with the external worship, and be better kept with abstinence from sin.

The Suspending and Hallowing of Church-yards complained of, as gainful to the Pope, and chargeable to the People.

Furthermore, if it happen that two or more do fight without any weapon in a church-yard, only with their fists, or by the hair, though there be ever so little bloodshed, by and by the clergy have recourse to interdictment, and do not suffer any more christian burials there to be done, before that all the citizens, with great pomp and expenses, do cause it to be consecrated and hallowed again, with no less charge than when, at the first, of a profane place it was hallowed for burial: all which things do redound to the charges and costs of the laity. And though the churches or chapels be ever so little which are so hallowed, yet the suffragans do burden and oppress the simple poor householders, be they

ever so bare or needy, with superfluous expenses, and require moreover gifts of the people, which it is not for their ease to give. *Henry VIII.*

Also the suffragans have invented, that no others but only themselves may baptize bells for the lay-people; whereby the simple people, upon the affirmation of the suffragans, do believe, that such bells so baptized will drive away evil spirits and tempests. Thereupon a great number of godfathers are appointed, especially such as are rich, who, at the time of baptizing, holding the rope wherewithal the bell is tied, the suffragan speaking before them, as is accustomed in the baptizing of young children, they altogether do answer, and give the name to the bell; the bell having a new garment put upon it, as is accustomed to be done unto the Christians. After this they go unto sumptuous banquets, whereunto also the gossips are bidden, that thereby they might give the greater reward;[1] and the suffragans, with their chaplains and other ministers, are sumptuously fed. Yet doth not this suffice, but that the suffragan also must have a reward, which they do call a small gift or present; whereby it happeneth oftentimes, that even in small villages a hundred florins are consumed and spent in such christenings: which is not only superstitious, but also contrary unto christian religion, a seducing of the simple people, and mere extortion. Notwithstanding, the bishops, to enrich their suffragans, do suffer these things, and others far worse. Wherefore such wicked and unlawful things ought to be abolished.

A. D. 1521.

Baptizing of bells.

Bells wear coats.

Spoiling of the people by baptizing of bells.

Complaint against Officials, and other Ecclesiastical Judges.

The officials also of archbishops for the most part are unlearned and unable men; besides that, men of evil conditions, taking thought for nothing but for money. Also how corruptly they live, and continue in notorious crimes and transgressions, it is daily seen; whereby the laity, whom they ought to correct and punish for their offences, and instruct in christian godliness, are not in any point by them amended, but rather by them encouraged and confirmed in their offences. Besides this, the laity are miserably robbed and spoiled of their goods by these light and vile officials, in whose consciences there is no spark of christian piety and godliness, but only a wicked desire and covetousness; which thing the archbishops and bishops, if they were indeed such as they are called, that is to say, the pastors and shepherds of Christ, without doubt they would no longer suffer or commit Christ's flock to such wicked and offensive pastors to be fed and nourished.

Complaint how the Ecclesiastical Judges do annex certain Special Causes, being Lay Matters, unto their own Jurisdiction, and will by no means release the same, except for Money.

Whensoever any causes are pleaded in judgment before an ecclesiastical judge, either for defiling of virgins, or for children unlawfully born out of wedlock, or for servants' wages, or any other matters concerning widows, the ecclesiastical judges being called upon by the superiors of the laity who do contend, they will neither defer that judgment, nor by any means will be entreated to remit them to their ordinary jurisdiction.

A Complaint of the Gain that ariseth to the Clergy by false Slanders and Rumours.

It happeneth oftentimes that men and women, through sinister and false reports and slanders, are brought before the official or ecclesiastical judge, as men guilty, and shall not be declared innocent before they have cleared themselves by an oath; which purgation so made, they are restored again to their former estimation. And albeit that the damages and costs ought to be repaid again unto such as be so falsely accused, yet notwithstanding, the innocents themselves are forced to pay two guilders and a quarter, for their letters of absolution. And this is the cause why the officials and other ecclesiastical judges do so greedily follow the action of such unlawful, false, and slanderous accusa-

Scolding matters brought to the spiritual court for gain and lucre.

(1) This question; whether these gossips that christen bells may marry together by the canon law?

Henry VIII. A.D. 1521.

tions, challenging the hearing thereof only unto themselves; which thing, no doubt, redoundeth to the great and most singular hurt and detriment of all men: for oftentimes it happeneth that women, falling together into contention, through anger, hatred, or some other affection, do speak evil or slander one another, and outrage so much, that the one oftentimes accuseth the other, either of adultery or witchery. Which thing being brought before the official, she, who through her anger had so slandered the other, is forced by an oath to excuse and purge herself, that whatsoever injurious or slanderous word she had spoken, came not of any deliberate purpose or intent, but through wrath and displeasure. In like manner the other, who is accused either of adultery or sorcery, is commanded by an oath to declare her innocency, that she is not guilty of those facts. So that it is evident unto all men, that in such cases, whether they be guilty or not guilty, they must swear, if they will keep their good name and fame. Whereby not only the unlawful lucre of gain and money is sought, but also wilful perjury forced, and the secular power and judges letted from the punishment thereof, so that, contrary to all reason, offences do remain unpunished.

Complaint against Spiritual Judges taking Secular Causes from the Civil Magistrate, for gain of Money.

Albeit there be many causes so indifferent to both jurisdictions, that they may be pleaded and punished as well by the civil magistrate as ecclesiastical judge, notwithstanding it happeneth oftentimes, that when the civil magistrates would exercise their office and jurisdiction in this behalf, they are forbidden and letted by the ecclesiastical judges, under pain of excommunication. Which thing if it should long continue and be suffered, the ecclesiastical judges would shortly take away all manner of causes from the civil magistrate, and his jurisdiction; which is intolerable, and derogatory both unto the emperor's majesty, and other states of the empire. And albeit that by the common laws manifest perjuries, adulteries, witchcrafts, and such other like, may indifferently be punished by ecclesiastical or civil judges for the time being, so that prevention in this behalf taketh place; notwithstanding, the ecclesiastical judges go about to usurp unto themselves and their jurisdiction all such manner of causes: which burden and grievance the civil jurisdiction and power ought not to suffer.

Complaint against Ecclesiastical Judges intermeddling with Cases of the Secular Court, but who will not suffer their Cases to be once touched of the others.

Moreover, the ecclesiastical judges say, that in such case it is lawful for them to take profane matters into their hands, if the civil magistrate be found negligent in executing of justice: but contrariwise, they will not suffer that the like order should be kept with them, neither will they permit that in ecclesiastical matters any man may complain unto the civil magistrate for lack of justice, and require the administration of justice at his hand. Albeit they do define all laws generally common, and determine how the canon laws may help and assist the civil, and contrariwise the civil laws the canon.

Complaint against certain Misorders of Cathedral Churches, for using double Punishment for one Offence against the Law.

Forasmuch as it is forbidden both by God's law and man's, that any man should be beaten with two rods, that is to say, be punished by two kinds of torments; worthily therefore do all wise men detest and abhor the odious statutes of divers cathedral churches, whereby murderers, both men and women, and other as well light as grievous offenders, have been hitherto vexed and tormented: for hitherto it hath been accustomed, that such as were guilty of murder, and such other crimes (which they call cases reserved unto the bishops), after they had made their auricular confession, were compelled (to their great ignominy and shame) to do penance in the sight of all the people; which penance were not so much to be disallowed, bearing some semblance of the

institution of the primitive church, if so be these busy officials (being contented therewith) would not extort more and greater sums of money than were right and lawful, and so punish those offenders with double punishment; wherewithal it is to be marvelled how many be offended and grieved. How wicked a thing this is, and how far it differeth from Christ's institution, we will refer it to every good conscience to judge. *Henry VIII.* A.D. 1521.

Complaint of Officials for maintaining unlawful Usury.

Furthermore, the officials, being allured through the greedy and insatiable desire of money, do not only not forbid unlawful usuries and gains of money, but also suffer and maintain the same. Moreover they, taking a yearly stipend and pension, do suffer the clergy and other religious persons unlawfully to dwell with their concubines and harlots, and to beget children by them. Both which things how great peril, offence, and detriment they do bring both unto body and soul, every man may plainly see (so that it need not be rehearsed), except he will make himself as blind as a mole.

Complaint of Officials permitting unlawful cohabiting with another, when the Husband or Wife is long absent.

Furthermore, where it so happeneth (as it doth oftentimes), that either the good man, or the good wife, by means of war, or some other vow, hath taken in hand some long journey, and so tarrieth longer than serveth the appetite of the other, the official, taking a reward of the other, giveth license to the party to dwell with any other person, not having first regard, or making inquisition whether the husband or wife, being absent, be in health or dead. And because these their doings should not be evil spoken of, they name it a toleration or sufferance; not without great offence to all men, and to the great contempt of holy matrimony.

Complaint of Canons in Cathedral Churches, who have their Bishop sworn unto them before he be chosen.

This is also unlawful and plainly wicked, that the canons of cathedral churches, in whose hand the principal part of ecclesiastical judgments, synods, and censures do consist, and the canons of other collegiate churches, who have power and authority to choose their superior and bishop, will choose none to their bishop, except he bind himself first with an oath, and plainly swear, yea, and oftentimes is bound, by bond and instruments sealed with their seals, to them and their ecclesiastical judges, that in no matter, be it ever so grievous, intolerable, or dishonest, he shall be against them: and if it happen at any time that they do offend, they may do it also without punishment for him.

Complaint against Incorporations or Impropriations, and other pilling of the People by Churchmen.

Many parish churches are subject unto monasteries, and to the parsons of other churches, by means of incorporations (as they call them) or otherwise, which they are bound also, according to the canon laws, to foresee and look unto by themselves; whereas they do put them forth unto others to be governed, reserving for the most part unto themselves the whole stipend of the benefices and tithes; and moreover, aggravate and charge the same with so great pensions, that the hireling priests, and other ministers of the church, cannot have thereupon a decent or competent living. Whereby it cometh to pass, that these hireling priests (for that they must needs have whereupon to live) do with unlawful exactions miserably spoil and devour the poor sheep committed unto them, and consume all their substance. For when the sacraments of the altar and of baptism are to be administered, or when the first, the seventh, the thirtieth, and the year-day must be kept; when auricular confession cometh to be heard, the dead to be buried, or any other ceremony whatsoever about the funeral is to be done, they will not do it freely, but extort and exact so much

Henry VIII. A.D. 1522.

money as the miserable commonalty is scarce able to disburse: and daily they do increase and augment these their exactions, driving the simple poverty to the payment thereof, by threatening them with excommunication, or by other ways compelling them to be at charge, who otherwise, through poverty, are not able to maintain obsequies, year-minds, and such other like ceremonies, as to the funerals of the dead be appertaining.

Buying and Selling of Burials complained of.

It is ordained by the pope's canons, that burial in the church should be denied only unto those who being known to be manifest and notorious offenders, have departed this life without receiving the sacrament. But the clergy, not regarding those decrees, will not suffer such as by chance are drowned, killed, slain with falls or fire, or otherwise by chance have ended their lives (albeit it be not evident that they were in deadly sin), to be buried in the churches, until such time as the wives, children, or friends of those men so dead, do with great sums of money purchase and buy the burial of them in the church-yard.

Chaste and continent Priests compelled to pay Tribute for Concubines.

Also in many places the bishops and their officials do not only suffer priests to have concubines, so that they pay certain sums of money, but also compel continent and chaste priests, who live without concubines, to pay tribute for concubines, affirming that the bishop hath need of money: which being paid, it shall be lawful for them either to live chaste, or keep concubines. How wicked a thing this is, every man doth well understand and know.

These, with many other burdens and grievances besides, to the number of a hundred, the secular states of Germany delivered to the pope's legate; having (as they said) many more and more grievous grievances besides these, which had likewise much need of redress: but because they would not exceed the limits of reasonable brevity, they would content themselves (they said) with these aforesaid hundred, reserving the rest to a more apt and more convenient opportunity; steadfastly trusting and hoping, that when those hundred grievances already by them declared, should be abolished, the others would also decay and fall with them. Of these aforesaid grievances and complaints here is moreover to be noted, that a great part was offered up before to the emperor at the council of Worms; but because no redress thereof did follow, therefore the secular states of Germany thought good to exhibit the same now again, with divers more annexed thereunto, to Cheregatus, the pope's legate in this present assembly of Nuremberg, desiring him to present the same to pope Adrian. This was about A.D. 1523; which being done, the assembly of Nuremberg brake up for a time, and was prorogued to the next year following.

The diet of Nuremberg began A.D.1522, and broke up A.D.1523.

In this mean time pope Adrian died. After him succeeded pope Clement VII., who, the next year following, which was A.D. 1524, sent down his legate, cardinal Campeius, unto the council of the German princes assembled again at Nuremberg, about the month of March, with letters also to duke Frederic, full of many fair petitions and sharp complaints, &c. But as touching the grievances above-mentioned, no word nor message at all was sent, either by Campeius, or by any other. Thus, where any thing was to be complained of against Luther, either for oppression of the liberty of the gospel, or

Death of pope Adrian. Pope Clement's legate sent into Germany. The pope only seeketh his own dignity.

for upholding of the pope's dignity, the pope was ever ready with all diligence to call upon the princes: but where any redress was to be required for the public wealth of christian people, or touching the necessary reformation of the church, herein the pope neither giveth ear nor answer. *Henry VIII.* A. D. 1523.

And thus, having discoursed such matters occurrent between the pope and princes of Germany at the synod of Nuremberg, let us now proceed, returning again to the story of Luther, of whom ye heard before, how he was kept secret and solitary for a time, by the advice and conveyance of certain nobles in Saxony, because of the emperor's edict above mentioned. In the mean time, while Luther had thus absented himself out of Wittenberg, Andreas Carolostadt, proceeding more roughly and eagerly in causes of religion, had stirred up the people to throw down images in the temples, besides other things more. For this cause Luther, returning again into the city, greatly misliked the order of their doings, and reproved the rashness of Carolostadt, declaring that their proceedings herein were not orderly, but that pictures and images ought first to be thrown out of the hearts and consciences of men; and that the people ought first to be taught that we are saved before God, and please him only by *faith*; and that images serve to no purpose: this done, and the people well instructed, there was no danger in images, but they would fall of their own accord. Not that he repugned to the contrary (he said), as though he would maintain images to stand or to be suffered, but that this ought to be done by the magistrate; and not by force, upon every private man's head, without order and authority.[1]

Carolostadt casteth down images in Wittenberg.

Luther misliketh this.

Furthermore Luther, writing of Carolostadt, affirmeth, that he also joined with the sentence of those, who began then to spread about certain parts of Saxony, saying, that they were taught of God that all wickedness being utterly suppressed, and all the wicked doers slain, a new full perfection of all things must be set up, and the innocent only to enjoy all things, &c.

The cause why Luther so stood against that violent throwing down of images, and against Carolostadt, seemeth partly to rise of this, by reason that pope Adrian, in his letters sent to the princes and states of Germany, doth grievously complain and charge the sect of Luther for sedition and tumults, and rebellion against magistrates, as subverters and destroyers of all order and obedience, as appeareth by the words of the pope's letter before expressed: therefore Martin Luther, to stop the mouth of such slanderers, and to prevent such sinister suspicions, was enforced to take this way as he did; that is, to proceed as much as he might by order and authority.

Why Luther permitted images to stand.

Herein are to be noted by the way two special points touching the doctrine and doings of Martin Luther, especially for all such who in these our days now, abusing the name and authority of Luther, think themselves to be good Lutherans, if they suffer images still to remain in temples, and admit such things in the church, as themselves do wish to be away. The first is, the manner how and after what sort Luther did suffer such images to stand: for although he assented not, that the vulgar and private multitude tumultuously by violence should rap them down; yet that is no argument now for the

Two things to be noted.

(1) Ex Johan. Sleid. lib. iii.

Henry VIII. A. D. 1523.

magistrate to let them stand. And though he allowed not the ministers to stir up the people by forcible means to promote religion; yet that argueth not those magistrates to be good Lutherans, who may and should remove them, and will not.

The second point to be noted is, to consider the cause why Luther did so stand with standing of images; which cause was time, and not his own judgment: for albeit in judgment he wished them away, yet time so served not thereunto then, as it serveth now: for then the doctrine of Luther, first beginning to spring, and being but in the blade, was not yet known whereto it tended, nor to what it would grow, but rather was suspected to tend to disobedience and sedition; and therefore the pope, hearing of the doings of Carolostadt in Wittenberg, and of others like, took his ground thereby to charge the sect of Luther with sedition, uproars, and dissolute liberty of life. And this was the cause why Luther (compelled then by necessity of time to save his doctrine from the slander of sedition and tumult being laid to him by the pope, as ye have heard) was so much offended with Carolostadt and others, for their violence used against images. For otherwise, had it not been for the pope's accusations, there is no doubt but Luther would have been as well contented with abolishing of images, and other monuments of popery, as he was at the same time contented to write to the friars Augustine for abrogating of private masses. And therefore as Luther in this doing is to be excused, the circumstances considered; such or the like excuse perhaps will not serve the overmuch curious imitation of certain Lutherans in this present age now; who, considering only the fact of Luther, do not mark the purpose of Luther, neither do weigh the circumstances and time of his doings: being not much unlike to the ridiculous imitators of king Alexander the Great, who thought it not sufficient to follow him in his virtues, but they would also counterfeit him in his stooping, and all other gestures besides. But to these living now in the church, in another age than Luther did, it may seem, after my mind, sufficient to follow the same way after Luther, or to walk with Luther to the kingdom of Christ, though they jump not also in every footstep of his, and keep even the same pace and turnings in all points as he did.[1]

Καθοξηλία. Lutherans of this age. How Luther is to be followed.

(1) A Roman Catholic bishop, Dr. Milner, in his "Letters to a Prebendary" (seventh edition, London, 1825, pp. 113—118), has favoured us with a series of the coarsest expressions which can be selected from the writings of Luther, to deduce from them that Luther's morality was prostrated, that his sentiments were depraved, and that his motives and actions were the result of pride, bigotry, and ambition. Dr. Milner closes his observations with these words, "There are other passages, in great numbers, too indecent to admit of being translated at all; indeed I almost blush to soil my paper with transcribing some of them into my notes below, in the original Latin." This learned doctor of the popish church shrinks, with wonted modesty, from his own translation of Luther's addresses to his royal antagonist Henry VIII.; but how would his delicacy have been offended had he heard Mr. John Clark, the king's orator, before the Consistory of Leo X. (in presenting his master's book to that spiritual head of the church), break out into such epithets as these which follow; unless, indeed, they were deemed excusable, as spoken of "an execrable, venomous, and pernicious heretic." [See page 1 of Henry the Eighth's own book, entitled "Assertio septem sacramentorum. Faithfully translated, &c. by T. W. gent. London, 1688."] The orator denounces Luther as "this furious monster," with "his stings and poisons, whereby he intends to infect the whole world." Or again, "What so hot and inflamed force of speaking can be invented sufficient to declare the crime of that most filthy villain?" [see page 2.] Or, in reading forward, how would his ear have been jarred with the expressions, "idol and vain phantom," "a mad dog, to be dealt with with drawn swords," and "a viper's madness!" How startling to hear three times repeated from the mouth of the most holy father pope Leo, the title of "terrible monster;" or to hear him, the head of a church that professes to be no persecutor of Protestants (because she persecutes all heretics alike), speak in definite terms of "driving away from our Lord's flock the wolves; and cutting off, with the *material sword*, the rotten members that infect the mystical body of Christ;" [see the pope's bull to king Henry]. And, lastly, how would the tender feelings of Dr. Milner have been wounded had he read king Henry's own words, in his "Address to the Reader," animadverting upon Luther as "one risen up, who, by the instigation of the devil, under

Henry VIII. A. D. 1523.

And contrariwise, of the other sort, much less are they to be commended, who running as much on the contrary string, are so precise, that because of one small blemish, or for a little stooping of Luther in the sacrament, therefore they give clean over the reading of Luther, and fall almost into utter contempt of his books: whereby is declared, not so much the niceness and curiousness of these our days, as the hinderance that cometh thereby to the church is greatly to be lamented. For albeit the church of Christ (praised be the Lord) is not unprovided of sufficient plenty of worthy and learned writers, able to instruct in matters of doctrine; yet in the chief points of our consolation, where the glory of Christ, and the power of his passion, and strength of faith are to be opened to our conscience; and where the soul, wrestling for death and life, standeth in need of serious consolation, the same may be said of Martin Luther, among all this other variety of writers, what St. Cyprian was wont to say of Tertullian, "Da magistrum;" "Give me my master." And albeit that Luther went a little awry, and dissented from Zuinglius, in this one matter of the sacrament; yet in all other states of doctrine they did accord, as appeared in the synod holden at Marburg, by prince Philip, landgrave of Hesse, which was A. D. 1529, where both Luther and Zuinglius were present, and conferring together, agreed in these articles:[1]

Not to be contemned for one little blemish.

Commendation of his doctrine. Example of St. Cyprian in reading Tertullian.

1. In the Unity and Trinity of God. 2. In the incarnation of the Word. 3. In the passion and resurrection of Christ. 4. In the article of original sin. 5. In the article of faith in Christ Jesus. 6. That this faith cometh not of merits, but by the gift of God. 7. That this faith is our righteousness. 8. Touching the extern word. 9. Likewise they agreed in the articles of baptism. 10. Of good works. 11. Of confession. 12. Of magistrates. 13. Of men's traditions. 14. Of baptism of infants. 15. Lastly, concerning the doctrine of the Lord's Supper; this they did believe, and hold: first, that both kinds thereof are to be ministered to the people, according to Christ's institution; and that the mass is no such work for which a man may obtain grace both for the quick and the dead. Item, that the sacrament (which they call of the altar) is a true sacrament of the body and blood of the Lord. Item, that the spiritual manducation of his body and blood is necessary for every christian man. And furthermore, that the use of the sacrament tendeth to the same effect as doth the Word, given and ordained of Almighty God, that thereby infirm consciences may be stirred to belief by the Holy Ghost, &c.[1]

Consent between Luther and Zuinglius in doctrine.

pretext of charity, stimulated with anger and hatred, spues out the poison of vipers against the church!" Again, how inconsistent with the meekness of Christianity, for the Defender of the Faith to speak thus of Luther: "Oh, that detestable trumpeter of pride, calumnies, and schisms! what an infernal wolf, &c., what a great member of the devil is he!" &c. Every christian mind must deeply regret the coarse and vulgar expressions used by the orator, the pope, the king, and Luther, in common with other writers of that age: that such should have been the expressions of Luther is deeply to be lamented, as the life and conversation of Christians should be characteristic of the religion which they profess: at the same time it will be perceived, that Luther was the more readily betrayed into errors of this kind in consequence of the bold and uncompromising character of his mind, a quality as much to be admired by every protestant, as it was dreaded by the papists: they could not refute his arguments, founded upon Scripture; they dared not injure his person, beloved and esteemed by the people. That the tender mercies of the Romish church would not have spared Luther, unless secured from danger by a more powerful arm, we may gather from John Clark's oration to the pope, on presenting to the pontiff king Henry's book; who, speaking of the poisoning of Socrates, adds these words respecting Luther: "Could this destroyer of the christian religion expect any better from *true Christians*, for his extreme wickedness against God?" And again, king Henry VIII. in his "Address to the Reader," speaking of Luther's repentance, adds, "If Luther refuses this, it will shortly come to pass, if christian princes do their duty, that their errors, and *himself*, if he perseveres therein, may be burned in the fire."

Whatever may have been the errors of Luther, they teach us this truth; that weak and unstable must be that proud and boasting church, which shook from its base to its summit, as Luther divulged and propagated his scriptural, and alas, in those days, "strange" doctrines. The success which crowned the labours of this "puny brother" (as king Henry calls him in the last sentence of his book), we must ascribe to the honour of God and the glory of his grace, who hath "chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise, and the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty; and who hath chosen base things of the world, and things which are despised, yea, and things which are not, to bring to nought things that are, that no flesh should glory in his presence."—Ed.

(1) Ex Paral. Abbat. Ursperg.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1523.

In all these sums of doctrine above recited, Luther and Zuinglius did consent and agree; neither were their opinions so different in the matter of the Lord's Supper, but that in the principal points they accorded. For if the question be asked of them both, What is the material substance of the sacrament, which our outward senses do behold and feel? they will both confess bread, and not the accidents only of bread. Further, if the question be asked, whether Christ be there present? they will both confess his true presence to be there; only in the manner of presence they differ. Again, ask, whether the material substance laid before our eyes in the sacrament is to be worshipped? they will both deny it, and judge it idolatry. And likewise for transubstantiation, and the sacrifice of the mass, they both do abhor, and do deny the same: as also that the communion is to be in both kinds administered, they do both assent and grant.

They agree in the presence, only in the manner of the presence they differ.

Their only difference is this, concerning the sense and meaning of the words of Christ, "Hoc est corpus meum," "This is my body," &c., which words Luther expoundeth to be taken nakedly and simply as the letter standeth, without trope or figure; and therefore holdeth the body and blood of Christ truly to be in the bread and wine, and so also to be received with the mouth. Uldricus Zuinglius, with Johannes Œcolampadius, and others, do interpret these words otherwise; as not to be taken literally, but to have a spiritual meaning, and to be expounded by a trope or figure, so that the sense of these words, "This is my body," is thus to be expounded: "This signifieth my body and blood."[1] With Luther consented the Saxons; with the side of Zuinglius, went the Helvetians. And as time did grow, so the division of these opinions increased in sides, and spread in farther realms and countries: the one part being called, of Luther, Lutherans; the other having the name of Sacramentaries. Notwithstanding, in this one unity of opinion, both the Lutherans and Sacramentaries do accord and agree, that the bread and wine there present are not transubstantiated into the body and blood of Christ (as it is said), but are a true sacrament of the body and blood.[2]

How they dissent in doctrine of the Lord's Supper.

Lutherans, and Sacramentries.

But hereof sufficient, touching this division between the Lutherans and the Zuinglians. In which division, if there have been any defect in Martin Luther, yet is that no cause why either the papists may greatly triumph, or why the protestants should despise Luther: for neither is the doctrine of Luther touching the sacrament so gross, that it maketh much with the papists; nor yet so discrepant from us, that therefore he ought to be exploded. And though a full reconciliation of this difference cannot well be made (as some have gone about to do), yet let us give to Luther a moderate interpretation; and if we will not make things better, yet let us not make them worse than they be, and let us bear, if not with the manner, yet at least with the time of his teaching; and finally, let it not be noted in us, that we should seem to differ more in charity (as Bucer said) than we do in doctrine. But of this more hereafter (Christ willing), when we come to the history of John Frith.

Lutherans and Zuinglians differ more in charity than in doctrine.

Those who write the lives of saints use to describe and extol their holy life and godly virtues, and also to set forth such miracles as be wrought in them by God; whereof there lacketh no plenty in Martin

(1) Ex Johan. Sleid. lib. v. [p. 37, ed. Francft. 1785.—Ed.] (2) Ex Paralip. Abb. Ursp.

Luther, but rather time lacketh to us, and opportunity to tarry upon them, having such haste to other things. Otherwise what a miracle might this seem to be, for one man, and a poor friar, creeping out of a blind cloister, to be set up against the pope, the universal bishop, and God's mighty vicar on earth; to withstand all his cardinals, yea, and to sustain the malice and hatred of almost the whole world being set against him; and to work that against the said pope, cardinals, and church of Rome, which no king nor emperor could ever do, yea, durst ever attempt, nor all the learned men before him could ever compass: which miraculous work of God, I account nothing inferior to the miracle of David overthrowing the great Goliath. Wherefore if miracles do make a saint (after the pope's definition), what lacketh in Martin Luther, but age and time only, to make him a saint? who, standing openly against the pope, cardinals, and prelates of the church, in number so many, in power so terrible, in practice so crafty, having emperors and all the kings of the earth against him; who, teaching and preaching Christ the space of nine and twenty years, could, without touch of all his enemies, so quietly in his own country where he was born, die and sleep in peace. In which Martin Luther, first to stand against the pope was a great miracle; to prevail against the pope, a greater; so to die untouched, may seem greatest of all, especially having so many enemies as he had. Again, neither is it any thing less miraculous, to consider what manifold dangers he escaped besides: as when a certain Jew was appointed to come to destroy him by poison, yet was it so the will of God, that Luther had warning thereof before, and the face of the Jew sent to him by picture, whereby he knew him, and avoided the peril.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1523.

A notable miracle of God to overthrow the pope by a poor friar.

Martin Luther miraculously preserved.

Another time, as he was sitting in a certain place upon his stool, a great stone there was in the vault over his head where he did sit; which being staid miraculously so long as he was sitting, as soon as he was up, immediately fell upon the place where he sat, able to have crushed him all in pieces, if it had alighted upon him.

And what should I speak of his prayers, which were so ardent unto Christ, that (as Melancthon writeth), those who stood under his window where he stood praying, might see his tears falling and dropping down. Again, with such power he prayed, that he (as himself confesseth) had obtained of the Lord, that so long as he lived, the pope should not prevail in his country; after his death (said he) let them pray who could.

Vehement and mighty in prayer.

And as touching the marvellous works of the Lord, wrought here by men, if it be true which is credibly reported by the learned, what miracle can be more miraculous, than that which is declared of a young man about Wittenberg, who, being kept bare and needy by his father, was tempted by a way of sorcery to bargain with the devil, or a familiar, as they call him; to yield himself body and soul into the devil's power, upon condition to have his wish satisfied with money. So that upon the same an obligation was made by the young man, written with his own blood, and given to the devil. This case you see how horrible it was, and how damnable. Now hear what followed. Upon the sudden wealth and alteration of this young man, the matter first being noted, began afterwards more and more to be suspected, and at length, after long and great admiration, was brought unto Martin

A miraculous work of the Lord, in delivering a young man out of the devil's danger by christian prayer.

Henry VIII. A. D. 1523.

Luther to be examined. The young man, whether for shame or fear, long denied to confess, and would disclose nothing; yet God so wrought, being stronger than the devil, that he uttered unto Luther the whole substance of the case, as well touching the money, as the obligation. Luther understanding the matter, and pitying the lamentable state of the man, willed the whole congregation to pray, and he himself ceased not with his prayers to labour; so that the devil was compelled at last to throw in his obligation at the window, and bade him take it again unto him: which narration, if it be so true, as certainly it is of him reported, I see not the contrary, but that this may well seem comparable with the greatest miracle, in Christ's church, that was since the apostles' time.

Furthermore, as he was mighty in his prayers, so in his sermons God gave him such a grace, that when he preached, they who heard him thought every one his own temptation severally to be noted and touched. Whereof, when signification was given unto him by his friends, and he demanded how that could be; "Mine own manifold temptations," said he, "and experiences are the cause thereof." For this thou must understand, good reader! that Luther from his tender years was much beaten and exercised with spiritual conflicts, as Melancthon in describing his life doth testify. Also Hieronymus Wellerus, scholar and disciple of the said Martin Luther, recordeth, that he oftentimes heard Luther his master thus report of himself, that he had been assaulted and vexed with all kinds of temptations, saving only one, which was with covetousness; with this vice he was never, said he, in all his life troubled, nor once tempted.[1]

Luther never in all his life tempted with covetousness.

How long he lived and taught.

And hitherto concerning the life of Martin Luther, who, living to the year of his age sixty-three, continued writing and preaching about twenty-nine years. As touching the order of his death, the words of Melancthon be these:

* An Intimation given by Philip Melancthon to his Auditory at Wittenberg, of the Decease of Martin Luther,[2] A.D. 1546.

To the scholars assembled to hear the lecture of the Epistle to the Romans, Philip Melancthon recited publicly, this that followeth, at nine of the clock before noon; advertising he gave this information, by the counsel of other lords, for that the auditors, understanding the express truth (forasmuch as the lords knew certainly, fame would blow slanderous blasts every where of the death of Luther), should not credit flying tales and false reports.

'My friends, ye know that we have enterprised to expound grammatically the Epistle to the Romans, in which is contained the true doctrine of the Son of God, which our Lord, by his singular grace, hath revealed unto us at this present by the reverend father, and our dearly beloved master, Martin Luther. Notwithstanding we have received heavy news, which has so augmented my dolor, that I am in doubt if I may continue henceforth in scholastical profession, and exercise of teaching. The cause wherefore I commemorate this thing is, for that I am so advised by other lords, that ye may understand the true sequel of things, lest yourselves blaze abroad vain tales of this fatal chance, or give credit to other fables, which commonly are accustomed to be spread every where.'*

Wednesday last past, and the 17th of February, Dr. Martin Luther sickened a little before supper of his accustomed malady, to wit, of the oppression of humours in the orifice or opening of the stomach, whereof I remember I have

(1) Ex Phil. Melanct. in orat. funebri Ex Hieron. Wellero. (2) Edition 1563 p. 415.—Ed.

seen him oft diseased in this place. This sickness took him after supper, with which he vehemently contending, required secess into a by-chamber, and there he rested on his bed two hours, all which time his pains increased; and as Dr. Jonas was lying in his chamber, Luther awaked, and prayed him to rise, and to call up Ambrose his children's schoolmaster, to make a fire in another chamber; into which when he was newly entered, Albert earl of Manseld, with his wife, and divers others (whose names in these letters for haste were not expressed), at that instant came into his chamber. Finally, feeling his fatal hour to approach, before nine of the clock in the morning, on the 18th of February, he commended himself to God with this devout prayer:

Henry VIII. A. D. 1523.

Sickness of Luther.

His quiet death.

'My heavenly Father, eternal and merciful God! thou hast manifested unto me thy dear Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, I have taught him, I have known him; I love him as my life, my health, and my redemption; whom the wicked have persecuted, maligned, and with injury afflicted. Draw my soul to thee.'

The prayer of Luther at his death.

After this he said as ensueth, thrice:

'I commend my spirit into thy hands, thou hast redeemed me, O God of Truth!' 'God so loved the world, that he gave his only Son, that all those that believe in him should have life everlasting,' [John iii.]

Having repeated oftentimes his prayers, he was called[1] to God, unto whom so faithfully he commended his spirit; to enjoy, no doubt, the blessed society of the patriarchs, prophets, and apostles in the kingdom of God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost: *Elias,[2] the conductor and chariot of Israel, is dead, who hath governed the church in this last age of the world; for, the doctrine of remission of sins, and of the faith of God, hath not been comprehended by human wisdom, but God hath manifested the same by this holy man whom we have seen raised up of God.* Let us now love the memory of this man, and the doctrine that he hath taught; let us learn to be modest and meek; let us consider the wretched calamities and marvellous changes, that shall follow this mishap and doleful chance. I beseech thee, O Son of God! crucified for us, and resuscitate Emmanuel, govern, conserve, and defend thy church.

A Prayer after the manner of Luther.

*Let[3] us render thanks unto God, the Eternal Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath pleased, by the ministry of this godly Luther, to purify the evangelical fountains from papistical infection, and restore sincere doctrine to the church: which thing we remembering, ought to join our lamentable petitions, with zealous affection beseeching God to confirm what he hath begun in us, for his holy name's sake. This is thy voice and promise, O living and just God, eternal Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, Creator of all things, and of the church! 'I will have compassion on you, for my name's sake. I will do it for myself, yea even for myself, that I be not blasphemed.' I beseech thee with ardent affection, that for thy glory, and the glory of thy Son Jesus Christ, thou wilt collect unto thyself in the voice of thy gospel, among us, one perpetual church, and that for the dear love of thy Son our Lord Jesus Christ, our mediator and intercessor, thou wilt govern us by thy Holy Ghost; that we unfeignedly may call upon thee, and serve thee justly. Rule also the studies of thy doctrine, govern and conserve the policies and discipline of the same, which be the nurses of thy church and schools. And since thou hast created mankind to acknowledge and to invocate thee, and that for this respect thou hast revealed thyself by many clear testimonies, permit not this small number and selected flock (that profess thy sacred word), to be defaced and overcome. And the rather, for that thy Son Jesus Christ, ready to fight against death, hath prayed in this manner for us: 'Father, sanctify them in verity, thy word is verity.' Our prayers we join with the prayer of this our holy Priest, making our petition with Him, that thy doctrine may shine among men, and that we may be directed by the same.

Luther hath purged the fountain.

We heard Luther evermore pray in this wise, and so praying, his

(1) "Unto the eternal school, and perpetual joys." Edition 1563, p. 416.—Ed.
(2) See Edition 1563, p. 416.—Ed.
(3) For the following passage in asterisks, see Edition 1563, p. 407.—Ed.

Henry VIII. innocent ghost peaceably was separated from the earthly corpse when he had lived almost sixty-three years.

A. D. 1523. Such as succeeded, have divers monuments of his doctrine and godliness. He wrote certain learned works, wherein he comprised a wholesome and necessary doctrine for men, informing the sincere minds to repentance, and to declare the fruits of the same, the use of the sacraments, the difference betwixt the gospel and philosophy, the dignity of politic order; and, finally, the principal articles of doctrine profitable to the church. He composed certain works to reprove, wherein he refuteth divers pernicious errors. He also devised books of interpretation, in which he wrote many narrations and expositions of the prophets and apostles, and in this kind his very enemies confess, he excelleth all others whose works are imprinted and published abroad. Then all Christians and godly minds! conceive what praise he deserved; but certainly his exposition of the Old and New Testament, in utility and labour, is equivalent to all his works; for in the same is so much perspicuity, that it may serve instead of a commentary, though it be read in the German tongue. And yet this is not a naked exposition, but it containeth very learned annotations and arguments on every part; which both set forth the sum of heavenly doctrine, and instruct the reader in the sacred phrase and manner of speaking in the Scriptures, that the godly minds may receive firm testimonies of the doctrine, out of the very fountains. His mind was not to keep us occupied in his works; but to guide our spirits to the very springs. His will was, we should hear God speak, and that by his Word true faith and invocation might be kindled in our minds, that God might be sincerely honoured and adored, and that many might be made inheritors of everlasting life.

The sum of all that Luther taught.

It behoveth us thankfully to accept his good will and great labours, and to imitate the same as our patron, and by him to learn to adorn the church, according to our power. For we must refer all our life, enterprises, and deliberations, to two principal ends: First, to illustrate the glory of God; Secondly, to profit the church. As touching the first, St. Paul saith: "Do all things to the glory of God." And of the second, it is said in Psalm xxii. "Pray that Jerusalem may prosper." And there followeth a singular promise added in this versicle: "Such as love the church, shall prosper and have good success." Let these heavenly commandments and divine instructions allure all men to learn the true doctrine of the church, to love the faithful ministers of the gospel and the true teachers; and to employ their whole study and diligence to augment the true doctrine, and maintain concord and unity in the true church.*

Death of duke Frederic. Frederic prince elector died long before Luther, A. D. 1525, leaving no issue behind him, for that he lived a single life, and was never married: wherefore after him succeeded John Frederic duke of Saxony.

Mention was made a little before of the ministers of Strasburg, who, because of their marriage, were in trouble, and cited by the bishop to appear before him, and there to be judged, without the precinct of the city of Strasburg; whereas there had been a contrary order taken before between the bishop and the city, that the bishop

should execute no judgment upon any, but under some of the magistrates of the said city of Strasburg. Whereupon the senate and the citizens, taking into their hands the cause of these married ministers, in defence of their own right and liberties, wrote, as is said, to their bishop of Strasburg, and caused the judgment thereof a while to be stayed; by reason whereof the matter was brought at length before cardinal Campeius, legate, sent by pope Clement to the assembly of Nuremberg, A. D. 1524. *Henry VIII.* A. D. 1523. Disceptation about married ministers.

The chief doer in this matter was one Thomas Murner, a Franciscan friar, who had commenced a grievous complaint against the senate and city of Strasburg, before the aforesaid cardinal Campeius. Wherefore the senate, to purge themselves, sent their ambassadors, thus clearing their cause, and answering to their accusation, that they neither had been nor would be any let to the bishop, but had signified to him before, by their letters, that whatsoever he could lay against those married priests, consonant to the law of God, they would be no stay, but rather a furtherance unto him to proceed in his action. But the senate herein was not a little grieved that the bishop, contrary to the order and compact which was taken between him and them, did call the said ministers out of the liberties of their city; for so it was between them agreed, that no ecclesiastical person should be adjudged but under some judge of their own city. But now, contrary to their said agreement, the bishop called those ministers out of their liberties; and so the ministers, claiming the right and privilege of the city, were condemned, their cause being neither heard nor known. And now if the senate should show themselves any thing more sharp or rigorous unto those ministers, claiming the right of the city, the people, no doubt, would not take it well, but haply would rise up in some commotion against them in the quarrel and defence of their franchises and liberties. Murner, a friar, an accuser of married ministers. The senate of Strasburg purge themselves. The bishop of Strasburg breaketh the agreement made, and the liberties of the city.

And where it is objected, that they receive priests and men of the clergy into the freedom and protection of their city: to this they answered, that they did nothing herein, but that which was correspondent to the ancient usage and manner of the city before: and moreover, that it was the bishop's own request and desire made unto them so to do.

To this the cardinal again, advising well the letters of the bishop, and the whole order of the matter which was sent unto him, declared, that he right well understood by the letters sent, that the ministers indeed (as the ambassadors said) were called out from the freedom and liberties of the city, and yet no order of law was broken therein; forasmuch as the bishop (said he) had there no less power and authority, than if he were his own vicar delegate; and therefore he desired them, that they would assist the bishop in punishing the aforesaid ministers, &c. Answer of Campeius to the ambassadors. The pope's prelates be lawless, and can break no order.

After much other talk and reasoning on both parts, wherein the ambassadors argued in defence of their freedom, that the judgment should not be transferred out of the city: among other communication, they inferred moreover, and declared, how in the city of Strasburg were many, yea, the most part of the clergy, who lived viciously and wickedly with their women, whom they kept in their houses, to the great offence of the people, shame to Christ's church, and perni- The ambassadors' reply.

Henry VIII. A. D. 1523.

cious example of others; and yet the bishop would never once stir to see any punishing or correction thereof. Wherefore, if the senate (said the ambassadors) should permit the bishop to extend his cruelty and extremity against these married ministers, for not observing the bishop of Rome's law, and leave the other notorious offenders,[1] who break the law of God, to escape unpunished, doubtless it would redound to their great danger and peril, not only before God, but also among the commons of their city, ready to rise upon them.

Holy matrimony punished; wickedness escapeth.

To this Campeius answered, What composition or bargain was betwixt the bishop and them, he knew not, but surely the act of the one was manifest, and needed no great trial in law of proving and confessing; and therefore they were sequestered and abandoned from the communion of the church, 'ipso facto.'[2] As for the other sort of them, who keep women,[3] although (said he) it be not well done, yet doth it not excuse the enormity of their marriage. Neither was he ignorant, but that it was the manner of the bishops of Germany, for money, to wink at priests' lemans; and the same also was evil done indeed. And further, that the time should come when they shall be called to an account for the same; but yet, nevertheless, it is not sufferable that priests therefore should have wives. And if comparison should be made (said he), much greater offence it were, a priest to have a wife, than to have and keep at home many paramours.[4] His reason was this; for they that keep them (said he) as it is naughty which they do, so do they acknowledge their sin: the others persuade themselves that they do well, and so continue still without repentance, or conscience of their fact. All men (said he) cannot be chaste, as John the Baptist was; yet can it not be proved by any example, to be lawful for priests, professing chastity, to leave their single life, and to marry: no, not the Greeks themselves, who in rights be differing from us, do give this liberty to their own priests to marry:[5] wherefore he prayed them to give their aid to the bishop in this behalf.

A fit reason for a carnal cardinal; better to have many concubines, than one wife.

The ambassadors' reply.

Whereunto the ambassadors replied again, saying, that if he would first punish the one class of offenders, then might the senate assist him the better in correcting the other: but the cardinal was still instant upon them, that first they should assist their bishop, and then if the bishop would not punish the other crime,[6] he would come thither himself and see it punished accordingly.

The diet at Ratisbon.

This cardinal Campeius, how he was sent by pope Clement VI. to the second assembly or diet of Nuremberg, A. D. 1524, and what was there done by the said cardinal, is before signified. After this council of Nuremberg, immediately followed another sitting at Ratisbon, where were present Ferdinand, Campeius, the cardinal of Saltsburg, the two dukes of Bavaria, the bishops of Trent and Ratisbon; also the legates of the bishops, Bamberg, Spires, Strasburg, Augsburg, Constance, Basil, Friburg, Passau, and Brixen. By whom in the said assembly it was thus concluded:

(1) 'Notorious offenders,' i. e. in orig. Scortatores.—Ed.
(2) 'Ipso facto,' that is, upon the very doing of the act, without any further judgment or trial by the law. (3) 'Women;' i. e. in orig. Scorta et concubinæ.—Ed.
(4) 'Paramour,' i. e. in orig. Scorta.—Ed.
(5) Touching the Greek church, this cardinal speaketh untruly.
(6) 'More notorious offenders,' i. e. in orig. Stuprum.—Ed.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1523.

Summary of Popish Decrees made at the Council of Ratisbon.

That forasmuch as the emperor, at the request of pope Leo, had condemned, by his public edict set forth at Worms, the doctrine of Luther for erroneous and wicked; and also it was agreed upon in both the assemblies at Nuremberg, that the said edict should be obeyed by all men; they likewise, at the request of cardinal Campeius, do will and command the aforesaid edict to be observed through all their confines and precincts: that the gospel, and all other holy Scriptures, should be taught in churches according to the interpretation of the ancient forefathers: that all they who revive any old heresies before condemned, or teach any new thing contumelious, either against Christ, his blessed Mother, and holy saints, or which may breed any occasion of sedition, are to be punished according to the tenor of the edict abovesaid: That none be admitted to preach without the license of his ordinary: That they who be already admitted, shall be examined how, and what they preach: That the laws which Campeius is about to set forth for reformation of manners, shall be observed: That in the sacraments, in the mass, and all other things, there shall be no innovation, but all things to stand as in fore-time they did: That all they who approach to the Lord's Supper without confession and absolution, or do eat flesh on days forbidden, or who do run out of their order; also priests, deacons, and sub-deacons, that be married, shall be punished: That nothing shall be printed without consent of the magistrate: That no book of Luther or of any Lutheran shall be printed or sold: That they of their jurisdiction, who study in the university of Wittenberg, shall every one repair home within three months after the publishing hereof, or else turn to some other place free from the infection of Luther, under pain of confiscating all their goods, and losing their inheritance: That no benefice, nor other office of teaching, be given to any student of that university. Item, That certain inquisitors fit for the same, be appointed to inquire and examine the premises. Item, Lest it may be said that this faction of Luther taketh its origin from the corrupt life of priests, the said Campeius, with other his assistants in the said convocation of Ratisbon, chargeth and commandeth, that priests live honestly, go in decent apparel, play not the merchants, haunt not the taverns, be not covetous, nor take money for their ministration; such as keep concubines to be removed; the number also of holy days to be diminished, &c.

Campeius misseth of his purpose in Germany

These things would Campeius have had enacted in a full council, and with the consents of all the empire: but when he could not bring that to pass, by reason that the minds of divers were gone from the pope, he was fain to get the same ratified in this particular conventicle, with the assents of these bishops above rehearsed.

These things thus hitherto discoursed, which fully may be seen in the Commentaries of John Sleiden, it remaineth next after the story of Martin Luther, somewhat to adjoin likewise touching the history of Zuinglius, and of the Helvetians. But before I come to the explication of this story, it shall not be inconvenient, first to give some little touch of the towns, called pages, of these Helvetians, and of their league and confederation first begun amongst them.

The History of the Helvetians, or Switzers,

HOW THEY FIRST RECOVERED THEIR LIBERTY, AND AFTERWARDS WERE JOINED IN LEAGUE TOGETHER.[1]

The Helvetians, whom otherwise we call Switzers, are divided principally into thirteen pages.[2] The names of which are Tigurini,

(1) Ex Chron. Helvetic. Ex Sebast. Munst. Cosmog. lib. iii. Ex Com. Johan. Sleid. lib. iii.
(2) These thirteen pages will be better recognised under the following titles; the respective

Henry VIII. A.D. 1523.

Bernates, Lucernates, Urani, Suicenses, Untervaldii, Tugiani, Glareanti, Basilienses, Solodurii, Friburgii, Scafusiani, Apeccleuses. Furthermore, to these be added seven other pages, albeit not conjoined together with such a full bond as the others be; which be these: Rheti, Lepontii, Seduni, Veragri, Sangalli, Mullusiani, Rotulenses. Of these thirteen confederate pages above recited, these three were the first, to wit, Urania, Suicenses, and Sylvanii, or (as some call them) Untervaldii, which joined themselves together.

How the Helvetians came free, and joined together in league.

If credit should be given to old narrations, these three pages or valleys[1] first suffered great servitude and thraldom under cruel rulers or governors; insomuch that the governor of Sylvania required of one of the inhabitants a yoke of his oxen; which when the townsmen denied to give him, the ruler sent his servant by force to take his oxen from him. This when the servant was about to do, cometh the poor man's son, and cutteth off one of his fingers, and upon the same avoided. The governor, hearing this, taketh the poor man and putteth out his eyes.

Extortion in rulers.

At another time in the said Sylvania, as the good man of the house was absent abroad, the governor who had then the rule of the town, entering into the house, commanded the wife to prepare for him a bath, and made other proposals to her; whereunto she being unwilling, deferred the bath as long as she might, till the return of her husband. To whom she then, making her complaint, so moved his mind, that he, with his axe or hatchet which he had in his hand, flew upon the adulterous ruler and slew him.

Adultery justly punished.

Another example of like violence is reported of the ruler of Suicia and Sylvania, who, surprised with the like pride and disdain against the poor underlings, caused his cap to be hung up upon a pole, charging and commanding by his servant, all that passed by to do obeisance to his cap; which when one named William Tell refused to do, the tyrant caused his son to be tied, with an apple set upon his head, and the father with a cross-bow, or a like instrument, to shoot at the apple. After long refusing, when the woeful father could not otherwise choose, being by force constrained, but must level at the apple; as God would, he missed the child, and struck the mark. This Tell, being thus compelled by the tyrant to shoot at his son, had brought with him two shafts; thinking that if he had struck the child with one, the other he would have let drive at the tyrant: which being understood, he was apprehended and led to the ruler's house; but by the way escaping out of the boat between Urania and Brun, and passing through the mountains with as much speed as he might, he lay in the way secretly as the ruler should pass, where he discharged his arrow at the tyrant and slew him, A. D. 1307.

Example of singular tyranny.

Pride and tyranny well rewarded.

And thus were these cruel governors utterly expelled out of these three valleys or pages aforesaid; and after that, such order was taken by the emperor Henry VII., and also by the emperor Ludovicus,

cantons of Zurich, Bern, Lucerne, Uri, Schweitz, Unterwalden, Zug, Glarus, Basle, Soleure, Friburg, Schaffhausen, and Appenzel. The other seven pages, "not conjoined together with such a full bond," are these: "Rhetus Pagus," the extreme south-east districts of Switzerland; "Lepontus Pagus," the district about the source of the Rhone: "Sedunus Pagus," the capital of which district, was 'Civitas Sedunorum,' mentioned by Cæsar, and is the modern Sion; "Beragrus Pagus," constitutes the district called 'Dauphiné' before the revolution: "Sangallus Pagus," St. Gallen; "Mullusianus Pagus," Mulhausen; "Rotulensis Pagus," Rheinthal.—ED.

(1) Note that the pages in Switzerland are for the most part situate in valleys.

duke of Bavaria, that henceforth no judge should be set over them, but only of their own company, and town dwellers.[1] *Henry VIII.*

It followed after this, A. D. 1315, that great contention and war arose between Frederic duke of Austria, and Ludovic duke of Bavaria, striving and fighting the space of eight years together about the empire. With Ludovic held the three pages aforesaid; who had divers conflicts with Leopold, brother to the aforenamed Frederic duke of Austria, fighting in his brother's quarrel. As Leopold had reared a mighty army of twenty thousand footmen and horsemen, and was come to Egree, so to pass over the mountains to subdue the pages; he began to take advice of his council, by what way or passage best he might direct his journey towards the Switzers. Whereupon as they were busy in consulting, there stood a fool by, named Kune de Stocken, who hearing their advice, thought also to shoot his bolt withal, and told them, that their counsel did not like him: "For all you," quoth he, "consult how we should enter into yonder country; but none of you giveth any counsel how to come out again after we be entered." And in conclusion, as the fool said, so they found it true. For when Leopold with his host had entered into the straits and valleys between the rocks and mountains, the Switzers, with their neighbours of Urania and Sylvania, lying in privy wait, had them at such advantage; and with tumbling down stones from the rocks, and sudden coming upon their backs in blind lanes, did so encumber them, that neither had they convenient standing to fight, nor room almost to fly away; by reason whereof a great part of Leopold's army there, being enclosed about the place called Morgayten, lost their lives, and many in the flight were slain. Leopold, with them that remained, retired and escaped to Turgoia. This battle was fought A. D. 1315, the 16th of November. A. D. 1523.

A fool's bolt sometimes hits the mark.

After this, the burghers of these three villages, being continually vexed by Frederic duke of Austria, for that they would not acknowledge him for emperor, assembled themselves in the town of Urania, A. D. 1316; and there entered into a mutual league and bond of perpetual society and conjunction, joining and swearing themselves together, as in one body of a common-wealth and public administration. After that came to them the Lucernates; then the Tugiani; after them the Tigurines; next to them followed the Bernates; the last almost of all were the Basilians: then followed after, the other seven pages above recited.

First league between the three pages.

And thus have ye the names, the freedom, and confederation of these Switzers, or cantons, or pages of Helvetia, with the occasions and circumstances thereof, briefly expressed. Now to the purpose of our story intended, which is to declare the success of Christ's gospel and true religion received among the Helvetians; also touching the life and doctrine of Zuinglius, and order of his death, as here ensueth.

The Acts and Life of Uldricus Zuinglius:

AND THE RECEIVING OF THE GOSPEL IN SWITZERLAND.

In the tractation of Luther's story, mention was made before of Uldricus Zuinglius, who first abiding at Glarus, in a place called

(1) Ex Seb. Munster. Cosmog. lib. iii.

Henry VIII. A. D. 1523.

then our Lord's Hermitage, from thence removed to Zurich about A. D. 1519, and there began to teach, dwelling in the minster, among the canons or priests of that close; using with them the same rites and ceremonies during the space of two or three years, where he continued reading and explaining the Scriptures unto the people with great travail, and no less dexterity. And because pope Leo the same year had renewed his pardons again through all countries (as is above declared), Zuinglius zealously withstood the same, detecting the abuses thereof by the Scriptures, and of other corruptions reigning then in the church; and so continued by the space of two years and more, till at length Hugo bishop of Constance (to whose jurisdiction Zurich then also did belong) hearing thereof, wrote his letter to the senate of the said city of Zurich, complaining grievously of Zuinglius; who also wrote another letter to the college of canons, where Zuinglius was at the same time dwelling, complaining likewise of such new teachers who troubled the church; and exhorted them earnestly to beware, and to take diligent heed to themselves. And forasmuch as both the pope and the emperor's majesty had condemned all such new doctrine by their decrees and edicts, he willed them therefore to admit no such new innovations of doctrine, without the common consent of them to whom the same did appertain. Zuinglius hearing thereof, referreth his cause to the judgment and hearing of the senate, not refusing to render to them an account of his faith. And forasmuch as the bishop's letter was read openly in the college, Zuinglius directeth another letter to the bishop again, declaring that the said letter proceeded not from the bishop, and that he was not ignorant who were the authors thereof; desiring him not to follow their sinister counsels, for that truth (said he) is a thing invincible, and cannot be resisted. After the same tenor certain others of the city likewise wrote unto the bishop, desiring him that he would attempt nothing that should be prejudicial to the liberty and free course of the gospel; requiring moreover, that he would bear no longer the filthy and infamous lives of priests, but that he would permit them to have their lawful wives, &c. This was A. D. 1522.

Zuinglius reading the Scriptures at Zurich.

A.D.1521. The bishop of Constance complaineth against him.

Zuinglius writeth to the Helvetians.

Besides this, Zuinglius wrote also another letter to the whole nation of the Helvetians, admonishing them in no case to hinder the passage of sincere doctrine, nor to infer any molestation to priests that were married: for as for the vow and coaction of their single life, it came (saith he) of the devil, and a devilish thing it is. And therefore whereas the said Helvetians had such a right and custom in their towns and pages, that when they received any new priest into their churches, they used to premonish him before to take his concubine, lest he should attempt any misuse with their wives and daughters; he exhorted them that they would no less grant unto the priests to take their wives in honest matrimony, than to live with unmarried women against the precept of God.

Priests' marriages

An old use of the Helvetians to forewarn their priests to take wives.

†

Thus as Zuinglius continued certain years labouring in the word of the Lord, offence began to arise at this new doctrine, and divers stepped up, namely the Dominic Friars, on the contrary side, to preach and inveigh against him. But he, keeping himself ever within the Scriptures, protested that he would make good by the word of God that which he had taught. Upon this, the magistrates and

Zuinglius resisted by adversaries.

senate of Zurich sent forth their commandment to all priests and ministers within their dominion, to repair to the city of Zurich, against the 29th of January next ensuing (this was A.D. 1523), there every one to speak freely, and to be heard quietly, touching these controversies of religion, what could be said; directing also their letters to the bishop of Constance, that he would either make his repair thither himself, or else send his deputy. When the day appointed came, the bishop's vicegerent, who was John Faber, was also present. The council first declaring the cause of this their frequency and assembly (which was for the dissension newly risen about matters of religion), required that if any there had to object or infer against the doctrine of Zuinglius, he should freely and quietly utter and declare his mind.[1]

Henry VIII. A.D. 1523.

Disputation at Zurich about religion.

Johan. Faber Stapulensis against Zuinglius.

Zuinglius had disposed his matter before, and contrived all his doctrine in a certain order of places, to the number of sixty-seven articles; which articles he had published also abroad before, to the end that those who were disposed, might resort thither the better prepared to the disputation. When the consul had finished that which he would say, and had exhorted others to begin, Faber, first entering the matter, began to declare the cause of his sending thither, and afterwards would persuade, that this was no place convenient, nor time fit, for the discussing of such matters by disputation, but rather that the cognition and tractation thereof belonged to a general council, which (he said) was already appointed, and now near at hand. Notwithstanding Zuinglius still continued urging and requiring him, that if he had there any thing to say or to dispute, he would openly and freely utter his mind. To this he answered again, that he would confute his doctrine by writing. This done, with a few other words on both sides had to and fro, when no man would appear there to offer any disputation, the assembly brake up, and was discharged: whereupon the senate of Zurich incontinently caused to be proclaimed through all their dominion and territory, that the traditions of men should be displaced and abandoned, and the gospel of Christ purely taught out of the Old and New Testament. A.D. 1523.[2]

Sixty-seven articles of Zuinglius.

Faber refuseth to dispute.

The assembly braketh up without disputation.

When the gospel had thus begun to take place, and to flourish in Zurich and certain other places of Helvetia, in the following year (A.D. 1524), another assembly of the Helvetians was convented at Lucerne, where this decree was made on the contrary part:

The gospel publicly received; traditions abolished.

Constitutions decreed in the Assembly of Lucerne.

That no man should deride or contemn the word of God, which had been taught now above a thousand and four hundred years heretofore: nor the mass to be scorned, wherein the body of Christ is consecrated, to the honour of God, and to the comfort both of the quick and the dead.

That those who are able to receive the Lord's body at Easter, shall confess their sins in Lent to the priests, and do all other things, as the use and manner of the church requireth.

That the rights and customs of holy church be kept.

That every one obey his own proper pastor and curate, and receive the sacraments of him, after the manner of holy church, and pay him his yearly duties.

That honour be given to priests.

Item, to abstain from flesh-eating on fasting-days, and in Lent to abstain from eggs and cheese.

(1) Ex Johan. Sleid. lib. iii. (2) Ibid. [p. 191.—Ed.]

Henry VIII. A.D. 1523.

That no opinion of Luther be taught privily or apertly, contrary to the received determination of holy church; and that in taverns and at table no mention be made of Luther, or any new doctrine.

That images and pictures of saints in every place be kept inviolate.

That priests and ministers of the church be not compelled to render account of their doctrine, but only to the magistrate.

That due aid and supportation be provided for them, if any commotion do happen.

That no person deride the relics of the Holy Spirit, or of our Lady, or of St. Anthony.

Finally, That all the laws and decrees set forth by the bishop of Constance, be observed.

These constitutions whosoever shall transgress, let them be presented to the magistrate, and overseers to be set over them that shall so transgress.

After these things concluded thus at Lucerne, the cantons of Helvetia together directed their public letter to the Tigurines, or men of Zurich, to this effect: —

Substance of the letter of the Helvetians to the Tigurines, or men of Zurich.

They much lamented and complained of this new-broached doctrine which had set all men together by the ears, through the occasion of certain rash and new-fangled heads which had greatly disturbed both the state of the church, and of the commonwealth, and had scattered the seeds of discord, where beforetime all things were well in quiet. And although this sore (said they) ought to have been looked to betimes, so that they should not have suffered the glory of Almighty God, and of the blessed Virgin, and other saints so to be dishonoured, but rather should have bestowed their goods and lives to maintain the same; yet, notwithstanding, they required them now to look upon the matter, which otherwise would bring to them destruction both of body and soul: as for example, they might see the doctrine of Luther, what fruit it brought. The rude and vulgar people now (said they) could not be holden in, but would burst forth to all license and rebellion, as hath appeared by sufficient proofs of late; the like is to be feared also among themselves, and all by the occasion of Zuinglius, and of Leo Juda,[1] who so take upon them to expound the word of God after their own interpretation, opening thereby whole doors and windows to discord and dissension. Albeit of their doctrine they were not certain what they did teach; yet what inconvenience followed upon their doctrine, they had too much experience. For now all fasting was laid down, and all days were alike to eat both flesh and eggs, as well one as another. Priests and religious persons, both men and women, brake their vows, ran out of their order, and fell to marrying; God's service was decayed, singing in the church left, and prayer ceased; priests grew in contempt, religious men were thrust out of their cloisters; confession and penance were neglected, so that men would not stick to presume to receive at the holy altar, without any confession made to the priest before. The holy mass was derided and scorned; our blessed Lady, and other saints blasphemed; images plucked down and broken in pieces, neither was there any honour given to the sacraments. To make short, men now were grown unto such a license and liberty, that scarcely the holy host could be safe within the priest's hands, &c.

The disorder of all which things, as it is of no small importance, so it was to them so grievous and lamentable, that they thought it their part to suffer the same no longer. Neither was this the first time (they said), of this their complaining, when in their former assembly they sent unto them before the like admonition, writing to them by certain of the clergy, and craving their aid in the same; which seeing it is so, they did now again earnestly call upon them touching the premises, desiring them to surcease from such doings, and to take a better way, continuing in the religion of their old ancestors, who were before them. And if there were any such thing, wherein they were grieved and offended against the bishop of Rome, the cardinals, bishops, or other prelates, either for their ambition in heaping, exchanging, and selling the dignities of the church, or for their oppression in pilling men's purses with their indulgences,

(1) Zuinglius and Leo Juda were preachers at this time in Zurich.

or else for their usurped jurisdiction and power, which they extend too far, and corruptly apply to matters external and political, which only ought to serve in such cases as be spiritual: if these and such other abuses were the causes, wherewith they were so grievously offended, they promised that, for the correction and reformation thereof, they would also themselves join their diligence and good will thereto; forasmuch as themselves also did not a little mislike therewith, and therefore would confer their counsels together with them, how and by what way such grievances might best be removed.

To this effect were the letters of the Helvetians, written to the senate and citizens of Zurich. Whereunto the Tigurines made their answer again on the 21st of March, the same year, in manner as followeth:

Answer of the Tigurines, or men of Zurich, to the five Towns of the Switzers.

First, they declared, how their ministers had laboured and travailed among them, teaching and preaching the word of God unto them the space now of five years; whose doctrine at the first seemed to them very strange and novel, because they had never heard the same before. But that after they understood and perceived the scope of that doctrine[1] only to tend to this: to set forth Christ Jesus unto us, to be the pillar and refuge of all our salvation, who gave his life and blood for our redemption, and who only delivereth us also sinful misers from eternal death, and is the only Advocate of mankind before God; they could no otherwise do, but with ardent affection receive so wholesome and joyful a message.

The holy apostles and faithful Christians, after they had received the gospel of Christ, did not fall out by and by in debate and variance, but lovingly agreed and consented together: and so they trusted (said they) that they should do, if they would likewise receive the word of God, setting aside men's doctrines and traditions dissonant from the same. Whatsoever Luther or any other man doth teach, whether it be right or wrong, it is not for the names of the persons, why the doctrine which they teach, should be either evil or well-judged upon, but only for that it agreeth with, or disagreeth from, the rule of God's word: for that were but to go by affection, and were prejudicial to the authority of the word of God, which ought to rule man, and not to be measured by man. And if Christ only be worshipped, and men taught solely to repose their confidence in him, yet neither doth the blessed Virgin, nor any saint else, receive any injury thereby; who, when here on earth, received their salvation only by the name of him.

No injury to saints if Christ alone be worshipped.

And whereas they charge their ministers with wresting the Scripture after their own interpretation, God had stirred up such light now in the hearts of men, that the most part of their city have the Bible in their hand, and diligently peruse the same; so that their preachers cannot so wind the Scriptures awry, but they shall quickly be perceived. Wherefore there is no danger why they should fear any sects or factions in them; but rather such sects are to be objected to those, who, for their gain and dignity, wrest the word of God after their own affections and appetites. And whereas they, and others, have accused them of error, yet was there never man that could prove any error in them, although divers bishops of Constance, of Basil, of Coire, with divers universities besides; also they themselves have been sundry times desired so to do; yet to this present day neither they, nor ever any others so did; neither were they, nor any of all the aforesaid bishops, at their last assembly, being requested to come, so gentle to repair unto them, save only the Schashusians and Sangal

Who be they that wrest the Scripture?

Error many times objected where none can be proved.

(1) If the scope of doctrine be well marked, between the papists and the protestants, it will not be hard for any man to judge which is the true doctrine. For the whole end and scope of the pope's doctrine, tendeth to set up the honour and wealth of man, as may appear by the doctrine of supremacy, of confession, of the mass, of the sacrament of the altar, &c.: all which do tend to the magnifying of priests; as purgatory, obsequies, pardons, and such like serve for their profit. Contrariwise, the teaching of the protestants, as well touching justification, original sin, as also the sacraments and invocation, and all other such, tend to the setting up of Christ alone, and to the casting down of man.

Henry VIII. A. D. 1523.

lians. In which aforesaid assembly of theirs, all such as were then present, considering thoroughly the whole case of the matter, condescended together with them. And if the bishops haply should object again, and say, that the word of God ought not so to be handled of the vulgar people; they answered the same not to stand with equity and reason. For albeit it did belong to the bishops' office, to provide that the sheep should not go astray, and most convenient it were, that by them they should be reduced into the way again; yet because they will not see to their charge, but leave it undone, referring all things to the fathers and to councils; therefore right and reason it is, that they themselves should hear and learn, not what man doth determine, but what Christ himself doth command in his Scripture. Neither have their ministers given any occasion for this division; but rather it is to be imputed to such as for their own private lucre and preferments, contrary to the word of the Lord, do seduce the people into error; and grievously offending God, do provoke him to plague them with manifold calamities: who, if they would renounce the greediness of their own gain, and would follow the pure doctrine of his word, seeking not the will of man, but what is the will of God, no doubt but they should soon fall to agreement.

Bishops neither will feed the flock, nor suffer them to feed themselves.

As for the eating of flesh and eggs,[1] although it be free to all men, and forbidden to none by Christ; yet they have set forth a law to restrain rash intemperance, and uncharitable offension of others.

Priests' marriage.

And as touching matrimony, God is himself the author thereof, who hath left it free for all men. Also Paul willeth a minister of the church to be the husband of one wife. And seeing that bishops for money permit their priests to have concubines, which is contrary both to God's law and to good example; why then might not they as well obey God in permitting lawful matrimony which he hath ordained, as resist God in forbidding the same? The like is to be said also of women vowing chastity; of whom this they judge and suppose, that such kinds of vows and coacted chastity, are not available nor allowed before God: and seeing that chastity is not all men's gift, better it were to marry (after their judgments), than filthily to live in single life.

Vows of chastity not agreeing to God's law.

Monasteries first given to the poor, now serve for the rich.

As for monasteries, and other houses of canons, they were first given for relief only of the poor and needy; whereas now those who inhabit them are wealthy, and able to live of their own patrimony in such sort as many times some of them have so much, as might well suffice a great number; wherefore it seemeth to them not inconvenient, that those goods should be converted again to the use of the poor. Yet, nevertheless, they have used therein such moderation, that they have permitted the inhabitants of those monasteries to enjoy the possession of their goods, during the term of their natural life, lest any should have cause of just complaint.

Ornaments of churches better bestowed upon the poor.

Ornaments of churches serve nothing to God's service; but this is well agreeing to the will and service of God, that the poor should be succoured. So Christ commanded the young man in the gospel, who was rich, not to hang up his riches in the temple, but to sell them, and distribute them to the needy.

Good priests not to be contemned: the rabble of them to be diminished.

The order of priesthood they do not contemn. Such priests as will truly discharge their duty, and teach soundly, they do magnify. As for the other rabble, that serve to no public commodity, but rather damnify the commonwealth, if the number of them were diminished by little and little, and their livings put to better use, they doubted not but it were a service well done to God. Now whether the singing and prayers of such priests be available before God, it may be doubted, forasmuch as many of them understand not what they say, or sing, but only for hire of wages do the same.

Confession to the priest and to Christ.

As for secret confession, wherein men do detect their sins in the priest's ear, of what virtue this confession is to be esteemed, they leave it in suspense. But that confession whereby repenting sinners do fly to Christ our only intercessor, they account not only to be profitable, but also necessary to all troubled consciences. As for satisfaction, which priests do use, they reckon it but a practice to get money, and the same to be not only erroneous, but also full of impiety True penance and satisfaction is, for a man to amend his life.

(1) It was the pope's law then, that in Lent no man should eat flesh or eggs, nor any other white meat; wherein it may seem to be verified which St. Paul doth prophesy [1 Tim. iv.], 'In the latter days certain shall depart from the faith, hearkening to the doctrine of devils, forbidding to marry, and to eat,' &c.

The orders of monkery, came only by the invention of man, and not by the institution of God.

And as touching the sacraments, such as be of the Lord's institution, them they do not despise, but receive with all reverence; neither do suffer the same to be despised of any person, nor to be abused otherwise than becometh, but to be used rightly, according to the prescript rule of God's word. And so with the like reverence they use the sacrament of the Lord's supper, according as the word prescribeth, not (as many do abuse it), to make of it an oblation and a sacrifice.

Order of monkery. Use of sacraments.

And if the messengers sent to them of the clergy, in their letters mentioned, can justly charge them with any hinderance, or any error, they will be ready either to purge themselves, or to satisfy the offence. And if they cannot, then reason would, that those messengers of the clergy should hereafter look better to their own doings, and to their doctrine, and to cease from such untrue slanders and contumelies.

False tale-carriers.

Finally, Whereas they understand by their letters how desirous they are to have the pope's oppressions and exactions, and his usurped power abolished, they are right glad thereof and joyful, supposing that the same can by no means be brought to pass, except the word of God only and simply be received: for otherwise, so long as men's laws and constitutions shall stand in force, there will be no place nor hope of reformation. For, by the preaching of God's word, their estimation and dignity must needs decay, and that they well perceive; and therefore, by all means do provide how to stop the course of the Word: and because they see themselves too weak to bring their purpose about, they fly to the aid of kings and princes. For the necessary remedy whereof, if they shall think good to join their consent, there shall nothing be lacking in their behalf, what they are able either in counsel or goods to do in the matter: declaring moreover, that this should have been seen to long before. Which being so, they prayed and desired them to accept in good part, and diligently to expound, this that they did write. As for their own part, they required nothing else than peace, both between them and all men; neither was it ever their intent to stir any thing that should be prejudicial against their league and band agreed upon between them. But in this cause, which concerneth their eternal salvation, they can do no otherwise but as they have done, unless their error by learning might be proved and declared unto them. Wherefore, as they did before, so now they desire again, that if they think this their doctrine to be repugnant to the holy Scripture, they will gently show and teach them their error; and that, before the end of the month of May next ensuing: for so long they will abide waiting for an answer, as well from them, as from the bishop of Constance, and also from the university of Basil.

The only true reformation is that the word of God only be received.

The pope cannot abide the preaching of the word, and why?

The Tigurines will be judged by the Scriptures.

And thus much containeth the answer of the Tigurines unto the letter of their other colleagues of Helvetia.

In the mean time, as this passed on, and the month of May, above-mentioned, was now come, the bishop of Constance, with the advice of his council about him, did answer the Tigurines, as he was requested of them to do, in a certain book first written, and afterward printed; wherein he declareth what images and pictures those were, which the profane Jews and Gentiles in the old time did adore, and what images be these, which the church hath from time to time received and admitted; and what difference there is between those idols of the Jews and Gentiles, and these images of the Christians. The conclusion hereof was this; that whereas the Scripture speaketh against images, and willeth them not to be suffered; that is to be understood of such images and idols, as the Jews and idolatrous Gentiles did use: yet nevertheless such images and pictures as the church hath received, are to be used and retained.[1]

The bishop of Constance answereth them by writing.

A popish distinction between the images of the Gentiles and the images of the Christians.

From this he entereth next into the discourse of the mass, where

(1) Ex Johan. Sleid. lib. iv.

Henry VIII.

he proveth, by divers and sundry testimonies, both of the pope's canons and councils, the mass to be a sacrifice and oblation.

A. D. 1523.

This book being thus compiled and written, he sent it unto the senate of Zurich, about the beginning of June, willing and exhorting them by no manner of means to suffer their images, or the mass to be abrogated; and shortly after he published the said book in print, and sent it to the priests and canons of the minster of Zurich, requiring them to follow the custom of the church received, and not to suffer themselves to be persuaded otherwise by any man.

Book of the bishop of Constance in defence of the mass and images.

Answer of the Tigurines to it.

The senate again, answering to the bishop's book, about the middle of August, did write unto him, declaring first, that they had read over and over again his book with all diligence: which book, forasmuch as the bishop had divulged abroad in print, they were therefore right glad, because the whole world thereby might judge between them the better. After this, they explained unto him the judgment and doctrine of their ministers and preachers: and finally, by the authority and testimonies of the Scripture, convinced his opinion, and proved the doctrine of his book to be false. But before they sent their answer to him, about the 13th of June, they commanded all the images, as well within the city as through their dominion, to be taken down and burned quietly, and without any tumult. A few months after, an order was taken in the said city of Zurich, between the canons of the church and city, for disposing the lands and possessions of the college.

Images abolished within all Zurich.

It would grow to a long discourse, to comprehend all things by order of circumstance, that happened among the Helvetians upon this new alteration of religion; but, briefly to contract, and to run over the chief specialties of the matter, here is first to be noted, that of the Helvetians who were confederated together in the thirteen pages, chiefly, six there were, which most disdained and maligned this religion of the Tigurines: to wit, the Lucernates, the Urani, the Suitenses, the Untervaldii, the Tugiani, and the Friburgenses; these in no case could be reconciled. The rest showed themselves more favourable. But the others, who were their enemies, conceived great grudge, and raised many slanderous reports and false rumours against them, and laid divers things to their charge: as, first, for refusing to join their consent to the public league of the other pages with Francis the French king; then for dissenting from them in religion; and thirdly, for refusing to stand to the popish decree made the year before at Ratisbon, by Ferdinand, and other bishops above mentioned.

False accusation laid against the Tigurines.

What slanderous tongues can do.

They laid moreover to their accusation, for aiding the Vualsutenses their neighbours, against Ferdinand their prince; which was false. Also for joining league secretly with other cities, without their knowledge; which was likewise false. Item, That they should intend some secret conspiracy against them, and invade them with war; which was as untrue as the rest. Many other quarrels besides they pretended against the Tigurines, which were all false and cavilling slanders: as that they should teach and preach, that Mary the mother of Christ had more sons; and that James the younger, the apostle, did die for us, and not Christ himself. Against these and such other untruths being mere matters of cavillation and slander, the Tigurines

The Tigurine's answer.

did fully and amply purge and acquit themselves by writing, and did expostulate vehemently with them, not only for these false and wrongful suspicions, on their parts undeserved, but also for other manifold injuries received and borne at their hands, among which other wrongs and injuries, this was one: that the burghermaster of Zurich had apprehended a certain preacher, named John Oxline, and led him home as prisoner unto his house; being taken within the precinct and limits of the city of Zurich, contrary to law and order.

John Oxline apprehended for religion.

Finally, after much discoursing, wherein they in a long letter declared their diligence and fidelity at all times, in keeping their league, and maintaining the liberty and dignity of their country; as touching the cause of religion, if that were all the matter of their offence, they offered themselves willing to hear, and more glad to amend, if any could prove any error in them by the Scripture. Otherwise, if none so could or would prove wherein they did err by the word of God, they could not, they said, alter any thing in the state of that religion wherein their consciences were already staid by the word of God and settled, whatsoever peril or danger should happen to them for the same.

Although here was no cause why these pages or cantons, which were so confederated together in the league of peace, should disagree amongst themselves; yet herein we may see the course and trade of the world, that when difference of religion beginneth a little to break the knot of amity, by and by how friends be turned to foes; what suspicions do arise; what quarrels and grudge do follow; how nothing there liketh men, but every thing is taken to the worst part: small motes are made mountains; virtues made vices, and one vice made a thousand; and all for lack only of a little good will betwixt party and party. For as love and charity commonly among men, either covereth or seeth not the faults of their friends, so hatred and disdain, taking all things to blame, can find nothing in their foes that they can like. And thus did it happen between these good men of Zurich, and these other Switzers above-named.

What love and hatred doth.

These letters of the Tigurines to the other cantons, were written upon the occasion of their apprehending the preacher, John Oxline above-mentioned, on the 4th of January, 1525; and in the month of April next following, the magistrates and senate of the said city of Zurich, commanded the mass, with all the ceremonies and appurtenances thereto belonging, to be put down, as well within the city, as without, throughout all their jurisdiction; and instead thereof was placed the Lord's Supper, the reading of the prophets, prayer, and preaching. Also a law was made against whoredom and adultery, and judges were ordained to hear the causes of matrimony, A.D. 1525.[1]

The mass put down in Zurich.

A law made against adultery.

All this while the gospel was not as yet received in any other page of Helvetia, but only in Zurich. Wherefore the other twelve pages, or towns, appointed among themselves concerning a meeting or a disputation to be had at Baden: where were present, among other divines, John Faber, Eckius, and Murner above mentioned. The bishops also of Lucerne, Basil, Coire, and Lausanne, sent thither their legates. The conclusions there propounded were these. That the true body and blood of Christ is in the sacrament: that the mass

Disputation at Baden.

Propositions propounded at Baden.

(1) Ex Comment. Sleid. lib. iv. [p. 329 and 347—352.—Ed.

Henry VIII A.D. 1523.

is a sacrifice for the quick and dead: that the blessed Virgin, and other saints, are to be invocated as mediators and intercessors: that images ought not to be abolished: that there is a purgatory.

These conclusions or assertions Eckius took upon him stoutly to defend. Against him reasoned Œcolampadius (who was then chief preacher at Basil), with certain other more. Zuinglius at that time was not there present, but by writing confuted the doctrine of Eckius: declaring withal the causes of his absence; which were for that he durst not, for fear of his life, commit himself unto the hands of the Lucernates, the Urani, the Suitenses, the Untervaldii, and the Tugiani, his enemies: and that he refused not to dispute, but the place only of the disputation; excusing moreover that he was not permitted by the senate to come: nevertheless, if they would assign the place of disputation either at Zurich, or at Bern, or at Sangallum, thither he would not refuse to come. Briefly, the conclusion of the disputation was this, that all should remain in that religion which hitherto they had kept, and should follow the authority of the council, neither should admit any other new doctrine within their dominions, &c. This was in the month of June, the said year above-mentioned.

Zuinglius excuseth himself from coming.

As the time proceeded, and dissension about religion increased, it followed the next year, A.D. 1527,[1] in the month of December, that the senate and people of Berne (whose power among all the Switzers chiefly excelleth), considering how they could not have the acts of the disputation of Baden communicated unto them, and that the variance about religion still more and more increased, assigned another disputation within their own city, and sending forth writings thereof, called unto the same all the bishops bordering near about them, as the bishops of Constance, Basil, Sion, Lausanne; warning them both to come themselves, and to bring their divines with them; or else to lose all such possessions as they had lying within the bounds of their precinct. After this they appointed out certain ecclesiastical persons of their jurisdiction to dispute; prescribing and determining the whole disputation to be decided only by the authority of the Old and New Testament. To all that would come thither, they granted safe-conduct. Also they appointed, that all things there should be done modestly, without injury and brawling words; and that every one should have leave to speak his mind freely, and with such deliberation, that every man's saying might be received by the notary, and penned: with this proviso made before, that whatsoever there should be agreed upon, the same should be ratified, and observed through all their dominions. And to the intent men might come thither better prepared beforehand, they propounded in public writing ten conclusions in the said disputation to be defended of their ministers by the Scriptures; which ministers were, Franciscus Colbus and Bertholdus Hallerus. The themes or conclusions were these:

Disputation at Berne.

Godly laws of disputation.

Themes to be disputed.

I. That the true church, whereof Christ is the head, riseth out of God's word, and persisteth in the same, and heareth the voice of no other.

II. That the same church maketh no laws without the word of God.

III. That traditions, ordained in the name of the church, do not bind but so far forth as they be consonant to God's word.

(1) The history of the Helvetians, and of the reformation of religion, is continued till 1532; to obviate that confusion in the dates to which Foxe's arrangement of history would otherwise lead, the date 1523 is retained at the head of the page, and the dates inserted in the text.—Ed.

IV. That Christ only hath made satisfaction for the sins of the world: and therefore if any man say, that there is any other way of salvation, or mean to put away sin, the same denieth Christ. *Henry VIII.* A.D. 1523.

V. That the body and blood of Christ cannot be received really and corporally, by the testimony of the Scripture.

VI. That the use of the mass, wherein Christ is presented and offered up to his heavenly Father for the quick and the dead, is against the Scripture, and contumelious to the sacrifice which Christ made for us.

VII. That Christ only is to be invocated, as the Mediator and Advocate of mankind to God the Father.

VIII. That there is no place to be found in the holy Scripture, wherein souls are purged after this life: and therefore all those prayers and ceremonies, yearly dirges and obits, which are bestowed upon the dead; also lamps, tapers, and such other things, profit nothing at all.

IX. That to set up any picture or image to be worshipped, is repugnant to the holy Scripture; and therefore, if any such be erected in churches for that intent, the same ought to be taken down.

X. That matrimony is prohibited to no state or order of men, but, for eschewing of fornication, is generally commanded, and permitted to all men by the word of God. And forasmuch as all fornicators are excluded, by the testimony of Scripture, from the communion of the church, therefore this unchaste and filthy single life of priests, is most of all inconvenient for the order of priesthood.

Letters and answer of the Switzers to the senate and people of Bern.

When the senate and people of Bern had sent abroad their letters with these themes and conclusions to all the Helvetians,[1] exhorting them both to send their learned men, and to suffer all others to pass safely through their countries: the Lucernates, Uranites, Switzers, Untervaldians, Tugians, Glareans, Soloturnians, and they of Friburg, answered again by contrary letters, exhorting and requiring them in any case to desist from their purposed enterprise: putting them in remembrance of their league and composition made, and also of the disputation of Baden above-mentioned, of which disputation they were themselves (they said) the first beginners and authors. Saying moreover, that it was not lawful for any nation or province to alter the state of religion, but the same to belong to a general council: wherefore they desired them that they would not attempt any such wicked act, but continue in the religion which their parents and elders had observed. And in fine, thus in the end of their letters they concluded, that they would neither send, nor suffer any of their learned men to come, nor yet grant safe-conduct to any others to pass through their country.[2] To this and such like effect tended the letters of these Switzers above-named.

All which notwithstanding, the lords of Bern, proceeding in their intended purpose, upon the day prescribed (which was the 7th of January), began their disputation. Of all the bishops before signified, who were assigned to come, there was not one present. Nevertheless the cities of Basil, Zurich, and Schaffhausen, and Appenzel, St. Gallen, Mulhausen, with the neighbours of Rhetia; also they of Strasburg, Ulm, Augsburg, Lindau, Constance, and Isny, sent thither their ambassadors.

The dispute begins.

The above-mentioned doctors of the city of Bern, began the disputation; whereat the same time were present Zuinglius, Œcolampadius, Bucer, Capito, Blaurer, with others more, who all defended the affirmative of the conclusions propounded. On the contrary side, The pope's doctrine of those who were the opponents, the chieftain was Conrad Treger, a

(1) For the modern names of these pages, see pp. 325, 326.—Ed. (2) Ex Com. Jo. Sleid. lib. iv.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1523.

friar Augustine; who, to prove his assertion, when he was driven to shift out of the Scripture to seek help of other doctors, and the moderators of the disputation would not permit the same (being contrary to the order before appointed), he departed out of the place, and would dispute no more.

cannot abide the trial of the Scripture.

The disputation endured nineteen days; in the end whereof it was agreed, by the assent of the most part, that the conclusions there disputed, were consonant to the truth of God's word, and should be ratified not only in the city of Bern, but also proclaimed by the magistrates in sundry other cities near adjoining: furthermore, that masses, altars, and images, in all places, should be abolished.

Masses and images put down at Bern.

The pope's clergy cannot abide to be restrained.

At the city of Constance, certain things began to be altered a little before; where also, among other things, laws were made against fornication and adultery, and all suspect or unhonest company; whereat the canons (as they are called) of the church taking great grief and displeasure, departed the city. In the said city was then as a teacher, Ambrose Blaurer, a learned man, and born of a noble stock, who had been a monk a little before, professed in the monastery of Alperspake, in the dutchy of Wittenberg, belonging to the dominion of Ferdinand. This Blaurer, by reading of Luther's works, and having a good wit, had a little before changed his religion, and also his coat, returning again home to his friends; and when his abbot would have had him again, and wrote earnestly to the senate of Constance for him, he declared the whole case of the matter in writing; propounding withal, certain conditions, whereupon he was content (as he said) to return. But the conditions were such, that the abbot was rather willing and contented that he should remain still at Constance; and so he did.

Ambrose Blaurer.

Reformation at Constance.

After this disputation thus concluded at Bern (as hath been said), the images and altars, with ceremonies and masses, were abolished at Constance.

They of Geneva also, for their parts, were not behind, following likewise the example of the city of Bern, in extirpating images and ceremonies; by reason whereof the bishop and clergy there left, and departed the city in no small anger.

The lance knights forsake their league with the French king.

The Bernates, after they had redressed with them the state of religion, renounced the league made before with the French king; refusing and forsaking his war stipend, whereby they were bound at his call to feed his wars; following therein the example of the Tigurines, who before had done the like, and were contented only with their yearly pension that the king payeth to every page of the Helvetians, to keep peace.

Victory of the gospel.

The day and year when this reformation from popery to true Christianity began with them, they caused on a pillar to be engraven with golden letters, for a perpetual memory to all posterity to come. This was A. D. 1528.

Reformation in Strasburg.

After the rumour of this disputation and alteration of Bern, was noised in other cities and places abroad, first the ministers of Strasburg, encouraged by this occasion, began likewise to affirm and teach, that the mass was wicked, and a great blasphemy against God's holy name, and therefore was to be abrogated; and instead thereof the

right use of the Lord's Supper to be restored again: which unless they could prove by the manifest testimonies of the Scripture to be true, they would refuse no manner of punishment. On the contrary part, the bishop of Rome's clergy did hold and maintain, that the mass was good and holy; whereupon kindled great contention on both sides: which when the senate and magistrates of the city would have brought to a disputation, and could not, because the priests would not condescend to any reasoning; therefore, seeing they so accused the other, and yet would come to no trial of their cause, the said magistrates commanded them to silence. *Henry VIII.* A. D. 1523.

The bishop, in the meanwhile, ceased not with his letters and messengers daily to call upon the senate, desiring the senate to persevere in the ancient religion of their elders, and to give no ear to those new teachers; declaring what danger and peril it would bring upon them. The senate again desired him, as they had done oftentimes before, that such things as appertained to the true honour and worship of God might be set forward, and all other things which tended to the contrary, might be removed and taken away; for that properly belonged to his office to see to. But the bishop, still driving them off with delays, pretended to call an assembly for the same, appointing also day and place for the hearing and discussing of those controversies; where indeed nothing was performed at all; but with his letters he did often solicit them to surcease their enterprise, sometimes by way of entreating, sometimes with menacing words terrifying them: and at last, seeing he could nothing by that way prevail, he turned his suit to the assembly of the empire, which was then at Spires collected, entreating them to set in a foot, and to help what they could with their authority.

The bishop to the senate.

The senate replieth to the bishop.

The bishop complaineth to the council of Spires.

They, ready to satisfy the bishop's request, sent a solemn embassy to the senate and citizens of Strasburg, about December in the year abovesaid, with this request:

The Message from the Council to the City of Strasburg.

They required them not to put down the mass; for it was neither (said they) in the power of the emperor, nor of any other estate, to alter the ancient religion received from their forefathers, but either by a general, or by a provincial council; which council if they supposed to be far off, at least that they would take a pause till the next sitting of the empire, which should be with speed: where their requests being propounded and heard, they should have such reasonable answer, as should not miscontent them. For it was (said they) against all law and reason, for a private magistrate to infringe and dissolve those things, which by general consent of the whole world have been agreed upon; and therefore good reason required, that they should obtain so much at their hands; for else if they should obstinately proceed in this their attempt, so with force and violence to work as they began, it might fortune that the emperor, their supreme magistrate under God, and also Ferdinand his deputy, would not take it well, and so they should be compelled to seek such remedy therein, as they would be sorry to use. Wherefore their request was, and advice also, that they should weigh the matter diligently with themselves and follow good counsel; who, in so doing, should not only gladden the emperor, but also work that which should redound chiefly to their own commendation and safety.

Besides the messengers thus sent from the council of Spires, the bishop also of Hildesheim had been with them a little before, exhorting them in the emperor's name, after like manner. Neither did the

Henry VIII. A.D. 1523.

bishop of Strasburg also cease with his messengers and letters daily to labour his friends there, and especially such of the senators as he had to him bound by any fealty, or otherwise by any gifts or friendship; that, so much as in them did lie, they should uphold the mass, and gainstand the contrary proceeding of the others.

The bishops of Hildesheim and Strasburg travail to keep Strasburg in their old religion.

The senate of Strasburg, in the meantime, seeing the matter did so long hang in controversy, the space now of two years, and the preachers daily and instantly calling upon them for a reformation, and suit also being made to them of the citizens, assembled their great and full council to the number of three hundred (as in great matters of importance they are accustomed to do), and there with themselves debated the case; declaring on the one side, if they abolished the mass, what danger they should incur by the emperor; on the other side, if they did not, how much they should offend God: and therefore, giving them respite to consult, at the next meeting required them to declare their advice and sentence in the matter. When the day came that every man should say his mind, it so fell out, that the voices and judgments of those who went against the mass, prevailed: whereupon immediately, a decree was made, on the 20th of February, A. D. 1529, that the mass should be suspended and laid down, till the time that the adversary part could prove by good Scripture, the mass to be a service available and acceptable before God.

Reformation in Strasburg.

The mass overthrown there.

This decree being established by the consent of the whole city, the senate eftsoons commanded the same to be proclaimed, and to take full place and effect, as well within the city, as also without, as far as their limits and dominion did extend; and afterwards, by letters, certified their bishop touching the doing thereof. The bishop, hearing this news, as heavy to his heart as lead, did signify to them again how he received their letters, and how he understood by them the effect and sum of their doings: all which he was enforced to digest with such patience as he could, though they went sore against his stomach, seeing for the present time he could no otherwise choose: hereafter would serve (he said); he would see thereunto, according as his charge and office should require.

The bishop patient perforce.

Reformation beginneth at Basil.

Thus how the mass was overthrown in Zurich, in Bern, in Geneva, and in Strasburg, you have heard. Now what followed in Basil, remaineth likewise to understand. In this city of Basil was Œcolampadius, a preacher (as is above signified), by whose diligent labour and travail the gospel began there to take such root, that great dissension there also arose among the citizens about religion, and especially about the mass: whereupon the senate of Basil appointed, that after an open disputation it should be determined by voices, what was to be done therein. This, notwithstanding, the papists, still continuing in their former purpose, began more stoutly to inveigh against the other part; and because they were so suffered by the magistrate without punishment, it was therefore doubted by the commons, that they had some privy maintainers among the senators: whereupon certain of the citizens were appointed, in the name of the whole commons, to sue to the senators, and to put them in remembrance of their promise. Their suit and request was this: that those senators who were the aiders and supporters of the papists, might be displaced, for that it did

as well tend to the contempt of their former decree made, as also to the public disturbance of the city. But when this could not be obtained of the senate, the commons, on the 8th of February, in the year abovesaid, assembled themselves in the Grey Friars' church, and there, considering with themselves upon the whole matter, repaired again with their suit unto the senate, but not in such humble wise as before; and therewithal gathered themselves in the public places of the city, to fortify the same; albeit as yet without armour. The same evening, the senate sent them word, that, at their request they granted, that those senators, though remaining still in office, should not sit in the council at what time any matter of religion should come in talk.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1523.

The popish senators displaced at Basil.

By this answer the commons, gathering that the whole state was ruled by a few, took thereat grief and displeasure, protesting openly, that they would take counsel by themselves hereafter, what they had to do, not only in cases of religion, but also in other matters of civil government; and forthwith took them to armour, keeping the towers and gates, and other convenient places of the city with watch and ward, in as forcible wise as if the enemy had been at hand.

Religion defended by the commons.

The next day the senate, requiring respite to deliberate, was contented to commit the matter to them, whom the commons before had sent as suitors unto them; which offer the citizens did not refuse, but with this condition, that those senators who were guilty, should in the mean season follow their plea as private persons, upon their own private costs and charges; and that the others, who defended the public cause for the behoof of their posterity, should be maintained by the public charges of the city. This the senate was glad to grant, with some other like matters of lighter weight, to appease their rage.

It happened the very same day, that certain of the citizens (such as were appointed to go about the city for the viewing of things), came into the high church, where one of them thrusting at a certain image with his staff, eftsoons it fell down and brake; by the occasion whereof, other images also, in like sort, were served after the same devotion. But when the priests came running to them, who seemed to be greatly offended therewith, they, because they would not pass their commission, staid their hands and departed.

God's handy-work in throwing down images in Basil.

It followed upon this, that when word hereof was brought to the citizens who stood in the market-place, the matter being made worse unto them than it was, they incontinently discharged out three hundred armed men, to rescue their fellows in the church, supposing them to be in danger: who, coming to the church, and not finding their fellows there, and all things quiet, save only a few images broken down, they likewise, lest they should have lost all their labour, threw down all the other idols and images which they found there standing; and so passing through all churches in the city, did there also the like. And when certain of the senate came forth to appease the tumult, the citizens said, "That which you have stood about these three years, consulting and advising whether it were best to be done or not, that shall we dispatch in one hour, that from henceforth never more contention shall grow between us for images." And so the senate permitted them free leave, without any more resistance; and twelve senators were displaced from their order, albeit without note of reproach or dishonesty. A decree also the same time was made, that

Twelve senators displaced at Basil.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1523.

as well within the city of Basil, as without, throughout all their jurisdiction, the mass, with all idols, should be abandoned: and further, that in all such matters and cases as concerned the glory of God, and the affairs of the public wealth, besides the number of the other senators, two hundred and sixty of the burghers or citizens should be appointed out of every ward in the city to sit with them in council. These decrees being established, after they had kept watch and ward about the city three days and three nights, every one returned again to his house quiet and joyful, without any blood or stroke given, or anger wreaked, but only upon the images.

Mass put down there.

On the third day, which was Ash Wednesday (as the pope's ceremonial church doth call it), all the wooden images were distributed among the poor of the city, to serve them for firewood. But when they could not well agree in dividing the prey, but fell to brawling among themselves, it was agreed that the said images should be burnt altogether; so that in nine great heaps all the stocks and idols there the same day were burnt to ashes before the great church door.[1] And thus, by God's ordinance it came to pass, that the same day wherein the pope's priests are wont to show forth all their mourning, and do mark men's foreheads with ashes, in remembrance that they be but ashes, was to the whole city festival and joyful, for turning their images to ashes; and so is observed and celebrated every year still, unto this present day, with all mirth, plays, and pastimes, in remembrance of the same ashes; which day may there be called a right Ash Wednesday of God's own making. The men of Zurich, of Bern, of Soleure, hearing what business was at Basil, sent their ambassadors to be a mean between them; but before the ambassadors came, all was ceased and at quiet.

Ash Wednesday, at Basil, a day of all pastime.

A true Ash Wednesday of God's own making.

All this mean space the emperor and the French king were together occupied in wars and strife; which as it turned to the great damage and detriment of the French king, who, in the said wars, was taken prisoner by the emperor, so it happened commodiously and opportunely for the success of the gospel: for else it is to be thought that these Helvetians and other Germans should not have had that leisure and rest to reform religion, and to link themselves in league together, as they did. But thus Almighty God, of his secret wisdom, disposeth times and occasions to serve his will and purpose in all things; albeit Ferdinand the emperor's brother, and deputy in Germany, remitted no time nor diligence to do what he could in resisting the proceedings of the Protestants, as appeared both by the decree set forth at Ratisbon, and also by that at Spires; in which council of Spires Ferdinand, at the same time, which was A.D. 1529, had decreed against the Protestants in effect as followeth.

God's providence, for the success of the gospel.

A decree of the emperor Ferdinand against the protestants.

'First, That the edict of the emperor made at Worms, should stand in force through all Germany, till the time of the general council which should shortly follow. Also, that those who had already altered their religion, and now could not revoke the same again for fear of sedition, should stay themselves, and attempt no more innovations hereafter, till the time of the general council.

Item, That the doctrine of those who hold the Lord's Supper otherwise than the church doth teach, should not be received, nor the mass should be altered: and there, where the doctrine of religion was altered, there should be no impediment to the contrary, but that those who were disposed to come to mass, might

(1) Ex Farrag. Epist. Eras.

safely therein use their devotion. Against anabaptists likewise; and that all ministers of the church should be enjoined to use no other interpretation of holy Scripture, but according to the exposition of the church doctors: other matters that were disputable not to be touched. Moreover, that all persons and states should keep peace, so that for religion, neither the one part should infer molestation to the other, nor receive any confederates under their protection and safeguard; all which decrees they who should transgress, to be outlawed and exiled.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1523.

Unto this sitting at Spires, first, the ambassadors of Strasburg were not admitted, but repelled by Ferdinand, because they had rejected the mass; and therefore the said city of Strasburg denied to pay any contribution against the Turk, except they, with other Germans, might be likewise admitted into their councils. The other princes who were received and not repelled, as the duke of Saxony, and George of Brandenburgh, Ernest and Francis, earls of Lunenburg, and the landgrave Anhaldius, did utterly gainstand the decree, and showed their cause, in a large protestation written why they so did: which done, all such cities as subscribed and consented to the said protestation of the princes, eftsoons conjoined themselves in a common league with them, whereupon they had their name called therefore 'Protestants.' The names of the cities were these: Argentina or Strasburg, Nuremberg, Ulm, Constance, Reutlingen, Windsheim, Memmingen, Lindau, Kempton, Hailbrun, Isny, Weisseburg, Nordlingen, St. Gallen.

The decree resisted by protestants.

The name of protestants, how it first began.

Furthermore, as touching the Helvetians (from whence we have somewhat digressed), how the cities of Bern and Zurich had consented and joined together in reformation of true religion, you heard before. Wherefore the other pages in Helvetia, which were of contrary profession, in like manner confederated themselves in league with Ferdinand: the number and names of which pages especially were five; to wit, the Lucernates, the Urani, the Suitenses, the Untervaldii, and the Tugiani, which was in the year abovesaid; to the intent, that they, conjoining their power together, might overrun the religion of Christ, and the professors of the same: who also, for hatred and despite, hanged up the arms of the aforesaid cities of Zurich and Bern upon the gallows, besides many other injuries and grievances which they wrought against them; for which cause the said cities of Bern and Zurich raised their power, intending to set upon the aforesaid Switzers, as upon their capital enemies. But as they were in the field, ready to encounter one army against the other, through the means of the city of Strasburg, and other intercessors, they were parted for that time, and so returned.

The popish pages in Helvetia, confederate with Ferdinand.

As touching the council of Augsburg, which followed the next year after the assembly of Spires, A.D. 1530, how the princes and protestants of Germany, in the same council exhibited their confession, and what labour was sought to confute it, and how constantly duke Frederic persisted in defence of his conscience against the threatening words and replications of the emperor; also in what danger the said princes had been, had not the landgrave privily by night slipped out of the city, pertaineth not to this place presently to discourse.

The council of Augsburg.

The confession of the protestants.

To return therefore unto Zuinglius and the Helvetians, of whom we have here presently to treat, you heard before how the tumult and commotion between the two cities of Zurich and Bern, and the other five cities of the cantons, was pacified by the means of inter-

Henry VIII. A. D. 1523.

cession; which peace so continued the space of two years. After that, the old wound, waxing raw again, began to burst out and gather to a head; which was by reason of certain injuries, and opprobrious words and contumelies, which the reformed cities had received of the others; wherefore the Tigurines and the Bernates, stopping all passages and straits, would permit no corn nor victual to pass unto them. This was A.D. 1531. And when great trouble was like to be thereby, the French king, with certain other townships of Switzerland, as the Glarians, Friburgians, Soloturnians, and others coming between them, laboured to set them at agreement, drawing out certain conditions of peace between them; which conditions were these: that all contumelies and injuries past should be forgotten: that hereafter neither part should molest the other: that those who were banished for religion, should again be restored: that the five pages might remain without disturbance in their religion, so that none should be restrained amongst them from the reading of the Old and New Testament: that no kind of disquietness should be procured against them of Bern and Zurich: and that either part should confer mutual helps together, one to succour the other as in times past. But the five pagemen would not observe these covenants made, neither would their malicious hearts be brought to any conformity. Wherefore the Bernates and Tigurines, first showing and declaring their cause in public writing, to purge and excuse the necessity of their war, being pressed with so many wrongs, and in manner constrained to take the sword in hand, did, as before, beset the highways and passages, that no furniture or victual, or other forage, could come to the other pages; by reason whereof, when they of the five towns began to be pinched with want and penury, they armed themselves secretly, and set forward in warlike array towards the borders of Zurich, where then wa lying a garrison of the Zurich men, to the number of a thousand ana more; whereupon word was sent incontinent to the city of Zurich, to succour their men with speed. But their enemies approached so fast, that they could hardly come to rescue them; for when they were come to the top of the hill, whereby they must needs pass, they saw their fellows in great distress in the valley under them. Hereupon they, encouraging themselves, made down the hill with more haste than order, striving who might go fastest; but the nature of the hill was such, that there could but one go down at once: by reason whereof, forasmuch as they could not keep their ranks to join altogether, it followed that they, being but few in number, were discomfited and overmatched of the multitude; which was on the 11th of October in the year aforesaid. Among the number of them that were slain, was also Uldricus Zuinglius, the blessed servant and saint of God. Also the abbot of Capella, and Commendator Kunacensis, with thirteen other learned and worthy men were slain; being, as is thought, falsely betrayed, and brought into the hands of their enemies.

Wars between the gospellers and the five popish towns of Switzerland.

The Tigurines overcome.

Uldricus Zuinglius slain.

As touching the cause which moved Zuinglius to go out with his citizens to the war, it is sufficiently declared and excused, both by John Sleidan and especially by Œcolampadius, in his epistle,[1] where

(1) Ex Johan. Sleid. lib. viii. Et ex Epist. Johan. Œcolampad. lib. iv. Mart., Frechto. et Somio. [p. 211 of Epistolæ doct. virorum quibus tum Euchar. et Anabaptismi negotium tum alia continentur; fol. 1548.—Ed.]

first is to be understood, that it is an old received manner among the Zurich men, that when they go forth in warfare, the chief minister of their church goes with them. Zuinglius also of himself, being (saith Sleidan) a man of a stout and bold courage, considering if he should remain at home when war should be attempted against his citizens, and if he, who in his sermons did so encourage others, should now faint so cowardly, and tarry behind at home when time of danger came, what shame and disdain might worthily rise to him thereby, thought not to refuse to take such part as his brethren did.

Zuinglius excused for his going out to war.

Œcolampadius, moreover addeth, that he went not out as a captain of the field, but as a good citizen with his citizens, and as a good shepherd ready to die with his flock. "And which of them all," saith he, "that most cry out against Zuinglius, can show any such noble heart in him, to do the like?" Again, neither did he go out of his own accord, but rather desired not to go; foreseeing belike, what danger thereof would ensue. But the senate, being importunate upon him, would have no nay, urging and enforcing him most instantly to go: among whom were thought to have been some false betrayers, saying and objecting to him, that he was a dastard if he refused to accompany his brethren as well in time of danger as in peace. Moreover the said Zuinglius, among other secular arts, had also some skill in such matters of warfare.[1] When he was slain, great cruelty was shown upon the dead corpse: such was their hatred toward him, that their malice could not be satisfied, unless also they should burn his body being dead.[2]

Zuinglius's dead body burned.

The report goeth, that after his body was cut first in four pieces, and then consumed with fire, three days after his death his friends came to see whether any part of him was remaining, where they found his heart in the ashes whole and unburned;[3] in much like manner as was the heart of Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, which also in the ashes was found and taken up unconsumed, as by credible information is testified.

His heart found whole in the ashes.

Cruel handling of the abbot of Capella.

Furthermore, such was then the rage of these five pages against the aforesaid abbot of Capella, that they took him, being slain, and putting out both his eyes, clothed him in a monk's cowl, and set him in the pulpit to preach, railing and jesting upon him in a most despiteful manner.[4] Uldricus Zuinglius, when he died, was of the age of forty-four years; younger than Martin Luther by four years.

Another skirmish between the Tigurines and the pagemen.

The Bernates, who were purposed the same time to achieve war against the Untervaldians, bordering near unto them, when they heard of this discomfiture of the Tigurines, to comfort them again, desired them to be of good cheer and courage, promising that they would not fail, but come and revenge their quarrel. Again, when the Tigurines had assembled their power together, which was the eighth day after the battle, and had received aid from the Schaffhausen, Mulhausen, St. Gallen, and from Basil (the Bernates at this time were nothing hasty), out of the whole number they chose out certain ensigns, who setting forth in the night, lay in the hill beside Menzig, intending when the moon was up, to take the town of Zug, lying

(1) Hæc Œcolampad.
(2) Ex Com Johan. Sleid. lib. viii. [p. 472. Edit. Francof. 1785.—Ed.]
3) Ex Oswaldo Miconio de vita et obitu Zuinglii.
4) Ex Epist. Œcolamp. ad Wolfgangum Capitonem. lib.iv. [p. 173.]

Henry VIII. A. D. 1523.

near at hand, upon the sudden: which when their enemies had perceived, who were encamped not far from them, with all speed and most secret manner they came upon them at rest, the 24th of October, and to put them in more fear, made a wonderful clamorous outcry. So it fell out in conclusion, that many on both parties were slain; and, albeit the five pagemen had the upper hand, yet would they of Zurich nothing relent in their religion. At last, through mediation, a peace was concluded, and thus the matter agreed, that the Tigurines, Bernates, and Basilians, should forsake the league which they had lately made with the city of Strasburg and the Landgrave: likewise that the five pagemen should give over their league and composition made with Ferdinand: and hereof obligations were made and sealed in the latter end of November.

Peace concluded between the Protestants and the Papists.

The death of Œcolampadius, A.D.1531.

Œcolampadius, the preacher of the city of Strasburg above recorded, hearing of the death of Zuinglius his dear friend, took thereat inward grief and sorrow, insomuch that it is thought to have increased his disease; and so he also departed this life, the same year and month of November above mentioned, being of the age of forty-nine years, older than Martin Luther by one year. Although this Œcolampadius then died, yet his learned and famous Commentaries upon the Prophets, with other worthy works which he left behind him, still live and shall never die.

His Commentaries upon the Prophets.

Death of John Frederic duke of Saxony.

The next year following, which was A.D. 1532, in the month of August, died also the worthy and memorable prince John Frederic, duke of Saxony, who, for testimony of Christ and of his gospel, sustained such trials, so many brunts, and such vehement conflicts with the emperor, and that especially at the council assembled at Augsburg; that unless the almighty hand of the Lord had sustained him, it had not been possible for him or any prince to have endured so constant and unmovable against so many persuasions and assaults, as he did to the end. After him succeeded John Frederic his son, &c.

And thus have you the history of Zuinglius, and of the church of Switzerland, with their proceedings and troubles, from the first beginning of their reformation of religion, set forth and described. Whereunto we will add one certain epistle of the said Zuinglius, taken out of his other epistles, and so therewith close up his story; which epistle I thought here to record, especially for that in the same, among other matters, profitably is expounded the true meaning of the apostle, writing to the Corinthians concerning how to judge the Lord's body, to the intent that the simple thereby may the better be informed. The words of his letter be these, as follow:

A Letter of Uldricus Zuinglius to N. his brother in the Lord.[1]

Unto your questions propounded to me in your former letters, well-beloved brother! I have sent you here mine answer. First, I am also in the same mind with you, that the Lord's supper is a very thanksgiving; for so the apostle himself meaneth, saying, 'Ye shall show forth the Lord's death:' where the word of showing forth, signifieth as much as praising or thanksgiving. Wherefore seeing it is a Eucharist, or a thanksgiving, in my judgment no other thing ought to be obtruded on men's consciences, but only with due reverence to give thanks. Nevertheless, this is not to be neglected, that every man do prove and examine

(1) Gratiam et pacem in Domino. Accipite igitur charis. frat., &c.

himself; for so we ought to search and ask our own consciences, what faith we have in Christ Jesus? which if it be sound and sincere, we may approach without stay to this thanksgiving. For he that hath no faith, and yet feigneth or pretendeth to have, eateth his own judgment; for he lieth to the Holy Ghost. And whereas you suppose, that Paul in this place doth not reprove those who sit at the table eating of meats offered to idols, I dissent from you therein. For Paul, a little before, writeth vehemently against those arrogant persons, who, bragging upon their knowledge, thought they might lawfully eat of such meats offered to idols, sitting and eating at the Lord's table: 'You cannot,' saith he, 'be partakers both of the Lord's table, and the table of devils,' &c. Wherefore St. Paul's meaning is, that every one should try and examine himself what faith he hath. Whereupon it followeth, that he who hath a right faith, must have no part nor fellowship with those things which be given to idols: for he is now a member of another body, that is of Christ; so that he cannot join himself now to be one body with idolaters. And therefore those be they who do not judge or discern the Lord's body, that make no difference between the church of Christ, and the church of idolaters. For they that sit at the Lord's table, eating of idol meats, do make no difference at all between the Lord's supper, and the supper of the devil; who be they whom Paul saith not to judge the body of the Lord, that is, who make no discrepance, nor give any more regard to Christ's church, than to the church of devils. Whereas if we would judge ourselves; that is, if we would throughly search and examine our own consciences as we should, in coming to the table of the Lord, we, finding any faith in us, would never go to the table, nor make thereof the feast, of devils: wherefore your judgment herein is not amiss in expounding the word of judging in St. Paul, to signify as much as considering, perpending, and inquiring.

Henry VIII. A. D. 1523.

The place of St. Paul, of judging the Lord's body.

Who be they who judge not.

To your second question, I answer that Jesus took bread, and brake, &c. Also he took the cup, &c. 'Ista verba sunt peculiariter agentis, non hospitaliter invitantis;' that is, 'These words declare the action of one who properly doth a thing; and not the hospitality of one who inviteth another to eat.

Jesus took bread.

Touching your third question, out of the 6th chapter of John, 'Doth this offend you?' herein I do fully agree with you.

As for this word 'Ostren,' which is your fourth question, I understand thereby the time of the great feast or solemnity, which we now keep in remembrance of the great deliverance of God's people from the thraldom of Satan; before, from the thraldom of Pharaoh: neither is it greatly material with what word we express the thing, so the thing itself be one, and the analogy and constancy of the Scripture be kept; for both the Scripture calleth Christ the Lamb, and St. Paul calleth him our Easter or Passover. Now your word, 'Wanderfest,' well pleaseth me, for the Passover, or Pæsah.

On the word 'Easter.'

To your fifth interrogation, of Christ's descending into hell; I suppose this particle was inserted into the Creed by the sentence of the fathers, to declare how the fathers, who died in the faith, were redeemed by the death of Christ. For Christ led away captivity, wherewith they were holden, with him up into heaven: so that his going down into hell, 'non sic intelligatur, quasi circumscriptive, sed potentionaliter;'[1] that is, be not so understood as circumscriptively, which is, when a thing is present by circumscription of any one place; but by power, which is by the operation of his Spirit, which is not comprehended in any certainty of place, but without prescription of certain place is diffused every where: so that the article of Christ's descending into hell importeth as much as that his death redeemed those who were in hell. Whereunto St. Peter also seemeth to have respect, where he saith, 'The gospel also was preached to them which were dead;'[2] that is, that they also did feel the good tidings of the gospel, their redemption by the Son of God: and that they who rose again with Christ in the Spirit, be now with him in heaven, who nevertheless in the flesh shall be judged, what time the Son of God and of Man shall come to judge both the quick and the dead. Return to the places of Peter, the one in his first Epistle, the other in the latter; and so be you contented with this present answer rashed up in haste. Fare ye heartily well; and comfort my William, the good aged father, by the grace of God which is in you. Commend me to John Eggenberge.

The descending of Christ into hell.

From Zurich, September 1, A. D. 1527.[3]

(1) Ut mors illius eos qui erant apud inferos redimeret. (2) 1 Pet. iii.
(3) "Pridie Calend. Sept." Epis. p. 122, i.e. August 31.—Ed.

Henry VIII. A. D. 1523.

From the first beginning of this whole book and history hitherto, good reader! thou hast heard of many and sundry troubles, and much business in the church of Christ, concerning the reformation of divers abuses and great errors crept into the same, namely in the church of Rome; as appeareth by the doings of them, in divers and sundry places, whereof mention hath been made heretofore in this said history. For what godly man hath there been, within the space of these five hundred years, either virtuously disposed, or excellently learned, who hath not disproved the misordered doings, and corrupt examples of the see and bishop of Rome from time to time, unto the coming of this Luther? wherein this appeareth to me, and may also appear no less to all godly disposed men to be noted, not without great admiration, that seeing this aforesaid Romish bishop hath had great enemies and gainsayers continually from time to time, both speaking and working, preaching and writing against him, yet, notwithstanding, never any could prevail before the coming of this man. The cause whereof, although it be secretly known unto God, and unknown unto men, yet so far as men by conjectures may suppose, it may thus not unlikely be thought, that whereas other men before him, speaking against the pomp, pride, whoredom, and avarice of the bishop of Rome, charged him only, or most especially, with examples and manners of life; Luther went further with him, charging him not with life, but with his learning; not with doings, but with his doctrine; not picking at the rind, but plucking up the root; not seeking the man, but shaking his seat; yea, and charging him with plain heresy, as prejudicial and resisting plainly against the blood of Christ, contrary to the true sense and direct understanding of the sacred testament of God's holy word. For whereas the foundation of our faith, grounded upon the holy Scripture, teacheth and leadeth us to be justified only by the worthiness of Christ, and the only price of his blood; the pope, proceeding with a contrary doctrine, teacheth us otherwise to seek our salvation, not by Christ alone, but by the way of men's meriting and deserving by works: whereupon rose divers sorts of orders and religious sects among men, some professing one thing, and some another, and every man seeking his own righteousness, but few seeking the righteousness of him, who is set up of God to be our righteousness, redemption, and justification.

The corruption of the see of Rome continually cried out against.

The pope charged with heresy by Luther.

The foundation of the pope's doctrine contrary to christian faith.

Martin Luther therefore, urging and reducing things to the foundation and touchstone of the Scripture, opened the eyes of many who before were drowned in darkness: whereupon it cannot be expressed what joy, comfort, and consolation came to the hearts of men, some lying in darkness and ignorance, some wallowing in sin, some being in despair, some macerating themselves by works, and some presuming upon their own righteousness, to behold that glorious benefit of the great liberty and free justification set up in Christ Jesus. And briefly to speak, the more glorious the benefit of this doctrine appeared to the world after long ignorance, the greater persecution followed upon the same. And where the elect of God took most occasion of comfort and salvation, thereof the adversaries took most matter of vexation and disturbance, as commonly we see the true word of God to bring with it ever dissension and perturbation; and therefore truly it was said of Christ, that he came not to send peace on earth, but

Justification by faith renewed by Luther.

the sword.[1] And this was the cause why that after the doctrine and preaching of Luther, so great troubles and persecutions followed in all quarters of the world; whereby arose great disquietness amongst the prelates, and many laws and decrees were made to overthrow the same, by cruel handling of many good and christian men. Thus, while authority, armed with laws and rigour, did strive against simple verity; lamentable it was to hear how many poor men were troubled, and went to wrack, some tost from place to place, some exiled out of the land for fear, some caused to abjure, some driven to caves in woods, some racked with torment, and some pursued to death with faggot and fire. Of these we have now (Christ willing) in this history following to treat; first beginning with certain that suffered in Germany, and then returning to our own stories and martyrs here in England.

Henry VIII. A. D. 1523.

Great persecution after the doctrine of Luther.

Henry Voes and John Esch, Friars Augustine,

BURNT AT BRUSSELS, A.D. 1523.

In the year of our Lord 1523, two young men were burnt at Brussels, the one named Henry Voes, being of the age of twenty-four years, and the other John Esch; who before had been of the order of the Augustine friars. They were degraded the first day of July, and spoiled of their friars' weed, at the suit of Egmondanus the pope's inquisitor: and the divines of Louvain; for that they would not retract and deny their doctrine of the gospel, which the papists call Lutheranism. Their examiners were Hochestratus and others, who demanded of them, what they did believe? They said, the books of the Old Testament and the New, wherein were contained the articles of the Creed. Then were they asked, whether they believed the decrees of the councils, and of the fathers? They said, such as were agreeing to the Scripture they believed. After this they proceeded further, asking, whether they thought it any deadly sin to transgress the decrees of the fathers, and of the bishop of Rome? That (said they) is to be attributed only to the precepts of God, to bind the conscience of man, or to loose it. Wherein when they constantly persisted and would not turn, they were condemned and judged to be burned. Then they began to give thanks to God their heavenly Father, who had delivered them through his great goodness from the false and abominable priesthood, and made of them priests of his holy order, receiving them unto him as a sacrifice of sweet odour. Then there was a bill written, which was delivered unto them to read openly before the people, to declare what faith and doctrine they held. The greatest error that they were accused of was, that men ought to trust only in God, forasmuch as men are liars, and deceitful in all their words and deeds, and therefore there ought no trust or affiance to be put in them.

Egmondanus and Hochestratus doctors of Louvain, persecutors.

Their examination.

The cause of their accusation and martyrdom.

As they were led unto the place of execution, which was the first of July, they went joyfully and merrily, making continual protestation that they died for the glory of God, and the doctrine of the gospel, as true Christians, believing and following the holy church of the Son of God; saving also, that it was the day which they had

(1) Matt. x.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1523.

long desired. After they were come to the place where they should be burned, and were despoiled of their garments, they tarried a great space in their shirts, and joyfully embraced the stake that they should be bound to, patiently and joyfully enduring whatsoever was done unto them; praising God with 'Te Deum laudamus,' and singing psalms, and rehearsing the Creed, in testimony of their faith. A certain doctor, beholding their jollity and mirth, said unto Henry, that he should take heed so foolishly to glorify himself. To whom he answered, "God forbid that I should glory in any thing, but only in the cross of my Lord Jesus Christ." Another counselled him to have God before his eyes: unto whom he answered, "I trust that I carry him truly in my heart." One of them, seeing that fire was kindled at his feet, said, "Methinks ye do strew roses under my feet." Finally, the smoke and the flame, mounting up to their faces, choked them.[1]

Against all reason that the clergy should be exempted from the civil magistrate.

Henry being demanded amongst other things, whether Luther had seduced him or no: "Yea," said he, "even as Christ seduced his apostles." He said also, that it was contrary to God's law, that the clergy should be exempted from the power and jurisdiction of the magistrate ordained of God; for such as were ordained in office by the bishops, have no power but only to preach the word of God, and to feed their flock therewithal. After their death, their monastery was dissolved at Antwerp; the president whereof, by the papists called Jacob the Lutheran, after divers and sundry troubles and afflictions, was forced to recant at Brussels; but afterwards, his mind being renewed by the Holy Ghost, embracing that again which before he had renounced, he fled unto Luther.[2]

Henry Sutphen, Monk, a Martyr, at Dithmarsch.

The next year after the burning of those two christian martyrs at Brussels above mentioned, with like tyranny also was martyred and burned without all order of judgment or just condemnation, about the city of Dithmarsch on the borders of Germany, one Henry Sutphen, monk, A.D. 1524, of whom mention is partly touched in the

(1) Behold how constantly and joyfully these martyrs take their death.

(2) Ex 6. Tomo M. Lutheri, fol. 397. [This year A.D. 1523, Soliman the Great Turk wrote a letter unto the Master of the Rhodes, requiring to have the town given over unto him: the tenor whereof here ensueth:

Letter of Solyman, the Great Turk, to the Master of the Rhodes.

Solimanus Isaccus, King of kings, and Lord of lords, most mighty emperor of Constantinople and Trapezuntis, &c.; unto the reverend father Philippe Villerius Liladamus, great Master of the Rhodes, to his knights, and the commonalty there.

The pity and compassion of my afflicted people, and your extreme injuries have moved me. Therefore I command you, that by the speedy surrender of your island and town of Rhodes, you may willingly obtain grace and favour, to depart with all your riches and substance; or if ye will remain and tarry under my dominion, your liberty shall not be diminished in any case, either in religion or paying of tribute. If ye be wise, prefer peace and amity before most cruel war; for if ye be overcome, there is nothing to be looked for but extreme cruelty, such as captives are wont to receive at the hands of the conquerors; from which neither your own force, nor foreign aids, shall in any case defend you, neither yet your mighty strong walls, which I will utterly subvert. Fare ye well: which thing you may do, if ye will prefer my friendship before force and violence, which shall be assured unto you without fraud or guile. I swear by God, the Maker of heaven and earth, and by the four historiographers of evangelical histories, and by the eight thousand prophets that came from heaven, and by our mighty god Mahomet, above all others to be worshipped, and by the spirits of my father and grandfather, and by this my sacred royal and imperial head. From our palace at Constantinople.

The same year, in the time of pope Adrian, the island of Rhodes was lost, and yielded over to Solyman the Turk, to the great hinderance and detriment of all Christendom. See Edition 1563, p. 422. The history of the taking of Rhodes will be found in vol. iv. p. 63.—Ed.]

commentaries of John Sleiden, lib. iv.; but his history is more amply described by Luther, by Paulus Eberus in his calendar, by Ludovicus, by Rabus Crispinus, and others. This Sutphen had been before with Martin Luther, and afterwards coming to Antwerp, was from thence excluded for the gospel, and so came to Bremen, not to the intent there to preach, but for that he was minded to go to Wittenberg, being driven from Antwerp, as is above said; who, being at Bremen, was there required, by certain godly citizens of Bremen, to make one or two brief exhortations upon the gospel; whereunto, through the earnest love and zeal that was in him, he was easily allured and persuaded. He made his first sermon unto the people the Sunday before St. Martin's day. When the people heard him preach the word of God so sincerely, they desired him again the second time, and were so in love with his doctrine, that the whole parish required him to tarry amongst them to preach the gospel; which thing, for fear of danger, for a time he refused. When the religious rout had understanding hereof, especially the canons, monks, and priests, they went about with all endeavour to oppress him, and thrust out of the city both him, and also the gospel of Christ; for that was their chief seeking: whereupon they went unto the senate, desiring that such a heretic might be banished the town, who, in his doctrine, preached against the catholic church. Upon the complaint of the canons, the senate sent for the wardens and head men of the parish where Henry had preached, who being come together, the senate declared unto them the complaint of the canons and all the other religious men. Whereunto the citizens of Bremen, taking their preacher's part, answered, that they knew no other, but that they had hired a learned and honest man to preach unto them, who should teach them sincerely and truly the word of God. Notwithstanding, if the chapter-house or any other man could bring testimonial or witness, that the preacher had taught any thing which either savoured of heresy, or were repugnant to the word of God, they were ready (they said) with the chapter-house to persecute him: for God forbid that they should maintain a heretic. But if, contrariwise, the canons of the chapter-house, and the other religious men would not declare and show that the preacher, whom they had hired, had taught any error or heresy, but were set only of malice, by violence to drive him away, they might not (said they) by any means suffer the same. Whereupon they desired the senate, with all humble obedience, that they would not require it of them, but grant them equity and justice, saying, that they were minded to assist their preacher always, and to plead his cause.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1523.

Henry Sutphen preacheth at Bremen.

Monks and priests conspire against Sutphen.

The citizens of Bremen excuse him.

This answer the senate commanded to be declared to the chapter-house. When the religious sort understood that they could prevail little or nothing with their words, bursting out into a fury, they began to threaten, and therewithal went straight unto the archbishop to certify him how the citizens of Bremen were become heretics, and would no longer obey their religious sort, with many other like things in their complaint, so that it was to be feared, lest the whole city shortly should be seduced.

The monks complain again of the preacher to the archbishop.

When the archbishop heard tell of these things, straightway he sent two who were of his council, unto Bremen, requiring that Henry

Henry VIII. A.D 1523.

should be sent unto him without delay. When they were demanded why they should have him sent, they answered, because he preached against the holy church. Being again demanded in what points or articles, they had nothing to say. One of these counsellors was the archbishop's suffragan, a naughty pernicious hypocrite, who sought by all means possible to carry away the said Henry captive. Finally, they received this answer of the senators; that forasmuch as the preacher, being hired of the churchwardens, had not hitherto been convicted for a heretic, and that no man had declared any erroneous or heretical article that he had taught, they said they could by no means obtain of the citizens that he should be carried away: wherefore they earnestly desired the archbishop, that he would speedily send his learned men unto Bremen, to dispute with him; and if he were convinced, they promised that without any delay he should be justly punished and sent away: if not, they would in no wise let him depart. Whereunto the suffragan answered with a great protestation, requiring that he might be delivered into his hands, for the quietness of the whole country; taking God to his witness, that in this behalf he sought for nothing else, but only the commodity of his country. But for all this they could prevail nothing; for the senate continued still in their former mind. Whereupon the suffragan, being moved with anger, departed from Bremen, and would not confirm their children.

False accusation.

The senate refuse to send the preacher to the archbishop, and require a disputation.

The suffragan would not confirm their children for anger.

When he came unto the archbishop, he declared the answer of the senate, and what he had heard and learned of the priests and monks there. Afterwards, when daily news came that the preacher did still more and more preach, and teach more heinous matter against the religious rout, they attempted another way, suborning great men to admonish the citizens of Bremen into what jeopardy their commonwealth might fall by means of their preacher, preaching contrary to the decree of the pope and emperor. Besides that, they said that he was the prisoner of the lady Margaret; for which cause they had gotten letters of the lady Margaret, requiring to have her prisoner sent unto her again.[1]

Another practice of the archbishop.

All these crafts and subtleties did nothing at all prevail, for the senate of Bremen answered all things without blame. When the archbishop saw this his enterprise also frustrated, he attempted another way, whereby he had certain hope, that both Sutphen, and also the word of God with him, should be wholly oppressed; whereupon they decreed a provincial council, not to be holden at Bremen, as it was accustomed, but at Buxtehade, which place they thought most meet for their purpose. To this council were called all the prelates and learned men of the diocese, to determine what was to be believed, and whereto to trust. Also to the said council was Henry called, notwithstanding that they had already decreed to proceed against him, as against a manifest heretic, albeit he was not yet convicted, nor had pleaded his cause before. Wherefore the rulers of the city, together with the commonalty, detained him at home, foreseeing and suspecting the malice of the council.

A council of priests against Sutphen.

Then the said Henry gathered a sum of his doctrine into a few articles, and sent it with his letters unto the archbishop; excusing his

(1) When the prelates cannot prevail by power, they fall to practice.

innocency, offering himself to be ready, if he were convicted of any error by the testimony of the holy Scripture, to recant the same; notwithstanding earnestly requiring, that his errors might be convicted by the holy Scriptures, by the testimony whereof he had hitherto approved his doctrine, and doubted not hereafter to confirm the same; but this took no place amongst those anointed prelates. *Henry VIII.* A. D. 1524. The sum of his doctrine in writing.

What the determination of their judgment was, it may hereupon well be gathered, in that shortly after they set up upon the church porch the bull of pope Leo X., and the decree of the emperor, made at Worms; whereupon Henry Sutphen, contemning their madness, proceeded daily in preaching the gospel, adding always this protestation, that he was ready willingly to give account touching his faith and doctrine to every man that would require the same. In the mean time the holy catholics could not be idle, but sent their chaplains unto every sermon, to entrap him in his words: but God, whose footpaths are in the midst of the floods, would have his marvellous power to be seen in them, for he converted many of them; insomuch that the greater part of those that were sent to hearken, did openly witness his doctrine to be God's truth, against which no man could contend, and such as in all their lives before they had not heard: persuading them likewise, that they, forsaking all impiety, should follow the word of God, and believe the same, if they would be saved. But the chief priests, canons, and monks, were so obdurate and blinded with Pharaoh, that they became the worse for these admonitions. When God saw the time convenient that Henry should confirm the verity that he had preached, he sent him among the cruel murderers appointed for that slaughter, by this occasion as followeth: Catholic proceeding of the pope's clergy. They that went about to take him, were taken.

It happened A. D. 1524, that this Henry was sent for by letters, by Nicholas Boyes, parish priest, and other faithful Christians of the parish of Meldorf, which is a town in Dithmarsch, to preach the gospel unto them, and deliver them out of the bondage of Antichrist, which in that place had full dominion. These letters being received upon St. Katharine's even, calling together six brethren, honest citizens, he opened the matter unto them, how that he was sent for by them of Dithmarsch, to preach the gospel; adding moreover, that he was not only a debtor unto them, but to all others who required his aid: wherefore he thought good to go unto Dithmarsch, to see what God would work by him. He required also that they would help him with their advice, by what means he might best take his journey, that no man should know of it, that thereby he might not be letted or stopped; which thing without doubt had come to pass, if his purpose had been known to the people. Unto whom the citizens answered, desiring him that he would not depart for a time, forasmuch as the gospel had not yet taken such deep root in the people, but was as yet weak, and especially in the villages thereabout; and that the persecution was very great: willing him also to have respect unto this, that he was by them called to the office of preaching; and if they of Dithmarsch desired a preacher, he should send some other in his place, for they had before perceived the disposition and untrustiness of them of Dithmarsch: besides that, it was not in their power to give him free liberty to depart, without the consent of the whole commonalty. Whereunto Henry made answer in this manner: that albeit he Sutphen sent for to preach at Meldorf. The citizens of Bremen persuade Henry not to go.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1524.

could not deny but that he was sent for by them, yet now there were many godly and learned men at Bremen, whose labour they might use in his absence, in preaching of the gospel. Besides that, the papists were for the most part vanquished and overthrown, and their folly known, even unto women and children; adding thereunto that he had now preached the gospel by the space of two years at Bremen, and that they of Dithmarsch lived without a pastor even in the midst of the wolves: wherefore he could not with a safe conscience deny their request. And whereas they alleged that they could not license him without the consent of the whole congregation, that (said he) was but of small effect; forasmuch as he would not utterly forsake them, but determined only to remain with them of Dithmarsch for a month or two, to lay a foundation, and then to return again; desiring them that after his departure they would declare unto the congregation how he was sent for by them of Dithmarsch, to whom he could not say nay: willing them also to excuse his sudden departure, for that he was forced to depart secretly, because of his adversaries privily lying in wait in every place for him; thinking that he should scarcely avoid them that had always gone about to bring him to his death. Finally, they should promise to the congregation in his name, that when he had performed his enterprise, he would straight return again. They, being persuaded with these words, consented unto him, steadfastly hoping that they of Dithmarsch should be converted unto the true faith; which people above all others have always been most given to idolatry.[1]

The causes moving him to go to Dithmarsch.

Henry taketh his journey to Meldorf.

Having prepared all things toward his setting forth, on the 22d of October he took his journey, and came to Meldorf, whither he was sent for; where he was joyfully received by the parish priest and others, as soon as he was come thither. Albeit he had not yet preached, the devil with his members by and by began to fret and fume for anger. Above all others, one Augustine Tornborch, prior of the Black Friars, began to fume, who went out of hand unto Master John Swicken his companion, and commissary to the official of Hamburgh, to take counsel what was to be done, lest they should lose their kingdom. Finally, it was decreed by them above all things to withstand the beginnings, that he should not have license to preach; for if by any means it happened that he preached, and the people should hear him, it was to be feared that the wickedness and craft of the priests and monks should be opened; which being made manifest, they knew plainly that it would be but a folly to resist, remembering what had happened lately before in Bremen. This determination had, the prior, the next day early in the morning (for he had not slept well all night for cares), went with great speed unto Heyde, to speak with the eight and forty presidents of the country; unto whom with great complaints he showed how that a seditious fellow, a monk, was come from Bremen, who would seduce all the people of Dithmarsch, as he had done the Bremers. There were, moreover, that did assist this prior, Master Gunter, chancellor of that country, and Peter Hanne, both enemies unto the gospel. These stoutly assisted the prior, persuading the other forty-six, being simple and unlearned men, that

The prior of the Black Friars, with others, conspire his death.

(1) In this rude country of Dithmarsch, Master Rogers, our countryman, was superintendent at the time of the six articles; where he, with great danger of his life, did very much good.

they should obtain great favour and good will of the bishop of Bremen, if they would put this heretic monk to death. When these poor and unlearned men heard these words, they decreed that this monk should be put to death, neither heard, nor seen, much less convicted. *Henry VIII.* A.D. 1524.

Furthermore, this prior obtained letters from the forty-eight presidents unto the parish priest, commanding him under great penalty, that he should put the monk out of his house, and command him to depart without preaching. With these letters he came speedily to Meldorf, and delivered the letters over night unto the parish priest; trusting that by their threatenings and commandment, the said Henry should be feared from preaching, diligently watching whether he did preach or not. The parish priest of Meldorf commanded to put away Henry.

When Nicholas Boyes, the parish priest, had read over the letters, he marvelled not a little at that proud commandment, for that it had not been heard of before, that the forty-eight presidents should meddle with ecclesiastical matters, and that it had been of long time used, that the ruling thereof should be in the hands of the parish priest; and long time before, it was decreed by the whole province, and customably used, that in every church the parish priest should have free liberty to receive or put out the preacher. These letters the parish priest delivered unto Henry; which when he had diligently looked over, he answered, that forasmuch as he was come, being sent for by the whole congregation, to preach the gospel of Christ, he would satisfy that vocation, because he saw it would be acceptable unto the whole congregation, and that he ought rather to obey the word of God, than man. Also, that if it pleased God that he should lose his life in Dithmarsch, there was as near a way to heaven, as in any other place; for that he doubted nothing at all, that he must once suffer for the gospel's sake. Upon this courage and boldness, the next day Henry went up into the pulpit, and made a sermon, expounding the place of Paul, which is in Romans i. "Testis est mihi Deus," &c. that is, "God is my witness;" and the gospel of the day. After the sermon was done, the whole congregation being called together, the prior delivered the letters that were sent by the forty-eight presidents, the tenor whereof was this: that they of Meldorf should be fined with a fine of a thousand guilders, if they suffered the monk to preach; and commanded moreover, that they should send ambassadors unto Heyde with full power and authority. When they heard these letters read, they were much moved, because they were so charged contrary to the custom of the country; forasmuch as every parish priest hath always had authority, according to his discretion, to choose or put away the preacher. Briefly, they all determined with one voice, to keep Henry for their preacher, and to defend him; for when they had heard the sermon, they were greatly offended with the prior.

After dinner Henry preached again, expounding the place of St. Paul, Rom. xv., "Debemus nos qui potentes sumus," &c. "We ought which are strong," &c. The next day the citizens of Meldorf sent their messengers unto Heyde, offering to answer in all causes before all men, for their preacher, whom they had received. Besides that, the messengers declared what christian and godly sermons they Henry preacheth at Meldorf. The citizens write in his defence.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1524.

heard him preach. The parish priest also wrote letters by the said legates unto the forty-eight rulers, wherein he excused himself, that it was never his mind, nor the intent of the said Henry to move sedition, but only sincerely to preach the word of God; and offered himself ready to answer for the said Henry to all men, whensoever he should be called; most earnestly desiring them not to give credit unto the monks, who, being blinded with hatred and avarice, had fully determined to oppress the truth: saying moreover, that it was against all reason, that a man should be condemned before the truth be tried out and his cause declared; and if, after due inquisition had, he should be convicted, then he should suffer condign punishment. This submission, with the public testimonial, was nothing esteemed or regarded, neither was there any answer given thereunto, but every man repined and murmured thereat.

Good counsel of Peter Dethleves.

Last of all, one Peter Dethleves, one of the Seigniors, answered, that albeit there were divers dissensions in every place about the christian faith, and that they, as men ignorant, could not redress the same, yet this their sentence should be holden and ratified; which was, that the judgment of determining this dissension should be reserved to the next council, which, by the report of master chancellor, was now in hand to be called and gathered. Also, until all discord and dissension should be appeased, whatsoever was received and believed by their neighbours, he promised in the name of the rest, that they would willingly receive and believe the same. So that if the word of God hath not hitherto been clearly and sincerely preached (as they said) unto the people, and that there be now some who can teach and preach the same more sincerely; it is not their mind or intent to withstand or resist their good doings, but that the presidents would wish this one thing diligently to be taken heed of, that there be no occasion given by any man to move sedition: and in the mean time he commanded all men quietly to give over all matters until Easter next, and by that time it should be made evident, what should be received, and what left undone. With this answer they were all very well contented; and the messengers returned again to Meldorf with great joy and gladness, declaring to the whole congregation what answer was made, conceiving a sure hope that the matter would shortly come to pass.

Upon St. Nicholas' day, this Henry preached twice, first upon the gospel, "Homo quidam nobilis," &c. "A certain nobleman," &c. [Luke xix.] Secondly, upon this text, "Plures facti sunt sacerdotes," &c. "There are many made priests," &c. [Heb. vii.], with such a spirit and grace, that all men had him in admiration, praying God most earnestly, that they might long have such a preacher. Upon the day of the conception of our lady, he also made two sermons upon Matthew i., expounding the book of the generation; wherein he rehearsed the promises made by God unto our forefathers, and under what faith our fathers that then were, had lived; adding also, that all respect of works being set apart, we must be justified by the same faith. All these things were spoken with such boldness of spirit, that all men greatly marvelled at him, giving thanks to God for his great mercy, that had sent them such a preacher. desiring him moreover, that he would tarry with them all Christmas to

preach; for they feared lest he should be sent for to some other place. *Henry VIII.*

In the mean space, the prior and Master John Schink were not idle; for when the prior perceived that his malicious enterprise took no good success, he joined unto him a companion, William, a doctor of the Jacobins, and so went up to Laudanum to the monks Franciscan, and Minors, for help and counsel. For those kinds of friars above all others are best instructed by their hypocrisy, to deceive the poor and simple people. These friars straightway sent for certain of the rulers, who had all the rule and authority, and especially Peter Hanne, Peter Swine, and Nicholas Roden; unto whom they declared, after their accustomed manner, with great complaints, what a heretic monk had preached, and how he had obtained the favour of almost all the simple people; which if they did not speedily provide for, and withstand the beginnings, and put the heretic to death, it would shortly come to pass, that the honour of our lady, and all saints, together with the two abbeys, should utterly come to ruin and decay. A.D. 1524 The prior and monks again conspire against the gospel.

When these simple and ignorant men heard these words, they were greatly moved: whereunto Peter Swine answered thus, That they had before written unto the parish priest and to Henry what was best to be done: notwithstanding, if they thought good, they would write again. "No," said the prior, "this matter must be attempted another way: for if you write unto the heretic, he will by and by answer you again. And it is to be feared, lest the contagion of his heresy do also infect you, being unlearned men; for if you give him leave to speak, and to answer, there is no hope that you shall overcome him." Wherefore they finally determined to take this Henry by night, and burn him before the people should know it, or he come to his defence to answer. This device pleased all men, but especially the Franciscan friars. Peter Hanne, the prior's chief friend, willing to get the chief praise and thanks of this matter, by the help of Master Gunter, did associate unto him certain other rulers of the towns near adjoining, whose names are here not to be hidden, because they so much affected praise and glory. The names of the presidents were these, Peter Hanne, Peter Swine's son, Hennicke Lundane, John Holneus, Laurence Hanneman, Nicholas Wollingbourg, Ambrose and John Brenthusius, Marquardus Kremmerus, Henstedanus Ludecus, John Wislinge, and Peter Grosse, president of Hemmingstad. All these presidents, and all others that were of counsel to this pretence, assembled together in the parish of the new church, in the house of Master Gunter, where also the chancellor was consulting together with them how they might burn the said Henry, secretly coming upon him without any judgment or sentence. They concluded the next day after the conception of our lady, to meet at Henning, which is five miles from Meldorf, with a great band of husbandmen. This determination thus made, they laid scouts in every place, that there should no news of their pretensed mischiefs come unto Meldorf; commanding that as soon as it began to wax dark, they should all gather together. There assembled above five hundred men of the country, unto whom was declared the cause of their assembly, and also they were instructed what was to be done; The monks and friars seek the death of Henry. The names of the conspirators and persecutors.

Henry VIII. A. D. 1524.

for before, no man knew the cause of the assembly, but only the presidents. When the husbandmen understood it, they would have returned back again, refusing to do such a detestable and horrible deed. The presidents, with most bitter threats, kept them in obedience; and to the intent they should be the more courageous, they gave them three barrels of Hamburgh beer to drink.

A drunken murder.

About midnight they came in armour to Meldorf. The Jacobins and monks prepared torches for them, that Henry should not slip away suddenly in the dark. They had also with them a false betrayer, named Hennegus, by whose treason they had perfect knowledge of all things. With great violence they burst into the house of the parish priest, breaking and spoiling all things, as the manner of that drunken people is. If they found either gold or silver, they took it away. When they had spoiled all things, they violently fell upon the parish priest, and with great noise cried out, "Kill the thief," "Kill the thief." Some of them took him by the hair of the head, and pulled him out into the dirt, forcing him to go with them as prisoner: others cried out, saying, that the parish priest was not to be meddled withal, for they had no commission to take him. After they had satisfied their lust upon the parish priest, with great rage and fury they ran upon Henry, and drawing him naked out of his bed, bound his hands hard behind him: whom being so bound, they drew to and fro so long, that Peter Hanne, who otherwise was unmerciful and a cruel persecutor of the word of God, willed them that they should let him alone; for that without doubt he would follow of his own mind. Then they committed the guiding of him to John Balco, who rather drew him by violence than led him. When he was brought to Hemingsted, they asked of him how and for what intent he came to Dithmarsch? unto whom he gently declared the whole cause of his coming: but they all in a rage cried out, "Away with him, away with him! for if we hear him talk any longer, it is to be feared that he will make us also heretics." Then he, being marvellously weary and faint, required to be set on horseback, for his feet were all cut and hurt with the ice, because he was led all night barefoot. When they heard him say so, they mocked and laughed at him, saying, "Must we hire a horse for a heretic? he shall go a-foot whether he will or no." Because it was night they carried him naked to Heyde. Afterwards they brought him to a certain man's house named Calden, and bound him there with chains in the stocks. The master of the house, seeing the cruel deed, taking compassion upon Henry, would not suffer it to be done: wherefore he was carried away to the priest's house, the official's servant of Hamburgh, and shut up in a cupboard, and was kept by the rude people, who all the night mocked and scorned him. Amongst all others, there came unto him Simon Altennan, and Christian, parish priest of the new church, both alike ignorant and wicked persecutors of the word of God, demanding of him why he had forsaken his holy habit? unto whom he friendly answered by the Scriptures; but those ignorant persons understood nothing that he said. Master Gunter also came unto him, inquiring whether he had rather be sent to the bishop of Bremen, or receive his punishment in Dithmarsch? unto whom Henry answered, "If I have preached any thing contrary to God's

Hennegus, the betrayer of the preacher.

Henry taken and carried away by the murderers.

Cruel handling of God's martyr.

word, or done any wicked act, it is in their hands to punish me there-for." Gunter answered, "Hark!" I pray you, good friends, hark! he desireth to suffer in Dithmarsch." The common people all the night continued in immoderate drinking and swilling. *Henry VIII.* A.D. 1524.

In the morning, about eight o'clock, they gathered together in the market-place to consult what they should do; where the rustical people, boiling with drink, cried out, "Burn him, burn him! to the fire with the heretic! Without doubt, if we do it, we shall this day obtain great glory and praise, both of God and man; for the longer he liveth, the more he will seduce with his heresy." What need many words? sure he was to die; for they had condemned this good Henry without any judgment (his cause not being heard), to be burned. At last they commanded the crier to proclaim, that every man that was at the taking of him, should be ready in armour to bring him forth to the fire. Amongst all others the friars Franciscan were present, encouraging the drunken, rude people, saying, "Now you go the right way to work." Then they bound the said Henry, hands, feet, and neck, and with great noise brought him forth to the fire. As he passed by, a certain woman, standing in her door, beholding that pitiful sight, wept abundantly; unto whom Henry turning himself, said, "I pray you weep not for me." When he came to the fire, for very weakness he sat down upon the ground. By and by there was present one of the presidents named May, who was evidently known to be corrupted and bribed with money to this purpose: he condemned the said Henry to be burned, pronouncing this sentence upon him:

A drunken consultation, "Crucify! crucify!"

Henry brought forth to the fire.

"Forasmuch as this thief hath wickedly preached against the worship of our blessed Lady, by the commandment and sufferance of our reverend father in Christ, the bishop of Bremen, and my lord, I condemn him here to be burned and consumed with fire." Unto whom Henry answered, "I have done no such thing:" and, lifting up his hands towards heaven, he said, "O Lord! forgive them, for they offend ignorantly, not knowing what they do: thy name, O Almighty God! is holy."

False sentence of a corrupt judge.

In the meantime a certain woman, the wife of one Junger, sister of Peter Hanne, offered herself to suffer a thousand stripes, and to give them much money, so that they would pacify the matter, and keep him in prison, until he might plead his matter before the whole convocation of the country. When they heard these words, they waxed more mad, and threw the woman down under foot, and trod upon her, and beat the said Henry unmercifully. One of the rustical sort struck him behind on the head with a sharp dagger. John Holmes of the new church struck him with a mace. Others thrust him in the back, and in the arms. And this was not done once or twice, but as often as he began to speak. Master Gunter cried out, encouraging them, saying, "Go to boldly, good fellows! truly God is present with us."

Tender compassion of a godly woman.

Tyranny and fury of the people.

After this, he brought a Franciscan friar unto Henry, that he should be confessed;[1] whom Henry demanded in this manner: "Brother! when have I done you injury, either by word or deed, or when did I ever provoke you to anger?" "Never," said the friar.

(1) Where the offence is not done to man, confession to man there needeth not.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1524.

"What should I then confess unto you," said he, "that you think you might forgive me?" The friar, being moved at these words, departed. The fire, as often as it was kindled, would not burn. Notwithstanding they satisfied their minds upon him, striking and pricking him with all kind of weapons. The said Henry standing in the mean time in his shirt before all this rude people, at last they, having gotten a great ladder, bound him hard thereunto, and cast him into the fire. And when he began to pray, and to repeat his Creed, one struck him upon the face with his fist, saying, "Thou shalt first be burnt, and afterward pray and prate as much as thou wilt." Then another, treading upon his breast, bound his neck so hard to a step of the ladder, that the blood gushed out of his mouth and nose. This was done to strangle him withal, for they saw that for all his sore wounds he would not die.

The fire would not kindle.

After he was bound to the ladder, he was set upright. Then one, running unto him, set his halbert for the ladder to lean against (for those countrymen use no common hangman, but every man exerciseth the office without difference); but the ladder, slipping away from the point of the halbert, caused that the halbert struck him through the body. Then they cast this good man, ladder and all, upon the wood, which, tumbling down, lighted upon the one side. Then John Holmes ran unto him, and struck him with a mace upon the breast, till he was dead and stirred no more. Afterwards they roasted him upon the coals; for the wood, as often as it was set on fire, would not burn out. And thus this godly preacher finished his martyrdom; which was A. D. 1524.[1]

Divers martyrs secretly drowned in rivers.

About the same time many other godly persons, and such as feared God, for the testimony of the gospel, were thrown into the river Rhine, and into other rivers, where their bodies afterwards were found, and taken up. Also in the said town of Dithmarsch another faithful saint of God, named John, suffered the like martyrdom. Thus these two blessed and constant martyrs, as two shining lights set up of God, in testimony of his truth, offered up the sacrifice of their confession sealed with their blood, in a sweet savour unto God.

George of Halle preacher in Saxony, martyr.

At the town of Halle likewise, another preacher named Master George, for ministering in both kinds, was martyred and slain by a like sort of cut-throats, set up by the monks and friars to murder him, near to the town called Haschenburg.[2]

At Prague also in Bohemia, another, for changing his monkery into matrimony, did suffer in the like manner.[3]

Miltenberg taken.

Furthermore, in the same year 1524, and the 22d of October, the town of Miltenberg in Germany was taken and ransacked, and divers of the inhabitants were slain, and many imprisoned, for maintaining and keeping with them Carolostadt to be their preacher.[4]

In the same catalogue of holy martyrs likewise is to be placed Gasper Tamber. Also another called George, a scrivener, who both were burned at Vienna in Austria.

(1) Ex Epist. Mart. Luth. [Opera. vol. vii. p. 495.—Ed.]
(2) Ex Crisp. et Pantal. [A fuller title of this latter very scarce work, is this, "Martyrum historia; hoc est maximarum per Europam persecutionum ac sanctorum Dei martyrum cæterarum rerum insignium in ecclesia Christi his temporibus gestarum commentarii; auct. Henrico Pantaleone;" folio, Basillæ, 1563.—Ed.]
(3) Ex Lud. Rab
(4) Ex Rab. et Pantal.

The lamentable Martyrdom of John Clerk, of Meaux, in France.

Henry VIII. A. D. 1524.

Meaux is a city in France, ten miles distant from Paris, where John Clerk was first apprehended and taken, A.D. 1523, for setting up upon the church door a certain bill against the pope's pardons lately sent thither from Rome, in which bill he named the pope to be Antichrist; for which his punishment was this, that three several days he should be whipped, and afterwards have a mark imprinted on his forehead, as a note of infamy. His mother, being a christian woman, although her husband was an adversary, when she beheld her son thus piteously scourged, and ignominiously deformed in the face, constantly and boldly did encourage her son, crying with a loud voice, "Blessed be Christ! and welcome be his prints and marks!"

Clerk scourged, for calling the pope Anti-christ.

Marked in the forehead.

After this execution and punishment sustained, the said John departed that town, and went to Rosia in Bray, and from thence removed to Metz in Lorraine, where he remained a certain space, applying to his vocation, being a wool-carder by his occupation; where he, the day before the people of that city should go out to the suburbs, to worship certain blind idols near by (after an old use and custom amongst them received), being inflamed with the zeal of God, went out of the city to the place where the images were, and brake them all down in pieces. The next morrow after, when the canons, priests, and monks, keeping their old custom, had brought with them the people out of the city to the place of idolatry, to worship as they were wont, they found all their blocks and stocks almighty, lie broken upon the ground; at the sight whereof they, being mightily offended in their minds, set all the city agog, to search out the author thereof, who was not hard to be found; forasmuch as this aforesaid Clerk, besides that he was noted of them to be a man much addicted that way, was also seen somewhat late in the evening before, to come from the same place into the city. Wherefore he, being suspected and examined upon the same, at once confessed the fact, rendering also the cause which moved him so to do. The people hearing this, and being not yet acquainted with that kind of doctrine, were moved marvellously against him, crying out upon him in a great rage. Thus his cause being informed to the judges, wherein he defended the pure doctrine of the Son of God, he was condemned, and led to the place of execution, where he sustained extreme torments. For first his hand was cut off from his right arm, then his nose with sharp pinchers was violently plucked from his face; after that both his arms and his paps were likewise plucked and drawn with the same instrument. To all them that stood looking on, it was a horror to behold the grievous and doleful sight of his pains: again to behold his patience, or rather the grace of God giving him the gift so to suffer, it was a wonder. Thus quietly and constantly he endured in his torments, pronouncing, or in a manner singing, the verses of Psalm cxv.; "Simulacra eorum sunt argentum et aurum," &c. "Their images are silver and gold, the work only of man's hand," &c. The residue of his life that remained in his rent body, was committed to the fire, and therewith consumed; which was about A.D. 1524.[1]

Taken for casting down images.

Grievous torments.

Constancy of this blessed martyr.

(1) Ex Pantal. et Crisp.

Henry VIII.

John Castellane, Doctor of Divinity, a Martyr.

A.D. 1525.

The year next ensuing, which was 1525, Master John Castellane, born at Tournay, a doctor of divinity, after he was called to the knowledge of God, and became a true preacher of his word, and had preached in France, in a place called Bar le Duc, also at Vittery[1] in Partoise, at Chalons in Champagne, and in the town of Vike, which is the chamber and episcopal seat of the bishop of Metz in Lorraine, after he had laid some foundation of the doctrine of the gospel in the town of Metz, in returning from thence he was taken prisoner by the cardinal of Lorraine's servants, by whom he was carried from Gorze to the castle of Nommeni. Hereupon the citizens of Metz took no little displeasure and grievance; who being grievously offended to have their preacher so to be apprehended and imprisoned, within short space after took certain of the cardinal's subjects, and kept them prisoners so long, until the abbot of St. Anthony, in Viennois, called Theodore de Chaumont, vicar-general, as well in causes spiritual as temporal (through the jurisdiction both of the cardinal and bishopric of Metz, Toulouse and Verdun), being furnished with a letter and commission from the see of Rome, came to the said town of Metz; and after divers declarations made to the provost, and to the other justices and counsellors of the city, he so wrought and brought to pass, that immediately the said subjects of the cardinal were set at liberty. But John Castellane was kept still prisoner in the castle of Nommeni, and was most cruelly handled from the 4th of May, until the 12th of January: during all which time, he persevered constant in the doctrine of the Son of God.[2] Hereupon he was carried from Nommeni to the town and castle of Vike, always persevering constantly in the profession of the same doctrine, so that they did proceed unto the sentence of his degradation, that he might be delivered over unto the secular power, according to the custom and manner. And forasmuch as the form and manner of the sentence and process of degrading is notable, and hath been reported unto us word for word, we have thought good here to annex the same, to declare the horrible blasphemies joined with gross and brutish subtlety, in those high mysteries which the enemies of the truth do use in their process against the children of God; whereby every man, even the most ignorant, may evidently perceive the horrible blindness that these unshamefaced catholics are blinded withal.

Castellane carried to the castle of Nommeni.

Castellane constant in his doctrine.

The Sentence of Degradation pronounced on Castellane.

Ex actis Episcopalibus.

Concerning the process inquisitory, formed and given in form of an accusation against thee, John Castellane, priest, and religious man of the friars Eremites of the order of St. Austin; understanding likewise thy confession which thou hast made of thine own good will, maintaining false and erroneous doctrine; and marking also besides this, the godly admonitions and charitable exhortations which we made unto thee in the town of Metz, which thou, like unto the serpent Aspis, hast refused to hear, and given no ear unto: also considering thine answers made and reiterated unto our interrogatories, by means of thine oath, in which devilishly thou hast hidden and kept back not only the truth, but also, following the example of Cain, hast denied to confess thy sins

(1) "Vittery," Vitry-le-Français.—Ed.
(2) Whosoever escape, the Christians are sure to suffer.

and mischievous offence: and finally, hearing the great number of witnesses sworn and examined against thee, their persons and depositions diligently considered, and all other things worthy of consideration being justly examined, the reverend Master Nicolas Savin, doctor of divinity, and inquisitor of the faith, assistant unto us, hath entered process against thee, and given full information thereof; this our purpose and intent being also communicated unto divers masters and doctors both of the civil and canon laws here present, who have subscribed and signed thereunto, whereby it appeareth, that thou, John Castellane, hast oftentimes, and in divers places, openly and manifestly spread abroad and taught many erroneous propositions, full of the heresy of Luther, contrary and against the catholic faith, and the verity of the gospel, and the holy apostolic see; and so accursedly looked back and turned thy face, that thou art found to be a liar before Almighty God: It is ordained by the sacred rules of the canon-law, that such as through the sharp darts of their venomous tongue do pervert the Scriptures, and go about with all their power to corrupt and infect the souls of the faithful, should be punished and corrected with most sharp correction, to the end that others should be afraid to attempt the like, and apply themselves the better to the study of christian concord, through the example set before their eyes, as well of severity, as of clemency. For these causes and others rising upon the said process, by the apostolic authority, and also the authority of our said reverend lord the cardinal, which we do use in this our sentence definitive, which we, sitting in our judgment-seat, declare in these writings, having God only before our eyes, and surely considering, that what measure we do mete unto others, the same shall be measured to us again: we pronounce and declare sententially and definitively,[1] thee John Castellane, being here present before us, and judge thee, because of thy deserts, to be excommunicated, with the most great excommunication, and therewithal to be culpable of treason against the divine Majesty, and a mortal enemy of the catholic faith, and verity of the gospel; also to be a manifest heretic, and a follower and partaker of the execrable cruelty of Martin Luther,[2] a stirrer up of old heresies already condemned. And therefore, as thou oughtest to be deposed and deprived of all priestly honour and dignity, of all thy orders, of thy shaving and religious habit, also of thy ecclesiastical benefices, if thou hast any, and from all privilege of clergy: so we here presently do depose, deprive, and separate thee, as a rotten member, from the communion and company of all the faithful: and being so deprived, we judge that thou oughtest to be actually degraded. That done, we leave thee unto the secular powers, committing the degradation and actual execution of this our sentence unto the reverend lord and bishop here present, with the authority and commandment aforesaid.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1525.

This sentence being thus ended, with their catholic sermon also, the said bishop of Nicopolis,[3] sitting in his pontificalibus in the judgment-seat, being suffragan of Metz, with the clergy, nobles, and people about him, proceeded to the degrading (as they call it) of the said Master John Castellane. Thus the said Master John Castellane being prepared and made ready for his degradation by the officers of the said bishop, was apparelled in his priestly attire, and afterwards brought forth of the chapel by the priests who were thereunto appointed, with all his priestly ornaments upon him; and holding his hands together, he kneeled down before the bishop. Then the officers gave him the chalice in his hands, with wine and water, the patine, and the host; all which things the said bishop who degraded him, took from him, saying, "We take away from thee, or command to be taken from thee, all power to offer sacrifice unto God, and to say mass, as well for the quick as the dead." Moreover, the bishop scraped the nails of both his hands with a piece of glass, saying, "By

Dr. Castellane degraded.

Priests anointed singers.

(1) Truly you say, for your measure is death definitive; and therefore look you for the same measure again at God's hand.

(2) If Luther be to be noted of cruelty, who teacheth all men, and killeth no man, what then is to be noted in the pope, who killeth all God's children and teacheth none?

(3) "Nicopolis," Nicholas-du-Port.—Ed.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1525.

this scraping we take away from thee all power to sacrifice, to consecrate, and to bless, which thou hast received by the anointing of thy hands." Then he took away from him the chesille, saying; "By good right we do despoil thee of this priestly ornament, which signifieth charity; for certainly thou hast forsaken the same, and all innocency." Then taking away the stole, he said; "Thou hast villanously rejected and despised the sign of our Lord, which is represented by this stole: wherefore we take it away from thee, and make thee unable to exercise and use the office of priesthood, and all other things appertaining to priesthood."

The chesille.

The stole.

The degradation of the order of priesthood being thus ended, they proceeded to the order of deacon. Then the ministers gave him the book of the gospels, which the bishop took away, saying: "We take away from thee all power to read the gospels in the church of God, for it appertaineth only to such as are worthy." After this he spoiled him of the dalmatick, which is the vesture that the deacons use, saying, "We deprive thee of this Levitical order; forasmuch as thou hast not fulfilled thy ministry and office." After this the bishop took away the stole from behind his back, saying, "We justly take away from thee the white stole which thou hadst received undefiledly; which also thou oughtest to have borne in the presence of our Lord: * [1] for thus thou (not understanding the ministration of thy conversation), hast given evil example to the faithful:* and to the end that the people dedicated unto the name of Christ, may take by thee example, we prohibit thee any more to exercise or use the office of deaconship." Then they proceeded to the degrading of subdeaconship, and taking away from him the book of the epistles, and his subdeacon's vesture, deposed him from reading of the epistles in the church of God. And so orderly proceeding unto all the other orders, they degraded him from the order of Benet and Collet,[1] from the order of exorcist, from the lectorship, and last of all, from the office of door-keeper, taking from him the keys, and commanding him hereafter not to open or shut the revestry, nor to ring any more bells in the church. That done, the bishop went forward to degrade him from his first shaving, and taking away his surplice, said unto him, "By the authority of God Almighty, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and by our authority, we take away from thee all clerkly habit, and despoil thee of all ornament of religion: also we do depose and degrade thee from all order, benefit, and privilege of the clergy, and as one unworthy of that profession, we commit thee to the servitude and ignominy of the secular state." Then the bishop took the shears, and began to clip his head, saying in this manner: "We cast thee out as an unthankful child of the Lord's heritage, whereunto thou wast called, and take away from thy head the crown, which is the royal sign of priesthood, through thine own wickedness and malice. The bishop also added these words: "That which thou hast sung with thy mouth, thou hast not believed with thy heart, nor accomplished in work; wherefore we take from thee the office of singing in the church of God."

The gospel-book.

The dalmatick.

The stole behind his back.

The epistle book.

Benet and Collet exorcist.

Lectorship.

The pope's clergy account the secular state ignominious and servile.

Singing in the church.

The degrading thus ended, the procurator fiscal of the court and city of Metz, required of the notary an instrument or copy of the

(1) See Edition 1563, p. 430. The word "evil" is inserted to complete the sense.—Ed.
(2) "Bennet and Collet," the order of St. Benedict and St. Nicholas.—Ed.

degrading. Then the ministers of the bishop turned him out of his clerkly habit, and put upon him the apparel of a secular man. That done, forasmuch as he who is degraded, according to the institution of pope Innocent III., ought to be delivered unto the secular court, the bishop that degraded him proceeded no further, but said in this manner: "We pronounce that the secular court shall receive thee into their charge, being thus degraded of all clerkly honour and privilege." *Henry VIII.* A. D. 1525.

This done, the bishop, after a certain manner, entreated the secular judge for him, saying: "My lord judge! we pray you as heartily as we can, for the love of God, and the contemplation of tender pity and mercy, and for the respect of our prayers, that you will not in any point do any thing that shall be hurtful to this miserable man, or tending to his death, or maiming of his body."[1] These things thus done, the secular judge of the town of Vike, confirming the aforesaid sentence, condemned the said Master John Castellane to be burned quick; which death he suffered the 12th of January, A. D. 1525, with such a constancy, that not only a great company of ignorant people were thereby drawn to the knowledge of the verity, but also a great number who had already some taste thereof, were greatly confirmed by that his constant and valiant death.[2]

It would fill another volume, to comprehend the acts and stories of all those who in other countries, at the rising of the gospel, suffered for the same. But praised be the Lord, every region almost hath its own history-writer, who sufficiently hath discharged that part of duty, as every one in matters of his own country is best acquainted: wherefore I shall the less need to overstrain my travail, or to overcharge this volume therewith; only it shall suffice me to collect three or four histories, recorded by Œcolampadius and the rest, to bring it into a brief story, and so return to occupy myself with our own domestical matters here done at home.

The History of a good Pastor, murdered for preaching of the Gospel: written by John Œcolampadius.[3]

A good priest murdered for evil will.

In the year of our Lord 1525, there was a certain good and godly minister, who had committed something in the commotion there raised by the rustical clowns of the country, which, they said that knew him, was but of small importance. He, because he had offended his prince before, not with any fact or crime, but with some word something sharply spoken, was therefore condemned to be hanged.

After sentence was given, there was a gentleman of a cruel heart sent with a certain troop of men to apprehend the said priest, and to hang him; who, coming into his house, saluted him friendly, pretending as though their coming had been to make good cheer: for he was a good housekeeper, and the gentlemen of the country thereabouts used oftentimes to resort unto his house familiarly. This priest made ready for them in short space a very sumptuous banquet, whereof they did eat and drink very cheerfully. After dinner was ended, and that the priest was yet at the table, thinking no hurt, the gentleman said to his servants, 'Take you this priest, our host, and hang him, and that without delay;

(1) Note here these persecutors, how they will seem outwardly to be lambs, but inwardly are ravening wolves.

(2) Pantaleon, pp. 40—42. The History of Johannes Diazius, which is inserted here in some editions, will be found in the place allotted to it by Foxe, in the History of "Martyrs who suffered in Germany," at page 387.—Ed.

(3) See Pantaleon, p. 46.—Ed.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1525.

for he hath well deserved to be hanged for the great offence he hath committed against his prince.' The servants were marvellously astonished with his words, and abhorring to do the deed, said unto their master, 'God forbid that we should commit any such crime, to hang a man that hath treated us so gently; for the meat, which he hath given us, is yet in our stomachs undigested. It were a wicked act for a nobleman to render so great an evil for a good turn, but especially to murder an innocent.' Briefly, the servants sought no other occasion, but only to give him way to flee, that they might also avoid the execution of that wicked purpose.

Ungentleness in a gentleman.

As the gentleman and his servants were thus contending, the priest said unto them, 'I beseech you show no such cruelty upon me; rather lead me away captive unto my prince, where I may purge myself. I am falsely accused, and I trust to pacify his anger which he hath conceived against me. At least remember the hospitality which I have ever showed to you, and all noblemen at all times resorting to my house.' But principally speaking to the gentleman, he advertised him of the perpetual sting which would follow upon an evil conscience; protesting that he had faithfully and truly taught them the doctrine of the gospel, and that that was the principal cause why he had such evil will: which long time before he had foreseen would come to pass, forasmuch as he had oftentimes in the pulpit reproved sharply and openly the horrible vices of the gentlemen, who maintained their people in their vicious living; and they themselves were given unto blasphemy and drunkenness, whereas they should show example of faith, true religion, and soberness; but they had oftentimes resisted him, saying, That it was not his part to reprove them, for so much as they were his lords, and might put him to death if they would: that all things which they did were allowable, and that no man ought to gainsay it: also that he went about some things in his sermons, that would come to an evil end.

Many things may be pretended, but religion is ever the cause why good men go to wrack.

Kindness unkindly rewarded with unkindness.

This good man, whatsoever he could say, could not make his matter seem good; for the gentleman continued in his wicked enterprise, and pricked forth his servants still to accomplish their purpose (for it was resolved by the prince, that he should be put to death); and, turning himself unto the priest, he said, that he could gain nothing by preaching in such sort, but that he should fully determine himself to die, for the prince had given express commandment to hang him, whose favour he would not lose to save his life. At last the servants, after great sorrow and lamentation, bound their host, and hanged him upon a beam in his own house, the gentleman standing by and looking on. This good man, seeing no remedy, spake no other words but only, 'Jesus, have mercy upon me; Jesus, save me.'

This is the truth of this most cruel act, which a Turk would scarcely have committed against his mortal enemy. Now let every man judge with himself, which of them have the greatest advantage, they who commit the cruelty against the good, or the good men who do suffer the same unjustly. The first sort have a continual gnawing in their conscience, and the others obtain an immortal crown.

The like History of the Death of a certain Minister, named Master Peter Spengler, who was drowned: collected by Œcolampadius.[1]

A description of a good minister or curate.

In a certain village named Schlat, in the country of Brisgois, there was a vigilant minister, a man very well learned in the Scriptures, of a good name, for that he lived a godly and a blameless life, having long time faithfully done his office and duty; being also courteous and gentle, and well-beloved of men, but especially of the bishop of Constance, with whom he was in great authority; peaceable and quiet with all men that he had to do withal. He quieted discords and contentions with a marvellous prudency, exhorting all men to mutual charity and love. In all assemblies wheresoever he came, he greatly commended honest life and amendment of manners. When the purity of the gospel began to shine abroad, he began to read with great affection the holy Scriptures, which long time before he had read, but without any understanding. When he had recovered a little judgment, and came to more understanding by continual reading, being also further grown in age, he began to consider with himself, in how great darkness and errors the whole order of priests had been a long time

(1) Pantaleon, p. 48.—Ed

drowned. 'O good God,' said he, 'who would have thought it, that so many learned and holy men have wandered out of the right way, and could have so long time been wrapped in so great errors, or that the holy Scripture could have been so deformed with such horrible abuses.[1] For he never well understood before (he said) that the gospel was the verity of God, in that order wherein it is written, seeing it containeth so much touching the cross, persecution, and ignominious death; and yet the priests lived in great prosperity, and no man durst maintain any quarrel against them without danger. He also saw that the hour was come that the gospel should be displayed, that persecution was at hand, that the enemies of the truth began now to rage, that the wicked and proud lifted up their heads on high, and feared not to enterprise and take in hand all kind of mischief and wickedness against the faithful; that the bishops, who ought by their virtue and power to defend the word, were more barbarous and cruel than any tyrants had been before. He, thus considering the present estate of the world, put all doubt from his heart, and saw presently before his eyes, that Jesus Christ had taught the truth; seeing so many bodies of the faithful were daily so tormented, beaten, exiled, banished, drowned, and burned. For who can report the great torments, which the innocent have endured these years passed, even by those who call themselves Christians; and for no other cause, but only for the true confession of Jesus Christ? This good pastor, (considering with himself the laws and doctrine of the church of Rome to swerve from the truth of Christ, especially in restraining marriage) to the end that he would not defile himself with fornication, married a maid of his, such a one as feared God; by whom afterwards he had many fair children.

Henry VIII. A. D. 1525.

He that seeketh to live godly in Christ shall suffer persecution.

About this time the people of the country had raised a great commotion, who in their rage went to monasteries and priests' houses, as if they had taken in hand some pilgrimage, and spared nothing that they could find to eat. That which they could not eat, they either cast under foot, or carried it away with them. One company of this rustical sort lodged themselves in the house of this good priest: for they made no difference between the good and the bad. These roisters took from him all that they could find, leaving nothing behind them, insomuch that they took away the very hose from his legs, for all that he could do: albeit that he gently entreated them, showing that it was theft and a hanging matter that they did, yet they continued still in their madness like beasts.

A commotion of the Boors.

As they were departing out of the house, the good priest could not refrain himself from weeping, saying unto them, 'I tell you before, these your inordinate doings will redound to some great mischief to yourselves; for what madness is this? What meaneth this rage and tumult, wherein you keep no order or equity, neither have any respect between friend and foe? Who thus stirreth you up? What counsel do you follow, or to what end do you this? Like thieves you spoil whatsoever you can lay hands upon. And think you not but these things which you now rob, raven, and steal, you shall be compelled hereafter to restore again to your great detriment? What sedition did ever come to good end? You pretend the gospel, and have no peace of the gospel either in your mouths or in your hearts. These excesses ye never learned of me, who ever have taught you the true word of God. This your gospel is rather the gospel of the devil, than of God, who vexeth all the world with violence and wrong, spoiling and robbing without regard. The true gospel of Jesus Christ teacheth you to do good unto all men, to avoid dissensions and perjury. This I say unto you, that in these your doings you offend God, and provoke his just vengeance to plague you, who will never suffer these evils to escape unpunished. You find written in the gospel, That which thou wouldest not should be done to thee, do not to others. You offend also all the nobility, and your lawful magistrates, whom you are sworn and bound unto. It is no small matter, I tell you, to raise up sedition, to stir up others, and to disturb the state of the commonwealth: and when this tumult shall be ceased, what then shall your noblemen do? Shall they not rifle you as fast, and of your goods make themselves rich? and then shall one of you betray another.' These, with such other words, he stood preaching unto them, almost naked; but all this would not prevail with those men, who, after all these gentle admonitions and fair words, departed out of his house, giving him foul language, and calling him 'old dotard.' Amongst all others, one more wicked than the residue said unto him in this manner:

Cruelty and sedition never come to good end.

The true gospel teacheth no rebellion.

(1) The cross discerneth between true Christians and counterfeit.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1525.

'O master curate! we have been long deceived by your selling of masses, by fearing us with purgatory, by your dirges and trentals; and so have we been spoiled; wherefore we do nothing, now, but require again the money which you robbed us of.' And so mocking and scorning him they departed.

After this sedition of the peasants was partly appeased, their armour being laid away, and they taken unto grace; after that also divers of the principals of that conspiracy were taken here and there in the villages, and executed; this good pastor, fearing no such thing, for the true and sincere preaching of the gospel, whereat many took great indignation, was taken in the night by certain soldiers, who bound him hand and foot with a great rope, before his wife and children, and so set him upon a horse, and led him away to Friburg. What grievous sighs, tears, sorrow, and lamentation were there! it would have moved any heart, were it as hard as a flint, to a doleful compassion; especially to see the barbarous and despiteful rebukes, taunts, and extreme cruelty showed by these proud popish soldiers against the innocent priest. Such beastly tyrants the world is never without: of such godly ministers we have had but a few.

The people, hearing this pitiful noise and lamentation in the night, came running out, not the men, but only the women, whom the soldiers willed to go home again, and that their men should come forth and keep the town; but their men durst not appear. Then from Friburg shortly after they conveyed him to Ensisheim.

Cruelty without cause.

After they had long kept this man in prison, and that he had endured most terrible torments in all parts of his body, they judged him to death. If you will know the cause that they had to lay to his charge, it was only this, that he had married a wife secretly in his own house, with a few witnesses. Other crimes they had none to object against him; neither that he was a seditious and wicked man, nor that he had committed any other offence, albeit they had gathered divers wicked persons out of sundry places, to pick out of his sermons the order and manner of his behaviour. When he was led unto the place of execution, he answered gently and quietly unto all them that came to comfort him. But there were divers monks and priests, who troubled him very sorely with their foolish babbling, as he was striving in his spirit against the horror of death, and making his prayer unto Almighty God; seeking nothing else but to turn him away from his hearty and earnest contemplation. But he desired them that they would hold their peace, saying that he had already confessed his sins unto the Lord Jesus, nothing at all doubting that he had received absolution and forgiveness of them all. 'And I,' said he, 'shall be an acceptable sacrifice unto my Saviour Jesus Christ, for I have done no such thing wherefore I am now condemned, which might displease my Lord God, who, in this behalf, hath given me a good and quiet conscience. Now therefore let them who thirst for innocent blood, and shed the same, diligently advise themselves what they do, and know that they offend even Him, unto whom it pertaineth truly to judge the hearts of men; for it is said, 'Vengeance is mine, and I will punish.'[1] And forasmuch as he was a very lean man, he added this moreover, saying, 'It is all one; for shortly I must have forsaken this skin, which already scarcely hangeth to my bones. I know well that I am a mortal, and a corruptible worm, and have nothing in me but corruption. I have long time desired my latter day, and have made my request that I might be delivered out of this mortal body, to be joined with my Saviour Jesus Christ. I have deserved, through my manifold sins committed against my Saviour Christ, my cross; and my Saviour Christ hath borne the cross, and hath died upon the cross; and for my part I will not glory in any other thing but only in the cross of Jesus Christ.'

The water miraculously coloured with blood where he was drowned.

There were present by him certain naughty persons who could not endure to hear this godly exhortation, but made a sign unto the hangman to cast him down into the river. After he was thrown down, he moved for a certain space in the water, in such sort that the river whereinto he was cast was red with blood. This was a certain sign and token that innocent blood was that day shed. Those who were there present, beholding that which had happened, were greatly amazed and astonied, considering with themselves what the staining of the water with the blood should signify. Every man returned home pensive and sad, marvelling at the cruel deed that was done that day: notwithstanding

(1) Rom. xii.

no man durst open his mouth to speak one word, because that all things were exercised with such cruelty. This was done in the town of Ensisheim, A.D. 1525. *Henry VIII.* A. D. 1525.

These things I did understand by one who did behold them with his eyes. The Lord of his great grace be merciful unto us, and forgive us our sins![1]

Such was the wickedness then of those days, and yet is still, that whosoever was perceived to favour the gospel, or any thing to dislike the doctrine of the pope's church, he was hated and despited of the rulers, lawyers, and all other papists through the whole country about; but especially of priests, monks, and friars. And though the life of the gospellers were never so sound and upright, yet such was the hatred and malice of the pope's friends against them, that they never ceased to seek all occasions, and devise matters how to bring them to death.

It so happened a little before this present time, that there was a commotion of the rude and rustical people of the country rising in armour inordinately against their rulers, to the great disturbance of the whole country of Germany, and no less to their own destruction; of whom were slain above twenty thousand. At length, when this rebellion was appeased, and all things quiet, such as were the pope's friends, to work their malice against the gospel, took occasion thereby not long after to accuse and entangle such as they knew to be gospellers and protestants. And although the said gospellers were never so inculpable and clear from all rebellion, yet that sufficed not; for causes were made, false witnesses brought, corrupt judges suborned, to condemn the innocent; and many were put to death, their cause being neither heard nor known. By reason hereof a great number of good and innocent Christians were miserably brought to their end and martyrdom; in the number of whom was this poor man also, whose story by Œcolampadius is thus described:

Another History of a certain Man of the Country, wrongfully put to Death; collected by the said John Œcolampadius.

There was (saith he) a certain man of the country, who in my judgment was a good man, and a lover of justice, and a mortal enemy of all the cruel exactions of the gentlemen who oppressed the poor people. This man, after the tumult and commotion of the country was appeased, was grievously vexed and tormented because he had cried 'alarm,' when a great number of horsemen ranged about the country to seek out those who had been the authors of that sedition. This poor man was taken by policy, and so upholden with fair promises, that they made him confess whatsoever they required. He, thinking that they would not have put him to death, was cast into prison, where he was a long time detained, and well cherished, to take away all suspicion from him. But, after he had tarried a long time in prison, they put him to the pinbank, laying divers and many grievous offences to his charge, where they kept him hanging in the truss of the cord[2] the space of six hours hanging a great stone fastened at his feet.

The sweat that dropped from his body for very pain and anguish, was almost blood. In this distress he cried out pitifully, but all that could not once move the tormentors' hearts. When all the power and strength in his body began to fail him, with great violence they let him fall down. There this poor man lay even as a stock, not moving any part or member of his body, but a little draw-

(1) Ex Œcolamp.
(2) 'The truss of the cord' is a certain hanging up by the hands behind, having a weighty stone fastened at their feet.

Henry VIII. A. D. 1525.

ing his breath, which was a token that there was some life in him. Here the tormentors were in great doubt what to do with the man (whom they sought by all means to destroy), in what place they might put him, that he should not die of that torment.

Amongst them there was one who brought vinegar and rose water; and rubbing him therewithal, they did somewhat recover him. After they had caused him to eat and drink such as they provided for him, they let him down into a deep dungeon, where he could see neither sun nor moon. All this was done to the intent to put him to more torment, when he had somewhat recovered his strength again. There they let him continue eighteen days, after which time they brought him again to examination, propounding certain articles unto him, which he constantly denied. They devised divers and sundry kinds of torments, to the intent they might, even of force, extort something of this poor man, which might seem worthy of death; yet for all that they were fain to depart without their purpose. The twentieth day after, these tyrants hired a hangman (a man surely worthy of his office), who left no kind of cruelty unpractised; yet did he miss of his purpose also, and was constrained to leave his cruelty, and to pronounce even with his own mouth, that the man was innocent, in that he had so constantly endured so many horrible and grievous torments. Yet these tyrants came again the fourth time, and suborned two witnesses against him; thus concluding, that he was worthy of death, because he had cried 'alarm' after the truce was taken, and would have moved a new sedition. The day was appointed when he should suffer, and they brought unto him the hangman and a friar into the prison.

The innocent man again tormented. False witness.

In the mean time this poor man thought with himself, that they would have showed him the like cruelty as they had done the night before. They called him out of the dungeon where they had let him down, certifying him that they had things to tell him for his profit. This they did because he should not die in prison. Then they let down a cord and a staff, but they could not persuade him to sit thereupon, saying, that he would rather choose to die there, than he would endure any more such cruel torments; notwithstanding, if they would promise not to put him any more to the truss of the cord, nor to put him to death, but to bring him before just judges, on that condition he would come out; although he had fully determined never to have removed from thence, but to have ended his life in that dungeon. There were present certain councillers who promised to perform his request,[1] and thereupon he was taken out of the dungeon. As soon as he saw the friar, he cried out with a loud voice, saying, 'O miserable and wretched man that I am! now am I betrayed and deceived; for my latter hour is at hand. I see well the dream which I have dreamed this night will come to effect, for they do handle me tyrannously, and condemn me not being heard.' The friar brake him off from his purpose, and pulling a wooden cross out of his sleeve, presented it unto him, declaring that he must be quiet, because they had already given sentence against him, and that he should gain nothing by so much talk. 'Poor man,' said the friar, 'thou hast had good and gentle judges; at the least thou shalt go to God; therefore confess thy sins in my ear, and after thou hast received absolution at my hands, doubt not but this day thou shalt go straight to the kingdom of heaven.' The poor man answered, 'Thou wicked friar!' get thee away from me, for I have long since bewailed my sins and offences, and that before the face of my Lord Jesus, who hath already forgiven me all that which I have committed against his majesty; wherefore I have no need of thy absolution, which thou thyself dost not understand. This is most certain, that long time since thou shouldst have amended thine own wicked and hypocritical life. I know well enough what thou art; thou playest the ape with me, but thou hast a subtle and a crafty heart, which hath deceived much simple people. If thou hast any comfort or consolation out of the gospel to comfort me withal, let me have it; if not, get thee away from me with thy portues.

He had rather pine in prison than to come into the papists' hands.

The christian poor man refuseth the friar's wooden cross.

The friar was so confused and amazed with these words, that he knew not what to do or say. The hangman, being wiser than the friar, bade him read unto the poor man something of the passion, wherein the poor man would take great pleasure. This foolish friar had no other consolation to comfort him

(1) The promises of the papists are not to be trusted

withal, but to hold the crucifix of wood before him, saying, 'Behold thy Saviour who died for thee; look upon him, and thou shalt be comforted.' Then said the poor man, 'I have another Saviour, this is none of my Saviour; get thou away from me, thou naughty person! with thy marmoset of wood; my Saviour dwelleth in heaven, in whom I trust that he will not deliver my soul to eternal death.' The friar crossed himself, showing the semblance of a man that was very sorry and aggrieved, thinking with himself that this poor man was fallen into desperation. Then was he led forth into the market-place, where, according to the custom, openly before all the people, his confession was read with a loud voice; which contained no other thing, but only that the man had been a seditious person, and that in the time of truce he had cried 'Alarm,' even in the night, when all men were at rest.

Henry VIII. A. D. 1525.

The crucifix of wood called a Saviour.

The innocent man condemned for ill will.

When he was come to the place where he should suffer, being compassed in with glaves and halberts hired for the purpose, after he had said the Lord's Prayer, the hangman bade him kneel down; but he refused so to do, declaring that he had yet something more to say before the people, thinking that he should not be denied to speak in that place, as he was before the wicked judges. 'Those,' said he, 'who know me, shall be sufficient good witnesses on my behalf, that from my youth upward I have always lived in good name, fame, and honesty, being never before accused for any offence, sedition, or perjury. In an evil time have I happened into these cursed days, when all ways both of God and man are turned topsy turvy.[1] I was adherent to the tumult and sedition of the men of the country, as many others were, who dwell thereabout. But what then? are not there also many gentlemen who followed the peasants' army, and many strong towns which went also with them? I was not the author of any sedition, which always I have mortally hated. I never gave counsel unto any man to move any broil or tumult in any place. We asked counsel of our gentlemen what we should do, when the bands of the peasants were assembled in the fields; but they gave us neither counsel nor comfort. And to speak of myself, I did never understand or know what the articles were that were published, nor was there ever any man that told me wherefore they were published; neither did I know wherefore the bands of the countrymen were risen, nor wherefore every man moved his neighbour to put on armour. Wherefore then have ye taken me as a seditious man, and made me to endure so great torments?' He continued a long time declaring his innocency; but, notwithstanding all his excuses and defences, the hangman drew his sword, and at the commandment of the judge, struck off his head, as he had made an end of his prayers. His tongue moved a long time after in his head, by means of the force of the words which he had before spoken.

This blessed martyr beheaded.

Thus this good man of the country ended his days, against whom the false judges could find no crime or offence to object, albeit they had diligently sought by witnesses to have information of all his life and living. The Lord grant his Spirit to all those who suffer for his name.'[2]

The Story and Martyrdom of Wolfgangus Schuch, a German, burned in Lorraine.

Wolfgangus Schuch, coming to a certain town in Lorraine, bearing the name of St. Hippolyte, and being received in the said town to be their pastor, laboured by all means how to extirpate out of the hearts of the people, idolatry, and superstition. This, through the grace of Christ working with him, he in short time had brought prosperously to pass according to his desire; insomuch that the observation of Lent, images, and all idols, with the abomination also of the mass, in the same town was utterly abolished: so reformable God made the hearts of the people there, and such affection they had to their minister. It was not long but the rumour thereof came to the hearing of duke Anthony, prince of Lorraine (under whose dominion they were), through the swift report of the adversaries, falsely belying these Hippolytanes to the duke; as though they, in relinquishing the doctrine

False and pernicious tongues.

(1) Nihil peccavit agnus, sed lupus esuriit. (2) Ex Johan. Œcolampad.

Henry VIII. A. D. 1525.

and faction of the pope, went about to reject and shake off all authority and power of princes, and all superior governors. By means of which sinister report they incensed the prince to such displeasure and indignation, that he threatened to subvert and utterly to destroy the town with sword and fire. Wolfgangus, having word of this, wrote unto the duke his epistle in most humble and obedient wise, in defence both of his ministry, of his doctrine which he taught, and of the whole cause of the gospel.

The duke of Lorraine threateneth the town of St. Hippolyte.

Letter of Wolfgangus to him.

In that epistle first he excused the people to be innocent and blameless, and said that those slanderous reporters were rather worthy to be blamed, and also punished, for their false rumours and forged slanders raised up against them. After that he opened and explained the cause and state of the gospel, and of our salvation, consisting only in the free grace of God, through faith in Christ his Son; comparing also the same doctrine of the gospel with the confused doctrine of the church of Rome. That done, thirdly, he proceeded to our obedience, honour and worship, which first we owe to God and to Christ, next under him to princes here and potestates, whom God hath placed in his room, and endued with authority here in earth; unto whom they offered themselves now and at all times pressed and most ready to obey, with all service and duty, &c.

But with this epistle Wolfgangus did nothing prevail, either for that it was intercepted by the way, or else for that the false accusations and wicked tongues of the adverse party took more effect to win credit with the duke, than could the simple defence of verity. Whereupon Wolfgangus, when he saw no other remedy, rather than the town should come in any danger for his cause, the good man, of his own accord came to the city of Nancy (which is the head town of Lorraine), there to render a confession of his doctrine, and also to deliver the town of St. Hippolyte out of peril, drawing all the danger upon himself.

As soon as he was come thither, incontinently hands were laid upon him, and he laid fast in a strait and stinking prison, where he was sharply and bitterly handled under custody of the churlish and cruel keepers. All this notwithstanding, Wolfgangus, continuing in that prison the space of a whole year, yet would not be moved from his constancy, neither with the straitness of the prison, nor with the hardness of his keepers, nor yet with compassion for his wife and for his children, of whom he had about six or seven. Then was he had to the house of the Grey Friars, to profess there his faith; where he both wittily and learnedly confuted all those that stood against him.

His constancy unmovable.

Is had to the Grey Friars.

A right description of a friarly Silenus or Cyclops.

There was a friar named Bonaventure, provincial of that order, of face, body, and belly monstrous, but much more gross in blind ignorance; a man utterly rude, and a contemner of all civility and honesty; who, being long confessor to the duke, and of great authority in Lorraine, as he was an enemy to virtue and learning, so was he ever persuading the duke to banish out of the court and country of Lorraine all learned men; neither could he abide any person who seemed to know more than his elders knew before. The sum of all his divinity was this, that it was sufficient to salvation only to know the Pater Noster and Ave Maria. And thus was the duke brought up and trained, and in nothing else, as the duke himself ofttimes in talk with

his familiars would confess. This Bonaventure, being chief judge and moderator where Wolfgangus disputed or was examined, had nothing else in his mouth, but 'Thou heretic!' 'Judas!' 'Beelzebub!' &c. Wolfgangus, bearing patiently those private injuries which pertained to himself, proceeded mightily in his disputation by the Scriptures, confuting or rather confounding his adversaries; who being not otherwise able to make their party good, yet for very shame, because they would not seem to do nothing, took his Bible with his notes in the margin into their monastery, and burned it. At the last disputation duke Anthony himself was said to be there, altering his apparel because he would not be known; who, albeit he understood not the speech of Wolfgangus speaking in Latin, yet perceiving him to be bold and constant in his doctrine, departing from the disputation, gave sentence that he should be burned, because he denied the church, and the sacrament of the mass. Whereupon it followed shortly after that Wolfgangus was condemned to be burned, who, hearing the sentence of his condemnation, began to sing the 122d Psalm, "Lætatus sum in his quæ dicta sunt mihi, in domum Domini ibimus," &c.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1526.

The disputation with the friars.

The sentence given against him by the duke, not knowing what Wolfgangus said.

As he was led to the place of execution, passing by the house of the Grey Friars, Bonaventure the great Cyclops, sitting at the door, cried out to him, "Thou heretic! do thy reverence here to God, and to our Lady, and to his holy saints;" showing to him the idols standing at the friar's gate: to whom Wolfgangus answered again, "Thou hypocrite! thou painted wall! the Lord shall destroy thee, and bring all thy false dissimulation unto light." When they were come to the place of his martyrdom, first his books before him were thrown into the fire. Then they asked him, whether he would have his pain minished or shortened? to whom he said, "No," bidding them to do their will; "for" (said he) "as God hath been with me hitherto, so trust now he will not leave me when I shall have most need of him;" concluding his words thus, that they should put the sentence in execution: and so beginning to sing the one and fiftieth Psalm, he entered into the place heaped up with faggots and wood, continuing in his Psalm, and singing till the smoke and the flame took from him both voice and life.

Note the quiet and joyful death of this blessed martyr.

The singular virtue, constancy, and learning of this blessed man, as it refreshed and greatly edified the hearts of many good men, so it astonished as much the minds of his adversaries, and wrought to their confusion. For shortly after his death, the commendator of St. Anthony of Vienna, who sat as spiritual judge over him, and gave sentence of his condemnation, fell suddenly down and died. Also his fellow, who was abbot of Clarilocus,[1] and suffragan to the bishop of Metz, suddenly, at the coming of the duchess of Denmark into the city of Nancy, stricken with sudden fear at the crack of the guns, fell down and died, as those who were present and saw it, have made faithful relation of the same. A.D. 1525.[2]

Just judgment of God upon persecutors.

John Huglein, Martyr, burned at Merseburg.

Of John Huglein, priest, mention is made in the Commentaries of John Sleidan, in lib. vi., who the next year following, A.D. 1526, was

(1) 'Clarilocus', Clermont.—Ed. (2) Ex Ludov. Rabo et Pantal. [p. 54]

Henry VIII.

burned at Merseburg,[1] by the bishop of Constance, for that he did not hold with the bishop of Rome's doctrine in all points.

A. D. 1527.

Moreover, besides other matters in this year occurrent, here is also a memorandum to be made to all posterity, that in this present year 1526, unto John Frederic, son and heir to the prince and elector of Saxony, was promised the lady Katherine, the emperor's younger sister in marriage, and writings were made of the same. But when the alteration of religion was sent by God's providence into Saxony, they swerved from their covenants; and Hawnart, who was then the emperor's ambassador in Germany, said plainly that there was no promise to be kept with heretics: wherein they seemed to follow well the footsteps of the council of Constance, as before you have partly heard in the story of John Huss, and of the emperor Sigismund.

Promise of marriage broken with John Frederic, duke of Saxony.

The pope's church keeps no promise with heretics.

George Carpenter of Emerich, Martyr, burned in the Town of Munich in Bavaria.

The eighth day of February, in the year of our salvation 1527, there happened a rare and marvellous example and spectacle in the town of Munich in Bavaria, which was this: A certain man, named George Carpenter of Emerich, was there burnt. When he was fetched out of the prison called Falken-Tower, and led before the council, divers friars and monks followed him, to instruct and teach him; whom he willed to tarry at home, and not to follow him. When he came before the council, his offences were read, contained in four articles.

Articles laid against George Carpenter.

I. That he did not believe that a priest could forgive a man's sins.

II. That he did not believe that a man could call God out of heaven.

III. That he did not believe that God was in the bread which the priest hangeth over the altar, but that it was the bread of the Lord.

IV. That he did not believe that the very element of the water itself, in baptism, doth give grace.

These four articles he utterly refused to recant. Then came unto him a certain schoolmaster of St. Peter in the town of Munich, saying, "My friend George! dost thou not fear the death and punishment which thou must suffer? If thou wert let go, wouldst thou return to thy wife and children?" Whereunto he answered, "If I were set at liberty, whither should I rather go, than to my wife and well-beloved children?" Then said the schoolmaster, "Revoke your former sentence and opinion, and you shall be set at liberty." Whereunto George answered: "My wife and my children are so dearly beloved unto me, that they cannot be bought from me for all the riches and possessions of the duke of Bavaria; but, for the love of my Lord God, I will willingly forsake them." When he was led to the place of execution, the schoolmaster spake unto him again in the midst of the market-place, saying, "Good George! believe in the sacrament of the altar; do not affirm it to be only a sign." Whereunto he answered, "I believe this sacrament to be a sign of

Persuaded to recant.

The love of God preferred before wife, children, and liberty.

(1) Ex Comment. Sleid. lib. vi. [et Pantaleon. lib. iii. p. 69.—Ed.]

the body of Jesus Christ offered upon the cross for us." Then said the schoolmaster moreover, "What dost thou mean, that thou dost so little esteem baptism, knowing that Christ suffered himself to be baptized in Jordan?" Whereunto he answered, and showed what was the true use of baptism; and what was the end why Christ was baptized in Jordan; and how necessary it was that Christ should die and suffer upon the cross, wherein only standeth our salvation. "The same Christ," said he, "will I confess this day before the whole world; for he is my Saviour, and in him do I believe." *Henry VIII.* A. D. 1527.

After this came unto him one Master Conrad Scheter, the vicar of the cathedral church of our lady in Munich, a preacher, saying: "George! if thou wilt not believe the sacrament, yet put all thy trust in God, and say, I trust my cause to be good and true; but if I should err, truly I would be sorry and repent;" whereunto George Carpenter answered, "God suffer me not to err, I beseech him." Then said the schoolmaster unto him, "Do not put the matter on that hazard, but choose unto you some good christian brother, Master Conrad! or some other, unto whom thou mayest reveal thy heart; not to confess thyself, but to take some godly counsel of him." Whereunto he answered, "Nay, not so, for it would be too long." Then Master Conrad began the Lord's prayer: "Our Father which art in heaven;" whereunto Carpenter answered, "Truly thou art our Father, and no other, this day I trust to be with thee." Then Master Conrad went forward with the prayer, saying, "Hallowed be thy name." Carpenter answered, "O my God, how little is thy name hallowed in this world!" Then said Master Conrad, "Thy kingdom come." Carpenter answered, "Let thy kingdom come this day unto me, that I also may come unto thy kingdom." Then said Conrad, "Thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven." Carpenter answered, "For this cause, O Father! am I now here, that thy will might be fulfilled and not mine." Then said Conrad, "Give us this day our daily bread." Carpenter answered, "The only living bread Jesus Christ shall be my food." Then said Conrad, "And forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us." Carpenter answered, "With a willing mind do I forgive all men, both my friends and adversaries." Then said Master Conrad, "And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from all evil." Whereunto Carpenter answered, "O my Lord! without doubt thou shalt deliver me; for upon thee only have I laid all my hope." Then he began to rehearse the Belief, saying, "I believe in God the Father Almighty." Carpenter answered, "O my God! in thee alone do I trust; in thee only is all my confidence, and upon no other creature; albeit they have gone about to force me otherwise." In this manner he answered to every word; which answers of his, if they should be described at length, would be too long.

Mark here these subtle serpents, which when they cannot remove this good man from his faith, go about to bring him in doubt thereof.

This prayer ended, the schoolmaster said unto him, "Dost thou believe so truly and constantly in thy Lord and God with thy heart, as thou dost cheerfully seem to confess him with thy mouth?" Hereunto he answered; "It were a very hard matter for me, if that I, who am ready here to suffer death, should not believe that with my heart, which I openly profess with my mouth: for I knew before that I must suffer persecution, if I would cleave unto Christ, who saith, Where

The hearty confession of Carpenter.

Henry VIII. A. D. 1527.

thy heart is, there is also thy treasure [Luke xii.]; and whatsoever thing a man doth fix in his heart to love above God, that he maketh his idol." Then said Master Conrad unto him, "George! dost thou think it necessary after thy death, that any man should pray for thee, or say mass for thee?" He answered; "So long as the soul is joined to the body, pray God for me, that he will give me grace and patience, with all humility, to suffer the pains of death with a true christian faith: but when the soul is separate from the body, then have I no more need of your prayers."

Whatsoever a man loveth above God, that he makes his idol.

Carpenter refuseth to be prayed for after his death.

When the hangman should bind him to the ladder, he preached much unto the people. Then he was desired by certain christian brethren, that as soon as he was cast into the fire, he should give some sign or token what his faith or belief was. To whom he answered, "This shall be my sign and token; that so long as I can open my mouth, I will not cease to call upon the name of Jesus."

The constant behaviour of Carpenter at his death.

Behold, good reader! what an incredible constancy was in this godly man, such as lightly hath not been seen in any man before. His face and countenance never changed colour, but cheerfully he went unto the fire. "In the midst," saith he, "of the town this day will I confess my God before the whole world." When he was laid upon the ladder, and the hangman put a bag of gunpowder about his neck, he said, "Let it so be, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost!" And when the two hangmen lifted him up upon the ladder, smiling, he bade a certain Christian farewell, requiring forgiveness of him. That done, the hangman thrust him into the fire. He with a loud voice cried out, "Jesus!" "Jesus!" Then the hangman turned him over; and he again for a certain space cried, "Jesus!" "Jesus!" and so joyfully yielded up his spirit.[1]

The History of Leonard Keyser, Martyr, burned at Scharding ham.

Here also is not to be passed over the marvellous constancy of Master Leonard Keyser, of the country of Bavaria, who was burned for the gospel. This Keyser was of the town of Rawbe, four miles from Passau, of a famous house. This man, being at his study in Wittenberg, was sent for by his brethren, who certified him, that if ever he would see his father alive, he should come with speed; which thing he did. He was scarcely come thither, when, by the commandment of the bishop of Passau, he was taken by his mother and his brethren. The articles which he was accused of, for which also he was most cruelly put to death, and shed his blood for the testimony of the truth, were these:

Articles against him.

That faith only justifieth.

That works are the fruits of faith.

That the mass is no sacrifice or oblation.

Item, For confession, satisfaction, the vow of chastity, purgatory, difference of days, for affirming only two sacraments, and invocation of saints.

He also maintained three kinds of confession.

The first to be of faith, which is always necessary.

The second of charity, which serveth when any man hath offended

(1) Pantal. pp. 61—63.—Ed.

his neighbour, to whom he ought to reconcile himself again, as a man may see by that which is written in Matt. xviii. *Henry VIII.* A. D. 1527.

The third, which is not to be despised, is to ask counsel of the ancient ministers of the church.

And forasmuch as all this was contrary to the bull of pope Leo, and the emperor's decree made at Worms, sentence was given against him, that he should be degraded, and put into the hands of the secular power. The persecutors who sat in judgment upon him, were the bishop of Passau; the suffragans of Ratisbon and Passau; also Dr. Eckius, being guarded about with armed men. His brethren and kinsfolks made great intercession to have his judgment deferred and put off, that the matter might be more exactly known. Also John Frederic, duke of Saxony, and the earls of Schauenburg and Shunartzen, wrote to the bishop for him, but could not prevail. After the sentence was given, he was carried by a company of harnessed men out of the city again, to Schardingham, the 13th of August; where Christopher Frenkinger, the civil judge, receiving him, had letters sent him from duke William of Bavaria, that forthwith, tarrying for no other judgment, he should be burned alive. Whereupon the good and blessed martyr, early in the morning, being rounded and shaven, and clothed in a short gown, and a black cap set upon his head, all cut and jagged, so was delivered unto the officer. As he was led out of the town to the place where he should suffer, he boldly and hardily spake in the Almain tongue, turning his head first on the one side, and then on the other, saying, "O Lord Jesus! remain with me, sustain and help me, and give me force and power."

Persecutors

Hasty judgment against Keyser.

Then the wood was made ready to be set on fire, and he began to cry with a loud voice, "O Jesus! I am thine, have mercy upon me, and save me;" and therewithal he felt the fire begin sharply under his feet, his hands, and about his head. And because the fire was not great enough, the hangman plucked the body, half burnt, with a long hook, from underneath the wood. Then he made a great hole in the body, through which he thrust a stake, and cast him again into the fire, and so made an end of burning. This was the blessed end of that good man, who suffered for the testimony of the truth, on the 6th of August, A. D. 1527.[1]

The martyrdom of Leonard Keyser.

Wendelmuta, Widow, Martyr, at the Hague.

In Holland also the same year, 1527, was martyred and burned a good and virtuous widow, named Wendelmuta, a daughter of Nicholas of Munchenstein. This widow, receiving to her heart the brightness of God's grace by the appearing of the gospel, was therefore apprehended and committed to custody in the castle of Werden; and shortly after was brought from thence to the Hague, the 15th day of November, there to appear at the general sessions of that country; where was present Hochstratus, lord president of the said country, who also sat upon her the 17th day of the aforesaid month. Divers monks were appointed there to talk with her, to the end they might convince her, and win her to recant; but she, constantly persisting in that truth wherein she was planted, would not be removed. Many also of her kindred and other honest women, were suffered to

(1) Ex 6. Tomo Operum Lutheri.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1527.

persuade with her; among whom there was a certain noble matron, who loved and favoured dearly the said widow being in prison. This matron coming and communing with her, in her talk said: "My Wendelmuta! why dost thou not keep silence, and think secretly in thine heart these things which thou believest, that thou mayest prolong here thy days and life? To whom she answered again: "Ah," said she, "you know not what you say. It is written, With the heart we believe to righteousness, with the tongue we confess to salvation," &c. [Rom. x.] And thus she, remaining firm and steadfast in her belief and confession, on the 20th day of November was condemned, by sentence given as against a heretic, to be burned to ashes, and her goods to be confiscated; she taking the sentence of her condemnation mildly and quietly.

Religion should be professed as well with tongue as with heart.

Wooden gods not to be worshipped.

After she came to the place where she should be executed, and a monk there had brought out a blind cross, willing her many times to kiss and worship her God; "I worship," said she, "no wooden God, but only that God which is in heaven:" and so, with a merry and joyful countenance, she went to the stake, desiring the executioner to see the stake to be fast, that it fall not. Then taking the powder, and laying it to her breast, she gave her neck willingly to be bound, with an ardent prayer commending herself into the hands of God. When the time came that she should be strangled, modestly she closed her eyes, and bowed down her head as one that would take a sleep: which done, the fire then was put to the wood, and she, being strangled, was burned afterwards to ashes; instead of this life, to get the immortal crown in heaven. A. D. 1527.[1]

Peter Flisteden and Adolphus Clarebach, put to death at Cologne.

In the number of these German martyrs, are also to be comprehended Peter Flisteden and Adolphus Clarebach; two men of singular learning, and having ripe knowledge of God's holy word. These two, A. D. 1529 (for that they did dissent from the papists in divers points, and especially touching the Supper of the Lord, and other the pope's traditions and ceremonies), after they had endured imprisonment a year and a half, by the commandment of the archbishop and senate, were put to death and burned in Cologne, not without the great grief and lamentation of many good Christians; all the fault being put upon certain divines, who at that time preached, that the punishment and death of certain wicked persons should pacify the wrath of God, which then plagued Germany grievously with a new and strange kind of disease: for at that season the sweating sickness did mortally rage and reign throughout all Germany.[2]

The blood of martyrs spilt to stop the sweating sickness at Cologne.

A PREFACE TO THE TABLE FOLLOWING.

If thou well remember in reading this book of stories, loving reader! it was before mentioned and declared how in the year of grace 1501, certain prodigious marks and prints of the Lord's passion, as the crown, cross, nails, scourges, and spear, were seen in Germany upon the garments of men and women.[3] This miraculous ostent, passing the ordinary course of natural causes, as it was sent of God,

(1) Ex Pantal. (2 Ex Com. Johan. Sleidan. lib. vi. p. 386. (3) Page 380.—Ed.

no doubt, to foreshow the great and terrible persecution, which afterwards fell in the country of Germany, and other regions besides, for the testimony of Christ; so, if the number and names of all those good men and women, who suffered in the same persecution, with their acts and doings, should be gathered and compiled together, it would ask a long time, and a large volume. Notwithstanding, partly to satisfy the history which we have in hand; partly also to avoid tedious prolixity, I thought briefly to contract the discourse thereof, drawing, as in a compendious table, the names of the persecutors, and of the martyrs who suffered, and the causes thereof, with as much shortness as I may; referring the full tractation of their lives and doings to those writers of their own country, where they are to be read more at large. And to keep an order in the same table, as much as in such a confused heap of matters I may, according to the order and distinction of the countries in which these blessed saints of Christ did suffer; I have divided the order of the table in such sort, as first to begin with them that suffered in Germany, then in France, also in Spain, with other foreign countries more; showing only the names, with the principal matters of them; referring the rest to the further explication of their own story-writers, from whence they be collected: which table being finished, my purpose is, Christ willing, to return to the full history of our own matters, and of the martyrs who suffered here in England.

A TABLE OF THE NAMES AND CAUSES OF SUCH MARTYRS AS GAVE THEIR LIVES FOR THE TESTIMONY OF THE GOSPEL, IN GERMANY, FRANCE, SPAIN, ITALY, AND OTHER FOREIGN COUNTRIES, SINCE LUTHER'S TIME: IN WHICH TABLE ARE CONTAINED THE PERSECUTORS, THE MARTYRS, AND THE CAUSES OF THEIR MARTYRDOM.

The Martyrs of Germany.

Of divers who suffered in Germany for the witness of the gospel partly some rehearsal is made before, as of Voes and Esch, of Sutphen, John Castellane, Peter Spengler, with a certain godly minister, and another simple man of the country, mentioned in Œcolampadius: also of them in Dithmarsch and Prague, of M. George of Halle, Gasper, Tambert, George of Vienna, Wolfgangus Schuch, John Huglius, George Carpenter, Leonard Keyser, Wendelmuta, Peter Flisteden, Adolphus Clarebach, and others. The residue follow in order of this table here to be showed.

Persecutors: Charles the Emperor; also two Servants of a Butcher, who did apprehend one Nicholas at Antwerp, A. D. 1524.

Nicholas of Antwerp, a Martyr.

The curate of Melza by Antwerp, had used to preach to a great number of people without that town. The emperor, hearing thereof, gave leave to take the uppermost garment of all them that came to hear, and offered thirty guilders, whoso would take the priest. Afterwards, when the people were gathered, and the curate not there, this Nicholas stepped up in place and preached. Wherefore he, being apprehended by these two servants of a butcher, was put in a sack, and drowned by the crane at Antwerp, A. D. 1524.

German History. A. D. 1524 to 1555.

Persecutors: Margaret, daughter of Maximilian, Princess of Holland; also M. Montane, M. Rosemund, and M. Anchusanus, inquisitors; also M. Jodocus Lovering, vicar of Mechlen, A. D. 1524.

Johannes Pistorius, a learned man of Holland, and partly of kin to Erasmus of Rotterdam, a martyr.

The story of Pistorius is largely set forth by Gnatheus. First, he was a priest; then he married; after that he preached, coming from Wittenberg. He spake against the mass and pardons, and against the subtle abuses of priests. He was committed to prison with ten malefactors, whom he did comfort; and to one, being half naked, and in danger of cold, he gave his gown. His father visiting him in prison, did not dissuade him, but bade him be constant. At last he was condemned, and degraded, having a fool's coat put upon him. His fellow-prisoners at his death sung 'Te Deum.' Coming to the stake, he gave his neck willingly to the band, wherewith he was first strangled, and then burned, saying at his death, 'O death, where is thy victory?' [1 Cor. xv.]

Persecutor: Sebastian Braitestein, abbot. In Suevia, A. D. 1525.

Matthias Weibell, Schoolmaster, a Martyr.

For saying somewhat against the abbot's first mass, and against the carrying about relics; through procurement of the abbot, he was hanged by Campidonium in Suevia.

Persecutors: Certain Noblemen, after the commotion of the Countrymen in Germany, A. D. 1525.

A certain Godly Priest, a Martyr.

This priest being commanded to come and give good counsel to sixteen countrymen that should be beheaded, afterwards was bid himself to kneel down to have his head cut off; no cause nor condemnation further being laid against him, but only from mere hatred against the gospel.[1]

Persecutor: The name of the Persecutor appears not in the Story.

George Scherter, a Martyr, at Radstat, by Saltsburg. A. D. 1528.

After this George had instructed the people in knowledge of the gospel in Radstat, ten miles distant from Saltsburg, he was accused by his adversaries, and put in prison, where he wrote a confession of his faith, which Matthias Illiricus hath set out with his whole story. He was condemned to be burned alive; but means were made, that first his head should be cut off, and his body afterwards be cast into the fire. Going towards his death, he said, crying aloud, 'That you may know,' said he, 'that I die a true Christian, I will give you a manifest sign;' and so he did by the power of the Lord: for when his head was taken off from his shoulders, the body, falling upon his belly, so continued the space while one might well eat an egg. After that, softly it turned itself upon the back, and crossed the right foot over the left; at the sight whereof, they that saw it were in a great marvel. The magistrates, who before had appointed to have burned the body after his beheading, seeing this miracle, would not burn it, but buried it with other christian men's bodies; and many by that example were moved to believe the gospel. Thus God is able to manifest the truth of his gospel in the midst of persecution, who is to be blessed for ever. Amen.

A strange miracle of God in manifesting his gospel.

Persecutor: Balthasar, official.

Henry Fleming at Dornick,[2] 1535, a Martyr.

This Henry a friar, sometime of Flanders, forsook his habit, and married a wife; who, being offered life of Balthasar, if he would confess his wife to be a harlot, denied so to do, and so was burnt at Dornick.

(1) Ex Johan. Gastia. (2) 'Dornick,' Tournay.—Ed.

Persecutor: A Popish Priest, and a wicked Murderer. A good Priest dwelling not far from Basil, 1539, a Martyr.

There was a certain wicked priest, a notorious adulterer, a dicer, and a vile drunkard, given to all wickedness and ungraciousness, without all fear, regarding nothing what mischief he did: moreover, a man fit and ready to serve the affection of the papists at all turns. It chanced that this priest was received and lodged in the house of another priest dwelling not far from Basil, who was a good man, and a sincere favourer of the gospel.

This drunken priest, sitting at supper, was so drunk, that he could not tell what he did, or else feigned himself so drunk on purpose, the better to accomplish his intended mischief. So it followed, that this wretch, after his first sleep, rose out of his bed, and brake all the glass windows in his chamber, threw down the stone, and rent all his host's books that he found. The host, awaking with the noise thereof, came to him, asking him how he did? whether there were any thieves or enemies that he was in fear of? desiring him to show what he ailed. But as soon as the good host had opened his chamber-door, the wicked cut-throat ran at him with his sword to slay him. The host, after the wound received, fell down and died. Upon this a clamour was made through all the street, and the neighbours coming in, the murderer was taken and bound: and yet all the friends and kinsfolks that the good priest had, could not make that miserable caitif, that was the murderer, to be executed; the superior powers did so take his part, saying, that he should be sent to his bishop. The townsmen did grievously cry out and complain at the bolstering out such manifest villany: so did also the nobleman, that was the lord of the page, saying, that so many good men and married priests were drowned and beheaded for such small trifles, without any regard had to the bishop; but a murderer might escape unpunished. It was answered to them again, that what the superior powers would do, they had nothing to do withal: the time was otherwise now, than it was in the commotion of the rustical people. The superior power had authority to govern as they would (said they); it was their parts only to obey. And so was he sent bound to the bishop, and shortly after dismissed, having also a greater benefice given him for his worthy act; for he so avaunted himself, that he had slain a Lutheran priest.[1]

A good priest martyred in his own house.

Persecutors: Charles, the Emperor's procurator; Dr. Enchusanus inquisitor; and Latomus. Twenty-eight Christian Men and Women of Louvain, A. D. 1543, Martyrs.

When certain of the city of Louvain were suspected of Lutheranism, the emperor's procurator came thither from Brussels to make inquisition. After this inquisition made, certain bands of armed men came and beset their houses in the night, where many were taken in their beds, plucked from their wives and children, and divided into divers prisons; through the terror whereof, many citizens revolted from the doctrine of the gospel, and returned again to idolatry. But twenty-eight there were who remained constant in that persecution; unto whom the doctors of Louvain, Enchusanus the inquisitor especially, and Latomus sometimes, with others, came and disputed; thinking no less, but either to confound them, or to convert them. But so strongly the spirit of the Lord wrought with his saints, that the others rather went confounded away themselves.

When no disputation could serve, that which lacked in cunning, they supplied with torments, by enforcing and afflicting them severally every one by himself. Among the rest there was one Paul a priest, about the age of sixty years; whom the rectors of the university, with their colleagues, accompanied with a great number of bills and glaves, brought out of prison to the Austin Friars, where, after many foul words of the rector, he was degraded. But, at length, for fear of death, he began to stagger in some points of his confession, and so was had out of Louvain, and condemned to perpetual prison, which was a dark and stinking dungeon; where he was suffered neither to read nor write, nor any man to come at him; commanded only to be fed with bread and water. After

(1) Ex tom. ii. Convivalium Sermonum Johan. Gastii et ex Pantal.

German History. that, other two were there, who, because they had revoked before, were put to the fire and burnt, constantly taking their martyrdom.

A. D. 1524 to 1555. Then was there an old man, and two aged women brought forth: of whom the one was called Antonia, born of an ancient stock in that city. These also were condemned, the man to be beheaded, the two women to be buried quick; which death they received likewise very cheerfully. Certain of the other prisoners who were not condemned to death, were deprived of their goods, commanded in a white sheet to come to the church, and there kneeling, with a taper in their hand, to ask forgiveness: and they that refused so to do, and to abjure the doctrine of Luther, were put to the fire.[1]

Two martyrs burned at Louvain.

Persecutor: The name of the Persecutor appeareth not in the Story. Master Perseval, a Martyr at Louvain, A. D. 1544.

Not long after this there was one Master Perseval, in the same university of Louvain, singularly well learned, who for reprehending certain popish superstitions, and something speaking in commendation of the gospel, was thrown into prison. Then being accused of Lutheranism, because he stood to the same, and would not condescend to the pope's erroneous faction, he was adjudged to perpetual prison, there to be fed only with bread and water; which punishment he took patiently for Christ's sake: nevertheless certain citizens, taking compassion of him, sent him wine and beer. But his keepers being charged under a great penalty, durst let nothing come unto him. At last what became of him no man could learn, or understand. Some judge that he was either famished for hunger, or else that he was secretly drowned.[2]

Persecutor: Dorsardus, a Potestate in that Country, and a great Persecutor. Justus Imsberg, a Martyr at Brussels, A. D. 1544.

Justus Imsberg, a skinner of Louvain, being suspected of Lutheranism, was found in his house to have the New Testament, and certain sermons of Luther; for which he was committed, and the gaoler commanded that he should speak with none. There were at the same time in the lower prison under him, Giles,[3] and Francis Encenas a Spaniard; who secretly, having the doors left open, came to him, and confirmed him in the cause of righteousness. Thus is the providence of the Lord never lacking to his saints in time of necessity. Shortly after came the doctors and masters of Louvain, to examine him of certain articles touching religion, as of the pope's supremacy, sacrifice of the mass, purgatory, and of the sacrament. Whereunto when he had answered plainly and boldly, after the Scriptures, and would in no wise be removed, he was condemned to the fire: but through intercession made to the queen, his burning was pardoned, and he was only beheaded.[4]

Francis Encenas, prisoner.

Justus perit de terra.

Persecutor: The Parson of Brussels. Giles Tilleman, a Martyr at Brussels, A. D. 1544.

This Giles was born in Brussels, of honest parents. By his occupation he was brought up from his youth to be a cutler. In this occupation he was so expert and cunning, that he waxed thereby rich and wealthy. Coming to the age of thirty, he began to receive the light of the gospel, through the reading of the holy Scripture, and increased therein exceedingly. And as in zeal he was fervent, so was he of nature humane, mild, and pitiful, passing all others in those parts. Whatsoever he had that necessity could spare, he gave it away to the poor, and only lived by his science. Some he refreshed with his meat; some with clothing; to some he gave his shoes; some he helped with household stuff, to others he ministered wholesome exhortation of good doctrine. One poor woman there was brought to bed, and had no bed to lie in, to whom he brought his own bed, himself contented to lie in the straw.

Good works going with a lively faith.

The said Giles being detected by a priest or parson of Brussels, was taken at Louvain for that religion which the pope doth call heresy; where his adversaries extended great care and diligence to reduce him to their doctrine, and

(1) Ex Fran. Encenate. (2) Ibid.
(3) Giles Tilleman mentioned immediately after as a martyr.—Ed. (4) Ex Fran. Encenate.

to make him abjure. But as he was a man well reasoned, and singularly witted, they went away many times with shame. Thus being detained eight months in prison, he was sent to Brussels to be judged; where he comforted divers who were there in prison (among whom was also Francis Encenas), exhorting them to the constancy of the truth, unto the crown which was prepared for them. At the table he ministered unto them all, being contented himself with a few scraps which they left. In his prayers he was so ardent, kneeling by himself in some secret place, that he seemed to forget himself. Being called many times to meat, he neither heard nor saw them that stood by him, till he was lifted up by the arms; and then gently he would speak unto them as one waked out of a sweet sleep.

German History. A. D. 1524 to 1555.

The humble heart of Giles. Fervency of prayer.

Certain of the Grey Friars sometimes were sent unto him by two and two, to reduce him; but he would always desire them to depart from him, for he was at a point; and when the friars at any time did miscall him, he ever held his peace at such private injuries; insomuch that those blasphemers would say abroad, that he had a dumb devil in him. But when they talked of any religion, there he spared not, but answered them fully by evidences of the Scripture, in such sort, that divers times they would depart marvelling. At sundry times he might have escaped, the doors being set open, but he would not, for bringing his keeper in peril.

Blasphemy of the papists.

At length, about the month of January, he was brought to another prison, to be constrained with torments to confess purgatory, and to utter more of his fellows: but no enforcement would serve. Wherefore, upon the 22d of January, he was condemned to the fire, but privily, contrary to the use of the country; for openly they durst not condemn him for fear of the people, so well was he beloved. When tidings of the sentence came unto him, he gave hearty thanks unto God, that the hour was come when he might glorify the Lord.

As he was brought to the place of burning, where he saw a great heap of wood piled, he required the greater part thereof to be taken away, and to be given to the poor: a little (said he) would suffice him. Also seeing a poor man coming by, as he went, that lacked shoes, he gave his shoes unto him; better (said he) so to do, than to have his shoes burnt, and the poor to perish for cold. Standing at the stake, the hangman was ready to strangle him before; but he would not, saying, that there was no such need that his pain should be mitigated; 'For I fear not,' said he, 'the fire; do thou therefore as thou art commanded.' And thus the blessed martyr, lifting up his eyes to heaven in the middle of the flame, died, to the great lamentation of all that stood by. After that time, when the friars of that city would go about for their alms, the people would say, It was not meet for them to receive alms with bloody hands. This history you shall find more copiously described in Francis Encenas.[1]

The zeal of the people against the bloody friars.

Great Persecution in Gaunt, and other parts of Flanders, by the Friars and Priests thereof;

As Charles the emperor did lie in Gaunt, the friars and doctors there obtained, that the edict made against the Lutherans, might be read openly twice a year. This being obtained, great persecution followed, so that there was no city nor town in all Flanders, wherein some either were not expulsed, or beheaded, or condemned to perpetual prison, or had not their goods confiscated: neither was there any respect for age or sex. At Gaunt especially, many there were of the head men, who, for religion sake, were burned.[2]

Afterwards the emperor coming to Brussels, there was terrible slaughter and persecution of God's people, namely, in Brabant, Hennegow,[3] and Artois; the horror and cruelty whereof is almost incredible: insomuch that at one time as good as two hundred men and women together were brought out of the country about into the city, of whom some were drowned, some buried quick, some privily made away, others sent to perpetual prison: whereby all the prisons and towers thereabout were replenished with prisoners and captives, and the hands of the hangman tired with slaying and killing; to the great sorrow of all those who knew the gospel, being now compelled either to deny the same, or to confirm it with their blood. The story hereof is at large set forth by Francis

(1) Ex Franc. Encen. (2) Ibid. (3) 'Hennegow,' probably Henneberg.—Ed.

German History. Encenas, a notable learned man, who also himself was prisoner the same time at Brussels: whose book, written in Latin, I myself have seen and read, remaining in the hands of John Oporine at Basil.[1]

A. D. 1524 to 1555.

Persecutors: The Franciscan Friars of Gaunt.

Martin Hœurblock, Fishmonger at Gaunt, a Martyr, A.D. 1545.

This Martin ever almost to his later age, was a man much given to all wickedness and fleshly life so long as he continued a follower of the pope's superstition and idolatry. Afterward (as God hath always his calling) through the occasion of a sermon of his parish priest, beginning to taste some workings of grace and repentance of his former life, he went out of Gaunt for the space of three months, seeking the company of godly Christians, such as he heard to use the reading of the Scriptures: by whom he, being more groundedly instructed, returned again to the city of Gaunt, where all his neighbours first began to marvel at the sudden change of this man. The Franciscans, who knew him before so beneficial unto those, now seeing him so altered from their ways and superstition, and seeing him to visit the captives in prison, to comfort them in persecution, and to confirm those in the word of God who went to the fire, conspired against him: whereby he was detected and laid in bands.

After that, with sharp and grievous torments they would have constrained him to utter others of the same religion. To whom thus he answered: that if they could prove by the Scripture that his detecting and accusing of his brethren, whom they would afflict with the like torments, were not against the second table of God's law, then he would not refuse to prefer the honour of God before the safeguard of his brethren. Then the friars examined him in the sacrament, asking him why he was so earnest to have it in both kinds, 'seeing,' said they, 'it is but a naked sacrament, as you say?' To whom he answered, that the elements thereof were naked, but the sacrament was not naked, forasmuch as the said elements of bread and wine, being received after the institution of Christ, do now make a sacrament and a mystical representation of the Lord's body, communicating himself with our souls. And as touching the receiving in both kinds, because it is the institution of the Lord, 'Who is he,' said Martin, 'that dare alter the same?' Then was he brought before the council of Flanders. The causes laid against him were the sacrament, purgatory, and praying for the dead; for which he was condemned and burned at Gaunt, in Verle-place, all his goods being confiscated. As he stood at the stake, a Franciscan friar said to him, 'Martin, unless thou dost turn, thou shalt go from this fire to everlasting fire.' 'It is not in you,' said Martin again, 'to judge.' For this the friars afterwards were so hated, that many bills and rhymes were set forth in divers places against them.[2]

Persecutors: The Council of Flanders.

Nicholas Vanpole, and John de Bruck and his wife; Martyrs at Gaunt, A.D. 1545.

The next day after the burning of Martin aforesaid, which was the 9th of May, these three also were burned for the same causes for which the other was condemned and burned the day before; but only that the woman was buried alive. All of them took their martyrdom joyfully and with much cheerfulness.

Persecutors: the same Council.

Ursula, and Maria, virgins of noble stock, Martyrs at Delden, A. D. 1545.

Delden is a town in Lower Germany, three miles from Deventer, where these two virgins of noble parentage were burned; who, after diligent frequenting of churches and sermons, being instructed in the word of the Lord, defended,

(1) John Oporine, or "Johannes Opirinus," was the printer of Foxe's Latin Edition of the Acts and Monuments, published at Basle in 1559.—Ed.
(2) Ex Pantaleon.

that seeing the benefit of our salvation cometh only by our faith in Christ, all the other merchandise of the pope, which he useth to sell to the people for money, was needless. First Mary, being the younger, was put to the fire; where she prayed ardently for her enemies, commending her soul to God; at whose constancy the judges did greatly marvel.

Then they exhorted Ursula to turn, or if she would not, at least that she should require to be beheaded. To whom she said, that she was guilty of no error, nor defended any thing but what was consonant to the Scripture, in which she trusted to persevere unto the end. And as touching the kind of punishment, she said, she feared not the fire, but rather would follow the example of her dear sister that went before. This was marvellous, that the executioners could in no wise consume their bodies with fire, but left them whole, lying upon the ground white; which certain good Christians privily took up in the night, and buried. Thus God many times showeth his power in the midst of tribulations.[1]

A miraculous work of God, in the dead bodies of these two virgins.

Persecutors: The Parson of St. Katharine's; Dr. Tapert; and William Clericken, Ruler of Mechelen.

Andreas Thiessen, and Katharine his wife; also Nicholas Thiessen, and Francis Thiessen, their sons, Martyrs at Mechelen, A.D. 1545.

Andrew Thiessen, citizen of Mechelen, of his wife Katharine had three sons and a daughter, whom he instructed diligently in the doctrine of the gospel, and despised the doings of popery: wherefore being hated and persecuted by the friars and priests there, he went into England and there died. Francis and Nicholas, his two sons, went to Germany to study; and returning again to their mother, and sister, and younger brother, by diligent instruction brought them to the right knowledge of God's gospel. This being not unknown to the parson there of St. Katharine's, he called to them Drs. Rupert and Tapert, and other masters and friars, who taking counsel together with William Clericken, the head magistrate of the town of Mechelen, agreed that the mother with her four children should be sent to prison, separated one from another; where great labour was employed to reclaim them home unto their church, that is, from light to darkness again. The two younger, to wit, the daughter with the younger brother, being not yet settled either in years or doctrine, something inclined to them, and were delivered. The mother, who would not consent, was condemned to perpetual prison. The other two, Francis and Nicholas, standing firmly to their confession, defended that the catholic church was not the church of Rome; that the sacrament was to be administered in both kinds; that auricular confession was to no purpose; that invocation of saints was to be left; that there was no purgatory. The friars they called hypocrites, and contemned their threatenings. The magistrates, after disputations, fell to torments, to know of them who was their Master, and what fellows they had. Their Master, they said, was Christ who bare his cross before. Fellows, they said, they had innumerable, dispersed in all places. At last they were brought to the judges: their articles were read, and they condemned to be burned. Coming to the place of execution, as they began to exhort the people, gags, or balls of wood, were thrust into their mouths, which they, through vehemency in speaking, thrust out again, desiring for the Lord's sake that they might have leave to speak. And so, singing with a loud voice 'Credo in unum Deum,' &c. they went, and were fastened to the stake, praying for their persecutors; and exhorting the one the other, they did abide the fire patiently. The one feeling the flame to come to his beard, 'Ah!' said he, 'what a small pain is this, to be compared to the glory to come?' Thus the patient martyrs, committing their spirits to the hands of God, to the great admiration of the lookers on, through constancy achieved the crown of martyrdom.[2]

Francis and Nicholas constant in Christ.

Persecutors: The names of their accusers appear not in the authors.

Marion, wife of Adrian Taylor, Martyr, at Dornick, A.D. 1545.

In the same persecution against Bruley and his company in Dornick, was apprehended also one Adrian, and Marion his wife. The cause of their trouble,

(1) Ex Lud. Rab.; Pantal. &c. (2) Ex Phil. Melancth.

German History. A.D. 1524 to 1555.

as also of the others, was the emperor's decree made in the council of Worms against the Lutherans mentioned before. Adrian, not so strong as a man, for fear gave back from the truth, and was but only beheaded. The wife, stronger than a woman, did withstand their threats, and abide the uttermost; and being inclosed in an iron grate formed in shape of a pasty, was laid in the earth and buried quick, after the usual punishment of that country for women. When the adversaries first told her that her husband had relented, she believed them not; and therefore, as she went to her death, passing by the tower where he was, she called to him to take her leave; but he was gone before.[1]

Marion buried quick.

Persecutors: The Magistrates of Dornick or Tournay.
Master Peter Bruley, Preacher, a Martyr, at Dornick, A.D. 1545.

Master Peter Bruley was preacher in the French church at Strasburg, who at the earnest request of faithful brethren came down to visit the lower countries about Artois and Dornick, in Flanders; where he most diligently preached the word of God unto the people in houses, the doors standing open. Whereupon when the magistrates of Dornick had shut the gates of the town, and had made search for him three days, he was privily let down the wall in the night by a basket: and as he was let down to the ditch ready to take his way, one of them that let him down, leaning over the wall to bid him farewell, caused unawares a stone to slip out of the wall, which falling upon him brake his leg, by reason whereof he was heard of the watchmen complaining of his wound, and so was taken, giving thanks to God, by whose providence he was there staid to serve the Lord in that place. So long as he remained in prison, he ceased not to supply the part of a diligent preacher, teaching, and confirming all them that came to him in the word of grace. Being in prison, he wrote his own confession and examination, and sent it to the brethren. He wrote also another epistle unto them that were in persecution; another also to all the faithful; also another letter to his wife, the same day that he was burned. He remained in prison four months. His sentence was given by the emperor's commissioners at Brussels, that he should be burned to ashes, and his ashes thrown into the river. Although the priests and friars made the fire but small, to multiply his pain, yet he the more cheerfully and constantly took his martyrdom, and suffered it. The letters of Duke Frederic, and of the Landgrave, came to entreat for him; but he was burned a little before the letters came.[2]

God's secret working in disposing the ways of his servants.

The martyrdom of Bruley.

Persecutors: The Senate of Dornick, and Doctor Hasarde, a Grey Friar.
Peter Miocius, a Silk-weaver, and one Bergiban, Martyrs, at Dornick, A.D. 1545.

The coming of Master Peter Bruley into the country of Flanders, did exceeding much good among the brethren, as appeared by divers other good men, and namely by this Peter Miocius, who was, by his occupation, a silk-weaver. This Peter, before he was called to the gospel, led a wicked life, given to much ungraciousness, and almost to all kinds of vice. But after the taste of the gospel began to work in him, so clean it altered him from that former man, that he excelled all others in godly zeal and virtue. In his first examination he was asked, whether he was one of the scholars of Peter Bruley? He said he was, and that he had received much fruit by his doctrine. 'Wilt thou then defend his doctrine,' said they? 'Yea,' said he, 'for that it is consonant both to the Old Testament and to the New.' And for this he was let down into a deep dungeon under the castle-ditch, full of toads and filthy vermin. Shortly after, the senate, with certain friars, came again to examine him, to see whether they could convert him: to whom he answered and said, that when he before had lived such an ungodly life, they never spake a word against him; but now, for savouring and favouring the word of God, they were so inveterate against him, that they sought his blood. Among them was one Dr. Hasarde, who asked him if he did not seem to himself more wicked now, than ever he was before? But he,

Cruelty showed on Christ's servants

(1) Ex Pantal lib. iv. [p. 100.—Ed.]
(2) Ex Lud. Rab. lib. vi. [apud Pantal. pp. 84—96.—Ed.]

setting the friar at light, bade him 'Avaunt friar!' saying, that he had to talk with the senate, and not with him. The senate then began to examine him of certain articles of religion. To whom, as he was about to answer boldly and expressly to every point, they interrupting him, bade him say in two words, either yea or nay. 'Then,' said he, 'if ye will not suffer me to answer for myself in matters of such importance, send me to my prison again, among my toads and frogs, which will not interrupt me, while I talk with my Lord and my God.' The boldness of his spirit and courage, as it made some to gnash their teeth, so some it made to wonder, and ministered to some great confirmation. *German History.* A. D. 1524 to 1555.

There was also one Bergiban at the same time in prison, who had been a forward man, and a great doer in the gospel, before the coming down of Bruley; who, being also sought for at the taking of Bruley, and being then not found at home (either by chance not knowing, or else he conveyed himself out of the way for fear), conceived thereof such sorrow in his mind, that afterwards neither his wife nor children, nor any friends else could stay him, but he would needs offer himself to the judges, saying unto the ruler, being asked why he came, 'The magistrates came to seek me,' said he, 'and now I am come to know what they would.' Hereupon the ruler, being sorry for his coming, yet, notwithstanding, committed him to prison, where he remained constant a certain while. But after the commissioners had threatened him with cruel torments, and horror of death, he began by little and little to waver and shrink from the truth. At the fair words of the false friars and priests (to have his punishment changed, and to be beheaded), he was fain to grant unto their biddings and requests; whereupon the adversaries, taking their advantage, came to Miocius, and told him of Bergiban's retractation; willing him to do the like. But he, stoutly persisting in the truth, endured to the fire, where he, having powder put to his breast, was so put to death and dispatched. The friars, hearing the crack of the powder upon his breast, told the people, that the devil came out of him and carried away his soul.[1]

Persecutor: A certain Prince in Germany, about Hungary, or the parts of Panonia.
A Priest of Germany, a Martyr.

Johannes Gastius writeth of a prince, but doth not name him, who put out the eyes of a certain priest in Germany for no other cause, but for that he said the mass to be no sacrifice, in the sense that many priests do take it. Neither did the cruel prince immediately put him to death, but first kept him in prison a long time, afflicting him with divers torments. Then he was brought forth to be degraded, after a barbarous and tyrannous manner. First, they shaved the crown of his head; then rubbed it hard with salt, that the blood came running down his shoulders. After that they rased and pared the tops of his fingers with cruel pain, that no savour of the holy oil might remain. At last the patient and godly martyr, four days after, yielded up his life and spirit.[2] The martyrdom of a good priest.

Persecutors: Alphonsus Diazius, a Spaniard; Petrus Malvenda, the Pope's Prolocutor at Ratisbon, a Spaniard; the Emperor's Confessor, a Black Friar, a Spaniard; also Marquina.
John Diazius, Spaniard, a Martyr, killed by his own Brother at Neoberg, in Germany, A.D. 1546.

Of this John Diazius, the full process and history is set forth in Latin, wherein the whole circumstance is debated at large, whereof the brief sum is this: John Diazius, a Spaniard born, first being at Paris thirteen years, from thence removed to Geneva, then to Basil, and after to Strasburg: from whence he was sent ambassador with Bucer and others, to the council at Ratisbon, where he, talking with Peter Malvenda his countryman, the pope's factor, so declared his religion unto him, that Malvenda wrote to the friar, who was the emperor's confessor touching the said John Diazius; at the opening and reading of which letters, one Marquina, another Spaniard, was present. Upon this Alphonsus Diazius came from Rome to kill his brother.

(1) Ex Lud. Rab. et aliis. (2) Ex Johan. Gastio, Conviv. Sermo. lib. ii.

German History

A. D. 1524 to 1555.

it followed, whether by this confessor, or by Marquina, that Alphonsus Diazius, brother to John Diazius, who was one of the pope's lawyers in Rome, had knowledge given him of his brother John.

When the communication of Ratisbon was dissolved and broken up, John Diazius, from Ratisbon, went to the city of Neoberg, within the dominion of Otto, Henry Palatine, about the expedition of Bucer's book there to be printed. As John Diazius was there occupied, it was not long before Alphonsus, his brother, was come from Rome to Ratisbon, where Malvenda was, bringing with him a pestilent cut-throat, a notorious ruffian or homicide, belonging to the city of Rome. Malvenda and Alphonsus, consulting together about the dispatch of their devilish purpose, first laboured to hunt out, by the friends of Diazius, where Diazius was; whereof Alphonsus and the homicide having knowledge by certain of his secret friends, pretending great matters of importance, came to Neoberg, where Diazius was printing of Bucer's book; where after long debating of matters of religion between the two brethren, Alphonsus, seeing the heart of his brother John to be so constantly planted on the sure rock of God's truth, that by no wise he could either be removed from his opinion, or persuaded to ride in his company (being otherwise counselled by Bucer and his friends), feigned himself friendly to take his leave of his brother, and to depart: but shortly after, secretly, with his ruffianly murderer, he returned again; and by the way they bought a certain hatchet of a carpenter.

This done, Alphonsus sendeth his man, being disguised, with letters unto his brother, he himself following after. As John Diazius in the morning was risen out of his bed to read the letters, the wretched hangman, with his hatchet, clove his head unto the brains, leaving the hatchet in his head: and so he, with Alphonsus, took them to their horses, which stood without the city gate, with as much speed as they might. They of Neoberg, hearing of the horrible act, sent out certain horsemen, making great journeys after them; who, coming to Augsburg, and hearing the murderers to be passed before, were out of hope to overtake them, and so returned. One in the company, more zealous than the rest, would not return, but pursued them still, and, in the city of Œnipont, caused them to be stayed, and put in prison. Otto, palatine, hearing of their taking, writeth to the magistrates of Œnipont for judgment; which magistrates at first seemed very willing thereunto; but, in conclusion, through the practice of papists, and crafty lawyers, the sentence judicial was so delayed from day to day, then from hour to hour, that the emperor's letter came in post-haste, requiring the matter to be staid, and reserved to his hearing. And thus the terrible murder of Cain and his fellow was bolstered out by the papists; the like whereof, from the memory of men, was never heard of since the first example of Cain, who, for religion, slew his own brother Abel. But although true judgment in this world be perverted, yet such bloody Cains, with their wilful murders, shall not escape the hands of Him, who shall judge truly both the committers, and the bolsterers also, of all mischievous wickedness.[1]

Diazius slain by his own brother.

God will have murder known.

Cain still killeth Abel.

In the year 1546, Charles the emperor held an armed council at Augsburg, after his victory gotten in Germany. Here Julius Pflug, Michael Sidonius, and John Islebius, going about to concord together the gospel of Christ with the traditions of the pope, that is, to make a hodge-podge of them both, drew and framed out a new form of religion, called 'Interim;' whereupon began a new matter of persecution in Germany. For the emperor proceeded straitly against them who would not receive his Interim, intending thereby to have wrought some great mastery against the gospellers; but the Lord disappointed his purpose.

'Interim.'

Among those who withstood this Spanish 'Interim,' besides others, were also the citizens of Constance; for which three thousand Spaniards, privily by night, came against the town of Constance, where they killed three of the watchmen of the town, who, watching in the suburbs, went forth to view the noise which they heard in the woods. The device of the Spaniards was, in the morning, when the citizens were at the sermon, suddenly to set upon the city and take it: so, no doubt, intending to have gone further. But, as the Lord would, something began to be suspected in the night, by the watchmen on the suburbs on the other side the water, whereby the council and citizens

Assaults of the Spaniards against Constance

(1) Ex Claudio Senarcleo: [i. e. "Historia vera de morte Jo. Diazii, quem frater ejus Germanus Alphonsus Diazius nefarie interfecit; per A. Senarclœum; 8vo. (no place): 1546.—Ed.]

had intelligence to be in readiness. When the morning came, the Spaniards were ready at the gate, to break into the city. But being driven from thence, and their captain Alphonsus slain, they went to the bridge which goeth over the Rhine. But being beaten also from thence with shot, and great pieces from the walls, and a great number of them drowned in the river, the Spaniards, breaking down the hinder part of the bridge, because the citizens should not pursue them, recoiled back into the suburbs, and burned them with the dead bodies also that were slain; so that the number of the Spaniards that were killed there could not be known: only a hundred honest citizens were missing.[1]

German History. A. D. 1524 to 1555.

At the same time many godly ministers of the churches in Germany, were in great danger, especially such as refused to receive the Interim; of whom some were cast into prison. In this number of prisoners, was Martin Frectius, superintendent of Ulm, with four other preachers more: also his brother George, for but coming to his house to comfort him. For this cause Musculus at the same time, with other preachers more, went from Augsburg; Brentius from Halle, Blaurer from Constance, Bucer from Strasburg.

Persecutor: A Bishop in Hungary.
A godly Priest in Hungary, a Martyr.

In Hungary a certain godly priest preached, that the eating of flesh is not prohibited in the Scripture; for which the cruel bishop, after he had imprisoned him certain weeks, caused him to be brought out, and his body to be tied over with hares, geese, and hens, hanging round about him: and so the beastly bishop made dogs to be set upon him, which cruelly rent and tore whatsoever they could catch. And thus the good minister of Christ, being driven about the city with the barking of dogs, died, and was martyred. The sight thereof as it was lamentable to the godly, so it seemed ridiculous to the wicked. But, within few days after, the impious bishop, by the stroke of God's just hand, fell sick and became horn-mad, and so raving without sense or wit, miserably died.[2]

Just punishment of God upon a cruel persecutor.

Persecutor: Charles, the Emperor.
John Frederic of Saxony, Elector, A. D. 1547, Martyr.

Among these godly and constant saints of Christ, may well be recounted John Frederic, duke of Saxony; who, when he had recovered again all his dominions (which duke Maurice had taken from him before, being in Suevia with his army), and at last was taken prisoner by the emperor at Albia, the 24th of April, A. D. 1547, yet could never be induced to yield to the emperor in revoking his faith and doctrine of the gospel wherein he stood. For this he was detained from his wife and children, and bereaved of all his goods, and carried about with the emperor for the space of five years. This admirable constancy of the duke was a wonder to all his adversaries. At last, A. D. 1552, through the benefit of Almighty God, he was again set at liberty, and returning home to his wife and children, continued in his religion till the hour of his death.[3]

Persecutor: Charles the Emperor, and Mary, his Sister.
The Landgrave of Hesse, A.D. 1547, Martyr.

Much like was the case also of Philip, landgrave of Hesse, who likewise, being taken and spoiled by the emperor, continued the space of five years in the cruel custody of the Spaniards; and albeit he had fined unto the emperor, and was promised to be set free out of prison, the emperor and his council, dallying with their promise, expounded his imprisonment not to be perpetual. And though great labour and intercession was made for him, yet all would not help: for when the emperor sent him away, then Mary, the emperor's sister, took him by the way, finding cavillations against him; whereby he was again committed into the hands of the Spaniards, till at length, through the disposing of God's mercy,

(1) Ex Johan. Sleid. lib. xxi. (2) Ex tom. ii. Conviv. Sermonum Johan. Gastii.
(3) Ex Johan. Sleid. lib. xix.

German History. first the duke of Saxony, and then six days after, the landgrave also, were both freed out of long captivity and sent home.[1]

A.D. 1524 to 1555.

Persecutor. Charles the Emperor.
Herman, Archbishop of Cologne, Martyr, A.D. 1547.

With these holy martyrs above recited may also be numbered Herman, archbishop of Cologne, who, a little before the emperor had war against the Protestants, had reformed his church from certain papistical superstitions, using therein the aid and advice of Martin Bucer. Wherefore Charles the emperor sent word to Cologne, that he should be deposed; which he patiently did suffer. In his room was set Adolphus, earl of Scauvenburg.[2]

Persecutor: The President or Mayor of Dornick.
Master Nicholas Frenchman; also Marion, wife of Augustine, a Barber, Martyrs, A.D. 1549.

Master Nicholas and Barbara his wife; also Augustine, a barber, and Marion his wife, born about Hennegow, after they had been at Geneva a space, came into Germany, thinking that way to pass over into England. By the way, coming to Hennegow, Augustine desired Master Nicholas, because he was learned, to come to Bergis[3] to visit and comfort certain brethren there: which he willingly did. From thence, passing by Dornick (or Tournay) they held on their journey toward England. But in the way Augustine and his wife, being known, were detected to the lieutenant of Dornick, who, in all speedy haste following after them, overtook them four miles beyond Dornick. Augustine (how I cannot tell) escaped that time out of their hands, and could not be found. The soldiers then, laying hands upon Nicholas and the two women, brought them back again unto Dornick. In returning by the way, when Master Nicholas at the table gave thanks, as the manner is of the faithful, the wicked ruler, scorning them, and swearing like a tyrant, said, 'Now let us see, thou lewd heretic, whether thy God can deliver thee out of my hand.' To whom Nicholas, answering again modestly, asked, What had Christ ever offended him, that he with his blasphemous swearing did so tear him in pieces? desiring him, that if he had any thing against Christ, rather he would wreak his anger upon his poor body, and let the Lord alone. Thus they, being bound hands and feet, were brought to Bergis, and there laid in the dungeon. Then duke Ariscote, accompanied with a great number of priests and Franciscan friars, and with a doctor, who was their warden, came to talk with them. Nicholas, standing in the midst of them, being asked what he was, and whither he would; answered them perfectly to all their questions: and moreover, so confounded the friars, that they went away ashamed, saying, that he had a devil, and crying, 'To the fire with him, Lutheran!'

Blasphemy of a papist.

The friars confounded.

As they continued still looking for the day of their execution, it came to the rulers' minds to ask of Nicholas in what house he was lodged, when he came to Bergis? Nicholas said, He had never been there before; and therefore, being a stranger, he could not tell the name of the house. When Nicholas would confess nothing, duke Ariscotus came to Barbara, the wife of Nicholas, to know where they were lodged at Bergis, promising many fair words of delivery, if she would tell. She being a weak and timorous woman, uttered all; by the occasion whereof great persecution followed, and many were apprehended. Where this is to be noted, that shortly even upon the same, the son of the said duke Ariscotus was slain, and buried the same day when Augustine was burned. To be brief, Nicholas shortly after was brought before the judges, and there condemned to be burned to ashes; at which sentence-giving, Nicholas blessed the Lord, who had counted him worthy to be a witness in the cause of his dear and well-beloved Son. Going to the place of execution he was commanded to speak nothing unto the people, or else he should have a ball of wood thrust into his mouth. Being at the stake, and seeing a great multitude about him, forgetting his silence promised, he cried with a loud voice: 'O Charles, Charles! how long shall thy heart be hardened?' And with that one of the soldiers gave

Barbara revolteth.

God's punishment on persecutors.

Nicholas condemned.

(1) Ex Johan. Sleid. lib. xix. xxiv. (2) Ibid. lib. xviii.

(3) 'Bergis,' Berg-op-Zoom.—Ed.

him a blow. Then said Nicholas again; 'Ah miserable people! thou art not worthy, to whom the word of God should be preached.' And thus he spake as they were binding him to the stake. The friars came out with their old song, crying, that he had a devil; to whom Nicholas spake the verse of the Psalm: 'Depart from me, all ye wicked! for the Lord hath heard the voice of my weeping.' And thus this holy martyr, patiently taking his death, commended his spirit unto God in the midst of the fire.[1]

German History.

A.D. 1524 to 1555.

Marion, wife of Augustine, above mentioned, a Martyr, at Bergis in Hennegow, A.D. 1549.

After the martyrdom of this Master Nicholas, Marion, the wife of Augustine, was called for, with whom they had much talk about the manner and state of Geneva, asking her how the sacraments were administered there, and whether she had celebrated there the Lord's Supper? To whom she answered, that the sacraments there were celebrated after the Lord's institution, of which she was no celebrator but a partaker. The sentence of her condemnation was this, that she should be interred quick. When she was let down to the grave, kneeling upon her knees, she desired the Lord to help her; and before she should be thrown down, she desired her face might be covered with a napkin or some linen cloth; which being so covered, and the earth thrown upon her face and body, the hangman stamped upon her with his feet, till her breath was past.[2]

Marion buried quick.

Persecutors: The Watchmen or Soldiers of Bellimont. Augustine, the Husband of Marion, martyred at Bellimont, in Hennegow, A.D. 1549.

Ye heard before how Augustine escaped before, at the taking of Nicholas and the two women. After this he gave himself to sell spices, and other pedlary ware, from place to place: who, at length, coming to the town of Bellimont in Hennegow, there was known and detected to the magistrate; whereof he, having some intelligence before, left his ware and ran away. And seeing moreover the house beset with harnessed men where he was hosted, he began to be more afraid, and hid himself in a bush: for he was very timorous, and a weak-spirited man. But the hour being come which the Lord had appointed for him, it happened that certain standing upon the town wall, who might well see him go into the thicket or bush, gave knowledge thereof to the soldiers, who followed him to the bush, and took him. Being taken, he was had to Bergis, the head town of Hennegow, where being examined, valiantly standing to the defence of his doctrine, he answered his adversaries with great boldness.

Augustine again taken.

Herein here is to be noted and marvelled to see the work of the Lord, how this man, being before of nature so timorous, now was so strengthened with God's grace, that he nothing feared the force of all his enemies. Among others came to him the warden of the Grey Friars, with a long oration, persuading him to relent, or else he should be damned in hell-fire perpetually. To whom Augustine answering again, said, 'Prove that which you said by the authority of God's word, that a man may believe you: you say much, but you prove nothing, rather like a doctor of lies than of truth,' &c. At last, he being there condemned to be burned at Bellimont, was brought to the inn where he should take horse, where was a certain gentleman, a stranger, who, drinking to him in a cup of wine, desired him to have pity upon himself; and if he would not favour his life, yet that he would favour his own soul. To whom said Augustine, after he had thanked him for his good will, 'What care I have,' said he, 'of my soul, you may see by this, that I had rather give my body to be burned, than to do that thing that were against my conscience.' When he was come to the town of Bellimont, where he should be burned, the same day there was a great burial of the son of duke Ariscotus, who was slain a little before (as is before touched); by the occasion whereof many nobles and gentlemen were there present, who, hearing of this Augustine, came to him and talked with him. When the day came of his martyrdom, the people, being offended at his constancy, cried out to have him drawn at a horse's tail, to the place of burning: but the Lord would not

God's goodness in strengthening the weak-hearted.

Death and martyrdom of Augustine.

(1) Ex Lud. Rab.; Pant. et aliis. (2) Ibid.

German History. suffer that. In fine, being tied to the stake, and fire set unto him, heartily he prayed unto the Lord, and so in the fire patiently departed.[1]

A. D. 1524 to 1555.

A certain Woman of Augsburg, who narrowly escaped Martyrdom there; A. D. 1550.[2]

At Augsburg a certain woman there dwelling, seeing a priest to carry the host to a sick person, with taper-light (as the manner is), asked him what he meant so to go with candle-light at noon day. For this she was apprehended, and in great danger, had it not been for the earnest suit and prayer of the women of that city, and at the intercession of Mary, the emperor's sister.[3]

Two Virgins, in the Diocese of Bamberg, Martyrs, A. D. 1551.

In the diocese of Bamberg, two maids were led out to slaughter, which they sustained with patient hearts and cheerful countenances. They had garlands of straw put on their heads; whereupon the one comforted the other, going to their martyrdom, 'Seeing Christ,' said she, 'for us bare a crown of thorns, why should we stick to bear a crown of straw? no doubt but the Lord will render to us again better than crowns of gold.' Some said that they were Anabaptists; and it might be (saith Melancthon) that they had some fond opinion admired withal; yet they did hold (saith he) the foundation of the articles of our faith, and they died blessedly, in a good conscience, and knowledge of the Son of God. Few do live without errors. Flatter not yourselves, thinking yourselves so clear that you cannot err.[4]

The Christian City of Magdeburg, A. D. 1551.

Constancy to be noted in the city of Magdeburg.

When Charles the emperor had almost got all his purpose in Germany, in obtruding his religion of 'Interim' into all places, which was received by the most part of all the chief princes and cities; only the city of Magdeburg, continuing in the constancy of their doctrine reformed, refused to admit the same. Wherefore war was raised against them, their city besieged, and great violence used; so that many honest and religious citizens, for the gospel's cause, sustained great perils and danger of death. At last, when they had manfully and constantly endured such great distress and calamity the space of a whole year, through the blessed providence of Almighty God (who about the same time sent war between the French king and the emperor), honest reconciliation was made between them and the emperor, whereby they were received into favour, and suffered to enjoy their former religion quietly.[5]

Persecutors: James Hesselius, Chamberlain of Gaunt, and the Friars there.
Hostius otherwise called George, martyred at Gaunt, A. D. 1555.

This Hostius, born at Gaunt, was cunning in graving in armour and in steel. He first was in the French church here in England, during the reign of king Edward. After the coming of queen Mary, he went to Norden, in Friesland, with his wife and children. From thence, having business, he came to Gaunt, where (after a certain space that he had there continued, instructing divers of his friends) he heard that there was a Black friar, who used to preach good doctrine to the people: wherefore he, being desirous to hear, came to his sermon; where the friar, contrary to his expectation, preached in defence of transubstantiation. At the hearing of this his heart was so full, that he had much ado to refrain, while the sermon was finished. As soon as the friar was come down, he burst out and charged him with false doctrine, persuading the people, as well as he could be heard, by the Scriptures, that the bread was but a sacrament of the Lord's body. The friar, not willing to hear him, made signs unto him to depart; also the throng of the people was such, that it carried him out of the

(1) Ex Crisp. et aliis. (2) The names of the persecutors be not expressed in the story.
(3) Ex Johan. Sleid. lib. xxii. (4) Hæc Phil. Melanct.
(5) The names of their persecutors appear not in the story.

doors. He had not gone far, but Hesselius the chamberlain overtook him and carried him to prison. Then were doctors and other friars, as Pistorius, and Bunderius, brought to reason with him of the sacrament, of invocation of saints, and purgatory. He ever stood to the trial only of the Scripture, which they refused. Then was it agreed that he should declare his mind in writing, which he did. He wrote also to his wife at Emden, comforting her, and requiring her to take care of Samuel and Sarah his children. When he was condemned, he was commanded not to speak to the people. Hesselius the officer made great haste to have him dispatched; wherefore he, mildly like a lamb, praying for his enemies, gave himself to be bound, patiently taking what they would do against him: whom first they strangled, and then consumed his body, being dead, with fire. And thus was the martyrdom of Hostius.[1]

German History. A. D. 1524 to 1555.

John Frisius, Abbot in Bavaria, A. D. 1554.

John Sleidan maketh record of one John Frisius, abbot of Newstadt, within the diocese of the bishop Hirpibolensis, in Bavaria; who, being suspected of Lutheranism, was called to account of his faith: and strongly persisting in his assertions, and defending the same by the Scriptures, he was therefore displaced and removed from all his jurisdictions, the five and twentieth of June, A. D. 1554.[2]

Persecutors: The Bailiff of Hennegow; the Governor of the Town and Castle of Dornick; Peter Deventiere, Lieutenant of the said Bailiff; Philip de Cordis, chief Councillor in Criminal Causes; Nicholas Chambree; Peter Rechelier; James de Clerke; Nicholas of Fernague; Master Hermes, of Wingles, one of the Council for the said Bailiwick.

Bertrand le Blas, martyred at Dornick, A. D. 1555.

The story of Bertrand is lamentable, his torments incredible, the tyranny showed unto him horrible, the constancy of the martyr admirable. This Bertrand, being a silk-weaver, went to Wesel, for the cause of religion, who being desirous to draw his wife and children from Dornick to Wesel, came thrice from thence to persuade her to go with him thither. When she in no wise could be intreated, he, remaining a few days at home, set his house in order, and desired his wife and brother to pray that God would establish him in his enterprise that he went about. That done, he went upon Christmas-day to the high church of Dornick, where he took the cake out of the priest's hand, as he would have lifted it over his head at mass, and stamped it under his feet, saying that he did it to show the glory of that God, and what little power he hath: with other words more to the people, to persuade them that the cake or fragment of bread, was not Jesus their Saviour. At the sight hereof the people, being struck with a marvellous damp, stood all amazed. At length such a stir thereupon followed, that Bertrand could hardly escape with life.

It was not long but the noise of this was carried to the bailiff of Hennegow, and governor of the castle of Dornick, who lay sick the same time of the gout at Biesme; who, like a madman, cried out, that ever God would or could be so patient, to suffer that contumely, so to be trodden under foot of such a miser adding moreover, that he would revenge his cause in such sort, as it should be an example for ever to all posterity; and forthwith the furious tyrant commanded himself to be carried to the castle of Dornick. Bertrand being brought before him, was asked whether he repented of his fact, or whether he would so do, if it were to be done again? He answered, that if it were a hundred times to be done, he would do it; and if he had a hundred lives, he would give them in that quarrel. Then was he thrice put to the pinbank, and tormented most miserably, to utter his setters-on, which he would never do. Then proceeded they to the sentence, more like tyrants than christian men; by the tenor of which sentence, this was his punishment:

Bertrand thrice tormented.

First, he was drawn from the castle of Dornick to the market-place, having a ball of iron put in his mouth. Then he was set upon a stage, where his

(1) Ex Lud. Rab. lib. vi. (2) Ex Johan. Sleid. lib. xxv.

German History. A.D. 1524 to 1555.

right hand, wherewith he took the host, was crushed and pressed between two hot irons, with sharp iron edges fiery red, till the form and fashion of his hand was mishapen. In like manner they brought other like irons for his right foot, made fire-hot, whereunto of his own accord he put his foot, to suffer as his hand had done before, with marvellous constancy and firmness of mind. That done, they took the ball of iron out of his mouth, and cut off his tongue, who, notwithstanding, with continual crying, ceased not to call upon God; whereby the hearts of the people were greatly moved: whereupon the tormentors thrust the iron ball into his mouth again. From thence they brought him down to the lower stage, he going to the same no less cheerfully and quietly, than if no part of his body had been hurt. There his legs and his hands were bound behind him with an iron chain going about his body, and so he was let down flat upon the fire; whom the aforesaid governor, there standing by and looking on, caused to be let up again, and so down and up again, till at last the whole body was spent to ashes, which he commanded to be cast into the river. When this was done, the chapel where this mass-god was so treated, was locked up, and the board whereupon the priest stood was burnt; the marble stone also whereupon the host did light, was broken in pieces. And, finally, forasmuch as the said Bertrand had received his doctrine at Wesel, commandment was given, that no person out of that country should go to Wesel, or there occupy, under incurring the danger of the emperor's placard.[1]

His right hand and foot pressed off; his tongue cut out. His burning and martyrdom.

Two hundred Ministers of Bohemia, A.D. 1555.

Persecution in Bohemia.

The same year two hundred ministers and preachers of the gospel were banished out of Bohemia, for preaching against the superstition of the bishop of Rome, and extolling the glory of Christ.[2]

The Preachers of Locrane.

Persecution in Locrane.

Locrane is a place between the Alps, yet subject to the Helvetians. When these also had received the gospel, and the five pages of the Helvetians above mentioned were not well-pleased therewith, but would have them punished, and great contention was among the Helvetians about the same, it was concluded at length, that the ministers should be exiled; whom the Tigurines did receive.[3]

Francis Warlut, and Alexander Dayken, martyred at Dornick, A.D. 1562.

After these two good men, being born in the lower parts of Germany, had been conversant in divers reformed churches in other countries, at last, for conscience' sake, they returned home again to do good in their own country of Dornick, and thereabout. So upon a time, as the people there resorted to a back field or wood without the city, with a certain preacher, to hear the word of God, and to pray, the adversaries, having thereof some intelligence, so pursued them, that they took of them above thirty, of whom these two among the rest were apprehended; and thinking no less but that they should be burned, they began to sing psalms. At length being brought forth, first one, then the other, they were both beheaded; and whereas the judges had intended to quarter their bodies, and to set them up by the high ways, yet was it so provided, God working in the hearts of the people, that they were both committed to sepulture.[4]

Persecutor: the Earl of Lalaine.

Gillot Viver, James Faber his father-in-law, Michael Faber, son of James; also Anna, wife of Gillot, and daughter of James Faber, martyred at Valence.

These, in the cause of the gospel, suffered at Valence.

James Faber, being an old man, said, that although he could not answer or

(1) Ex Crisp. Pantal. et Adriano.
(2) Ex Johan. Sloid. lib. xxv.
(3) Ex Pantaleon.
(4) Ex Lud. Rab.

satisfy them in reasoning, yet he would constantly abide in the truth of the gospel. *German History.*

Anna his daughter, being with child, was respited. After she was delivered, she followed her husband and father in the like martyrdom! A. D. 1524 to 1555.

Michella Caignoucle, martyred at Valence, A.D. 1550.

Michella, wife of James Clerk; who was before burned, when she was offered to be married, and to be carried out of the country to some reformed church, refused so to do, but would abide the adventure of her vocation, and so was condemned with Gillot to be burned.[1]

Godfride Hamelle, martyred at Dornick, A. D. 1552.

This Godfride, a tailor, was taken and condemned at Dornick, or Tournay. When they had condemned him by the name of a heretic; 'Nay,' said he, 'not a heretic, but an unprofitable servant of Jesus Christ.' When the hangman went about to strangle him, to diminish his punishment, he refused it, saying, that he would abide the sentence that the judges had given.[2]

Besides these Germans above specified, a great number there were, both in the higher and lower countries of Germany, who were secretly drowned, or buried, or otherwise in prison made away; whose names, although they be not known to us, yet they are registered in the book of life. Furthermore, in the Dutch book of Adrian, divers other be numbered in the catalogue of these German martyrs, who likewise suffered in divers places of the lower country. The names of certain whereof be these.

Divers Martyrs in the lower Countries.

At Bergis, or Berg, in Hennegow, were burnt, A.D. 1555, John Malo, Damian Witrock, Weldrew Calier; buried quick, John Poreeau. At Aste also suffered one Julian, A. D. 1541, and Adrian Lopphen, A. D. 1555: at Brussels, A.D. 1559, one Bawdwine beheaded: another called Gilleken Tielman burnt, A.D. 1541.[3]

Add moreover to the same catalogue of Dutch martyrs, burnt and consumed in the lower countries under the emperor's dominion, the names of these following. W. Swolle, burnt at Mechelen, A. D. 1529; Nicholas Paul, beheaded at Gaunt; Robert Orgvier, and Joan his wife, with Baudicon and Martin Orgvier, their children, who suffered at Lisle, A. D. 1556; M. Nicholas, burnt at Mons. John Fosseau at Mons; Cornelius Volcart at Bruges, A.D. 1553; Hubert the printer, and Philip Joyner at Bruges, A. D. 1553; a woman buried with thorns under her; Peter le Roux at Bruges, A.D. 1552. At Mechlen suffered Francis and Nicholas Thiis, two brethren, A. D. 1555. At Antwerp were burnt Adrian a painter, and Henry a tailor, A. D. 1555; also Cornelius Halewine, locksmith, and Herman Janson, the same year. Master John Champ, schoolmaster, A. D. 1557; with a number of other besides, who in the said book are to be seen and read.

A. D. 1525, we read also in the French history, of a certain monk, who, because he forsook his abominable order, and was married, was burned at Prague.

A Preacher poisoned at Erfurt, by the Priests of that place.

In the collections of Henry Pantaleon, we read also of a certain godly preacher who was poisoned, for preaching the word of truth, by the priests of Erfurt.[4]

And here ceasing with these persecutions in Germany, we will now, Christ willing, proceed further to the French martyrs, comprehending

(1) Ex Crisp. (2) Ibid. (3) Ex Gallicana Hist. et Adrian.
(4) Ex Elegia cujusdam viri docti in Pantal.

French History. A. D 1525 to 1560. in a like table the names and causes of such as in that kingdom suffered for the word of God, and cause of righteousness, as in this brief summary consequently hereunder ensueth.

ANOTHER TABLE, OF THOSE WHO SUFFERED IN FRANCE, FOR THE LIKE WITNESS OF THE GOSPEL.

The French Martyrs.

James Pavane, Schoolmaster, at Paris, A.D. 1525. Persecuted by Dr. Martial of Paris.

This James, first being taken by the bishop of Melden, or Meaux, was compelled to recant by Dr. Martial. Afterwards returning again to his confession, he was burned at Paris, A.D. 1525.[1]

Denis de Rieux, at Melden, or Meaux, A.D. 1528.

This Denis[2] was one of those who were first burned at Melden, and that for saying, that the mass is a plain denial of the death and passion of Christ. He was always wont to have in his mouth the words of Christ; 'He that denieth me before men, him will I deny before my Father;' and to muse upon the same earnestly. He was burnt with a slow fire, and did abide much torment.[3]

Johannes de Cadurco, Bachelor of the Civil Law, A.D. 1533.

This John, first for making a sermon or exhortation to his countrymen of Limosin, in France, upon Allhallow's-day, and afterwards, sitting at a feast where it was propounded that every one should bring forth some sentence; for that he brought forth this, 'Christ reign in our hearts;' and did prosecute the same by the Scriptures in much length of words; was thereupon accused, taken, and degraded, and then burned. At his degradation, one of the Black Friars of Paris preached, taking for his theme the words of St. Paul [1 Tim. iv.], 'The Spirit speaketh, that in the latter days, men shall depart from the faith, giving heed to lying spirits and doctrine of error,' &c.; and when in handling that place, he either could not, or would not proceed further with the text, Cadurcus cried out to him to proceed, and read further. The friar stood dumb, and could not speak a word. Then Cadurcus, taking the text, did prosecute the same, as followeth: 'Teaching false doctrine in hypocrisy, having their conscience marked with a hot iron, forbidding to marry, and to eat meats, created of God to be eaten with thanksgiving,' &c.[4]

Bartholomew Myler, a lame Cripple; John Burges, Merchant, the Receiver of Nantz; Henry Poille of Couberon; Cantella, a Schoolmistress; and Steven de la Forge, Merchant, A.D. 1533. Persecuted by the Promoters of Paris.

These five here specified, for certain bills cast abroad and set up, sounding against the abomination of the mass, and other superstitious absurdities of the pope, were condemned and burned in the city of Paris. Henry of Couberon had his tongue bored through, and with an iron wire tied fast to one of his cheeks; who likewise with the others was burned as is aforesaid.[5]

Alexander Canus, Priest; otherwise called Laurence Cruces, at Paris, A.D. 1534.

For the sincere doctrine and confession of Christ's true religion, he was burned at Paris, having but a small fire, and did abide much torment.[6]

(1) Ex Crisp.
(2) This Denis, having a wooden cross put into his hands by the friars, with his teeth cast it into the river, which made the friars mad.
(3) Ex Crisp. et aliis. (4) Ex Crisp. (5) Ibid. (6) Ex Henric. Pant.

John Pointer, a Surgeon, at Paris, A.D. 1533. Persecuted by the Grey Friars in Paris, and by Dr. Clerke, a Sorbonist.

This surgeon being detected and accused by the friars, and such as he had cured before of a shameful disorder, was first condemned to be strangled, and then burned: but afterwards, because he would not do homage to a certain idol at the commandment of a friar that came to confess him, his sentence was turned to have his tongue cut off,[1] and so to be burned.[2]

Peter Gaudet, Knight sometimes of Rhodes, A.D. 1533. Persecuted by a certain Knight of Rhodes, Uncle to this Peter.

This Peter, being at Geneva with his wife, was trained out from thence by his uncle, and put in prison for defence of the gospel; and, after long torments there sustained, was burned.[3]

Quoquillard, Martyr, A.D. 1534.

At Bezancon, in the country of Burgundy, this Quoquillard was burned for the confession and testimony of Christ's gospel.[4]

Nicholas, a scrivener, John de Poix, and Stephen Burlet, Martyrs, A.D. 1534.

These three were executed and burned for the like cause of the gospel, in the city of Arras: namely Nicholas, a scrivener, John de Poix, Stephen Burlet.[5]

Mary Becandella, at Fontaine, A.D. 1534. Persecuted by a Grey Friar in the City of Rochelle.

This Mary, being virtuously instructed of her master, where she lived; and being afterwards at a sermon which a friar preached, after the sermon found fault with his doctrine, and refuted the same by the Scriptures; whereat he disdaining, procured her to be burned at Fontaine.[6]

John Cornon, a Martyr, A.D. 1535.

John Cornon was a husbandman of Mascon, and unlettered; but one to whom God gave such wisdom, that his judges were amazed; when he was condemned by their sentence and burned.[7]

Martin Gonin, in Dauphiné, A.D. 1536. Persecuted by George Borel, a tailor; by the Procurator of the City of Grenoble in France; and by the Inquisitor.

This Martin, being taken for a spy, in the borders of France towards the Alps, was committed to prison. In his going out, his jailor espied about him letters of Farellus, and of Peter Viret: wherefore, being examined by the king's procurator, and by the inquisitor, touching his faith, after he had rendered a sufficient reason thereof, he was cast into the river and drowned.[8]

Claudius Painter, a Goldsmith, Martyr, at Paris, 1540. Persecuted by his kinsfolks and friends, and by Morinus an Officer.

Claudius, going about to convert his friends and kinsfolks to his doctrine, was by them committed to Morinus, a chief captain, who condemned him to be burned: but the high parliament of Paris, correcting that sentence, added moreover, that he should have his tongue cut out before, and so be burned.[9]

(1) In France the manner was, that the martyrs coming by any image, as they went to burning, if they would not worship the same, had their tongues cut out.
(2) Ex Crisp. (3) Ibid. (4) Ibid. (5) Ibid.
(6) Ibid. (7) Ibid. (8) Ibid. (9) Ibid.

French History. A. D. 1525 to 1560.

Stephen Brune, a Husbandman, at Rutiers, A.D. 1540. Persecuted by Gasper Augerius, the bishop's renter; and by Domicellus, Franciscan and inquisitor.

Stephen Brune, after his confession given of his faith, was adjudged to be burned; which punishment he took so constantly, that it was to them a wonder. His adversaries commanded after his death to be cried, that none should make any more mention of him, under pain of heresy.

Pantaleon addeth moreover, that at the place of his burning, called Planuoll, the wind rose and blew the fire so from him, as he stood exhorting the people, that he continued there the space of an hour, in a manner not harmed, or scarcely touched with any flame; so that, all the wood being wasted away, they were compelled to begin the fire again with new faggots, and vessels of oil, and such other matter; and yet neither could he with all this be burned, but stood safe. Then the hangman took a staff, and let drive at his head: to whom the holy martyr, being yet alive, said, 'When I am judged to the fire, do ye beat me with staves like a dog?' With that the hangman with his pike thrust him through the belly and the entrails, and so threw him down into the fire, and burned his body to ashes, throwing away his ashes afterward with the wind.[1]

The martyr not harmed with the fire.

Constantinus, a Citizen of Rouen, martyred with three others, A.D. 1542.

These four, for defence of the gospel being condemned to be burned, were put in a dung-cart; who, thereat rejoicing, said, that they were reputed here as excrements of this world, but yet their death was a sweet odour unto God.[2]

John du Becke, Priest, martyred A.D. 1543.

For the doctrine of the gospel he was degraded, and constantly abode the torment of fire in the city of Troyes in Champagne.[3]

Aymond de Lavoy, at Bourdeaux, A.D. 1543, persecuted by the parish priest of the town of St. Faith in Anjou, and by other priests of the same county; also by Master Riveracus and his servant.

This Aymond preached the gospel at St. Faith's in Anjou, where he was accused by the parish priest there, and by other priests, to have taught false doctrine, to the great decay of their gains. Whereupon, when the magistrates of Bourdeaux had given commandment, and had sent out their apparitor to apprehend him, he, having intelligence thereof, was willed by his friends to fly and shift for himself; but he would not, saying, he had rather never have been born, than so to do. It was the office of a good shepherd (he said) not to fly in time of peril, but rather to abide the danger, lest the flock be scattered: or else lest peradventure, in so doing, he should leave some scruple in their minds, thus to think, that he had fed them with dreams and fables, contrary to the word of God. Wherefore, beseeching them to move him no more therein, he told them, that he feared not to yield up both body and soul in the quarrel of that truth which he had taught; saying, with St. Paul, that he was ready not only to be bound for the testimony of Christ, in the city of Bourdeaux, but also to die. [Acts xxvi.]

The office of a good shepherd, to stand by his flock.

To contract the long story hereof to a brief narration, the sumner came, and was in the city three days, during which time Aymond preached three sermons. The people, in defence of their preacher, flew upon the sumner, to deliver him out of his hands; but Aymond desired them not to stop his martyrdom: seeing it was the will of God that he should suffer for him, he would not (said he) resist. Then the consuls suffered the sumner, and so Aymond was carried to Bourdeaux, where many witnesses, the most part being priests, came in against

(1) Ex Crisp. (2) Ibid. (3) Ibid.

him, with M. Riverack also, and his servant; which Riverack had said oftentime before, that it should cost him a thousand crowns, but he would burn him. Many exceptions he made against his false witnesses, but that would not be taken. All their accusation was only for denying purgatory. *French History.* A. D. 1525 to 1560.

About nine months he remained in prison with great misery, bewailing exceedingly his former life, albeit there was no man that could charge him outwardly with any crime. Then came down letters, whereupon the judges began to proceed to his condemnation, and he had greater fetters put upon him; which he took for a token of his death shortly to follow. After that, he was examined with torments. One of the head presidents came to him, and shaking him by the beard, bade him tell what fellows he had of his religion. To whom he answered, saying, that he had no other fellows but such as knew and did the will of God his Father, whether they were nobles, merchants, or husbandmen, or of what degree soever they were. In these torments he endured two or three hours, being but of a weak body, with these words comforting himself: 'This body,' said he, 'once must die, but the spirit shall live: the kingdom of God abideth for ever.' In the time of his tormenting, he swooned. Afterwards, coming to himself again, he said, 'O Lord! Lord! why hast thou forsaken me?' To whom the president, 'Nay, wicked Lutheran,' said he, 'thou hast forsaken God.' Then said Aymond, 'Alas, good masters! why do you thus miserably torment me? O Lord! I beseech thee forgive them; they know not what they do.' 'See,' said the president, 'this caitiff, how he prayeth for us.' Nevertheless so constant was he in his pains, that they could not force him to utter one man's name: saying unto them, that he thought to have found more mercy with men; wherefore he prayed God that he might find mercy with him.

On the next Saturday following, sentence of condemnation was given against him. Then certain friars were appointed to hear his confession, whom he refused, choosing to him one of his own order, the parish priest of St. Christopher's, bidding the friars depart from him, for he would confess his sins to the Lord. 'Do you not see,' said he, 'how I am troubled enough with men; will ye yet trouble me more? Others have had my body, will ye also take from me my soul? Away from me, I pray you!' At last, when he could not be suffered to have the parish priest, he took a certain Carmelite, bidding the rest to depart; with whom he, having long talk, at last did convert him to the truth. Shortly after that came unto him the judges, Cassegnes and Longa, with other councillors; unto whom the said Aymond began to preach and declare his mind touching the Lord's supper. But Longa, interrupting him, demanded of him thus:

A Judge: 'First declare unto us your mind, what you think of purgatory?' Purgatory.

The Martyr: 'In Scripture all these are one: to purge, to cleanse, and to wash: whereof we read in Isaiah, in the epistles of St. Paul, Heb. ix. and St. Peter, 1 Pet. i.; He hath washed you in his blood. Ye are redeemed, not with gold, but with the blood of Christ, &c. And how often do we read, in the epistles of St. Paul, that we are cleansed by the blood of Christ from our sins,' &c.

Judge: 'These epistles are known to every child.'

The Martyr: 'To every child? Nay, I fear you have scarcely read them yourself.'

A Friar: 'Master Aymond, with one word you may satisfy them, if you will say, that there is a place where the souls are purged after this life.'

The Martyr: 'That I leave for you to say, if you please. What! would ye have me damn my own soul, and to say that which I know not?'

Judge: 'Dost not thou think, that when thou art dead, thou shalt go to purgatory? and he that dieth in venial sin, that he shall pass straight into paradise?'

The Martyr: 'Such trust I have in my God, that the same day when I shall die, I shall enter into paradise.'

Another Judge: 'Where is paradise?'

The Martyr: 'There, where the majesty and glory of God is.'

Judge: 'The canons do make mention of purgatory; and you, in your sermons, have used always much to pray for the poor.'[1]

(1) This friar taketh praying for the poor which be alive, and those that be dead, to be all one.

French History. A. D. 1525 to 1560.

The Martyr: 'I have preached the word of God, and not the canons.'

Judge: 'Dost thou believe in the church?'

The Martyr: 'I believe, as the church regenerated by the blood of Christ, and founded in his word, hath appointed.'

Judge: 'What church is that?'

The church.

The Martyr: 'The church is a Greek word, signifying as much as a congregation or assembly: and so I say, that whensoever the faithful do congregate together, to the honour of God, and the amplifying of christian religion, the Holy Ghost is verily with them.'

Judge: 'By this it should follow, that there be many churches: and where any rustical clowns do assemble together, there must be a church.'

The Martyr: 'It is no absurd thing to say that there be many churches or congregations amongst the Christians: and so speaketh St. Paul, To all the churches which are in Galatia, &c. And yet all these congregations make but one church.'

Judge: 'The church wherein thou believest, is it not the same which our creed doth call the holy church?'

The Martyr: 'I believe the same.'

The head of the church.

Judge: 'And who should be head of that church?'

The Martyr: 'Jesus Christ.'

Judge: 'And not the pope?'

The Martyr: 'No.'

Judge: 'And what is he then?'

The Martyr: 'A minister, if he be a good man, as other bishops be; of whom St. Paul thus writeth, 1 Cor. iv., Let a man so esteem of us, as ministers and dispensers of the secrets of God,' &c.

The pope, what he is.

Judge: 'What then, dost thou not believe the pope?'

The Martyr: 'I know not what he is.'

Judge: 'Dost thou not believe that he is the successor of Peter?'

The Martyr: 'If he be like to Peter, and be grounded with Peter upon the true rock of Christ Jesus, so I believe his works and ordinances to be good.'

Then the judges, leaving him with the friars, departed from him, counting him as a damned creature. Notwithstanding, Aymond putting his trust in God, was full of comfort, saying with St. Paul, 'Who shall separate me from the love of God? shall the sword, hunger, or nakedness? No, nothing shall pluck me from him: but rather I have pity of you,' said he; and so they departed. Not long after he was brought to the place of execution, singing by the way Psalm cxiv., 'In exitu Israel de Ægypto,' &c.; and as he passed by the place where he had before been imprisoned, he called to his prison-fellows, exhorting them to put their confidence in the Lord, and told them that he had spoken for them, and declared their miseries unto the president. He thanked moreover the keeper, and desired him to be good to his poor prisoners. And so, taking his leave of them, and desiring them to pray for him; also giving thanks to the mistress-keeper for her gentleness showed to him, he proceeded forward toward his execution. As he came against the church of St. Andrew, they willed him to ask mercy of God, and of blessed St. Mary, and of St. Justice. 'I ask mercy,' said he, 'of God and his justice, but the Virgin, blessed St. Mary, I never offended, nor did that thing for which I should ask her mercy.' From thence he passed forward to the church of St. Legia, preaching still as he went. Then spake one of the soldiers to the driver or carter, willing him to drive apace, 'for here is preaching,' said he, 'enough.' To whom said Aymond, 'He that is of God, heareth the words of God,' &c. In passing by a certain image of our Lady, great offence was taken against him, because he always called upon Christ Jesus only, and made no mention of her:[1] whereupon he lifted up his voice to God, praying that he would never suffer him to invocate any other, saving him alone. Coming to the place where he should suffer, he was tumbled out of the cart upon the ground, testifying to the magistrates and to the people standing by, that he died for the gospel of Jesus Christ, and for his word. More he would have spoken, but he could not be suffered, by the tumultuous vexing of the officers, crying, 'Dispatch him, dispatch him, let him not speak.' Then he, speaking a few words softly in the ear of a little Carmelite whom he had

Aymond speaketh for his prison-fellows.

(1) 'Filioli, custodite vos a simulachris.' 1 John v.

converted, was bid to step up to the stage; where the people beginning to give a little audience, thus he said; 'O Lord, make haste to help me! tarry not! do not despise the work of thy hands! And you, my brethren! that be students and scholars, I exhort you to study and learn the gospel: for the word of God abideth for ever. Labour to know the will of God; and fear not them that kill the body, but have no power upon your souls.' And after that, 'My flesh,' said he, 'repugneth marvellously against the Spirit; but shortly I shall cast it away. My good masters! I beseech ye pray for me. O Lord my God! into thy hands I commend my soul.' As he was oft repeating the same, the hangman took and haled him upon the steps in such sort, that he strangled him. And thus that blessed saint gave up his life; whose body afterward was with fire consumed.

French History. A. D. 1525 to 1560.

His words to the studen

Francis Bribard, martyred A D. 1544.

Francis Bribard was said to be the secretary of the cardinal of Ballaie; who being also for the gospel condemned, after his tongue was cut off, did with like constancy sustain the sharpness of burning.[1]

William Husson, an Apothecary at Rouen, was persecuted by the High Court of Rouen, by a Widow keeping a Victualling-house in the Suburbs of Rouen, and by a Carmelite Friar. A.D. 1544.

William Husson, apothecary, coming from Blois to Rouen, was lodged with a certain widow in the suburbs of the city, who asking her, at what time the council or parliament did rise; she said at ten o'clock. About which time and hour he went to the palace, and there scattered certain books concerning christian doctrine, and the abuse of men's traditions; whereat the council was so moved, that they commanded all the gates of the city to be locked, and diligent search to be made in all inns and hostelries, to find out the author. Then the widow told of the party who was there, and asked of the rising of the council; and shortly upon the same he took his horse and rode away. Then were posts set out through all quarters, so that the said William was taken by the way riding to Dieppe, and brought again to Rouen; who, being there examined, declared his faith boldly, and how he came of purpose to disperse those books in Rouen, and went to do the like at Dieppe.

Boldness of a constant martyr.

The week ensuing he was condemned to be burnt alive. After the sentence given, he was brought in a cart, accompanied with a doctor, a Carmelite friar, before the great church, who putting a torch into his hand required him to do homage to the image of our Lady, which because he refused to do, his tongue was cut out. The friar then, making a sermon, when he spake any thing of the mercies of God, the said William hearkened to him; but when he spake of the merits of saints, and other dreams, he turned away his head.[2] The friar looking upon the countenance of Husson, lift up his hand to heaven, saying with great exclamation, that he was damned, and was possessed with a devil. When the friar had ceased his sermon, this godly Husson had his hands and feet bound behind his back, and with a pulley was lifted up into the air; and when the fire was kindled, he was let down into the flame, where the blessed martyr with a smiling and cheerful countenance looked up to heaven, never moving nor stirring till he let down his head, and gave up his spirit. All the people there present were not a little astonied thereat, and were in divers opinions; some saying that he had a devil, others maintained the contrary, saying, If he had a devil, he should have fallen into despair.

Cruelty of the adversaries.

Friar Delanda converted.

This Carmelite friar abovesaid, was called Delanda, who afterwards was converted, and preached the gospel.[3]

James Cobard, a Schoolmaster, and many others taken at the same time, A.D. 1545. Their Persecutors were Three Popish Priests, and the Duke of Lorraine.

This James, schoolmaster, in the city of St. Michael in the dukedom of Barens in Lorraine, disputed, with three priests, that the sacrament of baptism,

(1) Ex Crisp. (2) Custodite vos a simulachris. 1 John v.
(3) Ex Gallic. Hist. Crisp. lib. ii. [That is, 'Histoire des vray tesmoins de la verite de l'Evangile,' p. 131, Edition 1570. Lib. iii. p. 155, Edition 1619.—Ed.]

French History. A. D. 1525 to 1560.

and of the supper did not avail, unless they were received with faith: which was as much as to say, that the mass did profit neither the quick nor dead. For this, and also for his confession, which he being in prison sent of his own accord by his mother unto the judge, he was burned, and most quietly suffered.[1]

Peter Clerk, brother to John Clerk, burnt before.

Fourteen blessed Martyrs burnt at Meaux, A.D. 1546. Their Persecutors were the Franciscan Friars, the Doctors of Sorbon and others.

Stephen Mangine, James Bouchbeck, John Brisebar, Henry Hutinote, Thomas Honorate, John Boudovine, John Flesch, Peter and John Picquere, John Mathestone, Philip Little, Michael Caillow, Francis Clerk, and Couberon, a weaver.

These fourteen dwelt at Meaux, a city in France, ten miles from Paris, where William Briconete, being bishop there, did much good, brought to them the light of the gospel, and reformed the church. Briconete, being straitly examined for the same, relented; but yet these with many others remained constant, who, after the burning of James Pavane before-mentioned, and seeing superstition to grow more and more, began to congregate in Mangine's house, and to set up a church to themselves, after the example of the French church in Strasburg. For their minister they chose Peter Clerk. First they, beginning with twenty or thirty, did grow in short time to three or four hundred: whereupon the matter being known to the senate of Paris, the chamber was beset where they were, and they taken; of whom sixty-two men and women were bound and brought to Paris, singing psalms; especially the seventy-ninth psalm. To these it was chiefly objected, that they, being laymen, would minister the sacrament of the body and blood of the Lord. Of these sixty-two, fourteen chiefly did stand fast, who were condemned, and racked to confess more of their fellows: but they uttered none. The rest were scourged and banished the country. These fourteen were sent to sundry monasteries to be converted: but that would not be. Then they, being sent in a cart to Meaux to be burned, by the way, three miles from Paris, a certain weaver called Couberon by chance meeting them, cried to them aloud, bidding them to be of good cheer, and to cleave fast unto the Lord; who also was taken, and bound with them in the cart. Coming to the place of execution, which was before Mangine's house, it was told them, that they who would be confessed, should not have their tongues cut out; the others should: of whom seven there were, who, to save their tongues, confessed; the other seven would not.[2] Of the first was Stephen Mangine, who, having his tongue first cut, notwithstanding spake so that he might be understood, saying thrice, 'The Lord's name be blessed!' As they were burning, the people sung psalms. The priests seeing that, would also sing their songs: 'O salutaris hostia,'[3] and 'Salve Regina,' till the sacrifice of these holy martyrs was finished. Their wives being compelled to see their husbands in torments, were afterwards put in prison; from whence, being promised to be let go, if they would say that their husbands were damned, they refused so to say.

A French church set up at Meaux.

Peter Chapot, at Paris, A.D. 1546, apprehended by John Andre, Bookseller, Promoter; and examined by three Sorbonist Doctors, M. Nicolas Clerici, Doctor of Divinity; John Picard, and Nicholas Maillard.

Peter Chapot first was a corrector to a printer in Paris. After he had been at Geneva, to do good to the church of Christ, like a good man he came with books of holy Scripture into France, and dispersed them abroad unto the faithful. This great zeal of his caused him to be apprehended by John Andre, who was the common promoter to Liset the president, and to the Sorbonists.

(1) Ex Crisp. (2) Ex Lud. Rab. lib. vi.

(3) Note how God maketh these adversaries, with their own song, to praise the sacrifice of these holy martyrs against their wills. 'O salutaris hostia,' id est, 'O wholesome sacrifice,' is a song which the papists use in praise of the sacrifice of their mass.

This good Chapot being taken and brought before the commissaries, rendered promptly an account of his faith; unto whom he exhibited a supplication, or writing, wherein he learnedly informed the judges to do their office uprightly. Then were three doctors of Sorbon assigned, Nicholas Clerici, John Picard, and Nicholas Maillard, to dispute with him; who when they could find no advantage, but rather shame at his hands, they waxed angry with the judges for letting them dispute with heretics. *French History.* A. D 1525 to 1560.

This done, the judges consulting together upon his condemnation, could not agree; so that Chapot, as it seemed, might have escaped, had not a wicked person, the reporter of the process, sought and wrought his condemnation; which condemnation was at length concluded thus: that he should be burned quick, only the cutting off of his tongue was pardoned. The doctor appointed to be at his execution was Maillard, with whom he was greatly encumbered; for this friar called upon him still not to speak to the people; but he desired him that he might pray. Then he bade him pray to our Lady, and confess her to be his advocate. He confessed that she was a blessed virgin, and recited the Lord's Prayer and the Creed, and was about to speak of the mass, but Maillard would not let him; making haste to his execution, and said, unless he would say 'Ave Maria,' he should be burnt quick. Then Chapot prayed, 'O Jesus, son of David! have mercy upon me.' Maillard then bade him say, 'Jesus Maria!' and so he should be strangled. Chapot again excused, that he was so weak that he could not speak. 'Say,' said Millard, 'Jesus Maria! or else thou shalt be burned quick.' As Chapot was thus striving with the friar, suddenly as it happened, Jesu Maria! escaped out of his mouth, but he, by and by, repressing himself, 'O God!' said he, 'what have I done? pardon me, O Lord! to thee only have I sinned."[1] Then Maillard commanded the cord to be plucked about his neck to strangle him; notwithstanding yet he felt something the fire. After all things done, Maillard, all full of anger, went to the council house, called 'La Chambre Ardente,' declaring what an uproar there had almost happened amongst the people; saying that he would complain upon the judges for suffering those heretics to have their tongues. Whereupon immediately a decree was made, that all who were to be burned, unless they recanted at the fire, should have their tongues cut off. Which law diligently afterwards was observed.[2] By whom the cutting off of tongues came into France.

Saintinus Nivet, at Paris, A.D. 1546. Persecuted by M. Peter Liset, President of the Council of Paris.

After the burning of those fourteen, whose names are described before, this Saintinus (who was a lame cripple) with his wife removed out of Meaux to Montbelliard, where when he had continued a while in safe liberty of religion and saw himself there to do no good, but to be a burden to the church, cast in his mind to return home to Meaux again, and so did. There at last, as he was selling certain small wares in the fair, he was known and apprehended: whereof when information was given, he, being examined, at once confessed all, and more than they were willing to hear. In the time of this inquisition, as they were examining him of certain points of religion, and asked him whether he would stand to what he said, or not? he gave this answer, worthy to be registered in all men's hearts, saying, 'And I ask you again, lord judges! dare you be so bold as to deny, what is so plain and manifest by the open words of the Scripture?' So little regard had he to save his own life, that he desired the judges both at Meaux, and at Paris, for God's sake, that they would rather take care of their own lives and souls, and to consider how much innocent blood they spilled daily, in fighting against Christ Jesus and his gospel.

At last, being brought to Paris, through the means of M. Peter Liset, a great persecutor, for that they of Meaux should take by him no encouragement, there he was detained, and suffered his martyrdom; where no kind of cruelty was lacking, which the innocent martyrs of Christ Jesus were wont to be put unto.[3]

(1) To give never so little to the adversaries, is a great matter.
(2) Ex Crisp. lib. vi. (3) Ex Pantal. et Hist. Gallic.

French History.

A. D. 1525 to 1560.

Stephen Polliot, martyred at Paris,[1] A.D. 1546.

Stephen Polliot, coming out of Normandy (where he was born) unto Meaux, tarried there not long, but was compelled to fly, and went to a town called La Fere, where he was apprehended and brought to Paris, and there cast into a foul and dark prison, in which he was kept in bands and fetters a long space, where he saw scarcely any light. At length, being called for before the senate, and his sentence given to have his tongue cut out, and to be burned alive, his satchel of books hanging about his neck: 'O Lord,' said he, 'is the world in blindness and darkness still?' for he thought, being in prison so long, that the world had been altered from its old darkness to better knowledge. At last the worthy martyr of Jesus Christ, having his books about his neck, was put into the fire, where he, with much patience, ended this transitory life.[2]

John English, martyred A.D. 1547.

He was executed and burned at Sens in Burgundy, being condemned by the high court of Paris for confessing the true word of God.[3]

Michael Michelote, a Tailor, martyred A.D. 1547.

This tailor, being apprehended for the gospel's sake, was judged first, if he would turn, to be beheaded; and if he would not turn, then to be burned alive. Being asked, whether of these two he would choose? he answered, that he trusted, that He who had given him grace not to deny the truth, would also give him patience to abide the fire. He was burned at Warden by Tournay.

Leonard de Prato, martyred A.D. 1547.

This Leonard, going from Dijon to Bar, a town in Burgundy, with two false brethren, and talking with them about religion, was betrayed by them, and afterwards burned.

Seven Martyrs burned at Langres: John Taffington, and Joan his Wife; Simon Mareschal, and Joan his Wife; William Michaut; James Boulerau; James Bretany. A.D. 1547.

All these seven, being of the city of Langres, for the word and truth of Jesus Christ were committed to the fire, wherein they died with much strength and comfort: but especially Joan, who was Simon's wife, being reserved to the last place, because she was the youngest, confirmed her husband, and all the others with words of singular consolation; declaring to her husband, that they should the same day be married to the Lord Jesus, to live with him for ever.[4]

Four Martyrs burned at Paris: Michael Mareschal, John Camus, Great John Camus, and John Serarphin. A.D. 1547.

These also, the same year, and about the same time, for the like confession of Christ's gospel were condemned by the senate of Paris, and in the same city also with the like cruelty were burned.[5]

Octovian Blondel, a Merchant of Precious Stones at Paris, A.D. 1548, betrayed by his Host, at Lyons; and by Gabriel of Saconnex, presenteur

This Octovian, as he was a great occupier in all fairs and countries of France, and well known both in court and elsewhere, so was he a singular honest man of great integrity, and also a favourer of God's word; who, being at his host's house at Lyons, rebuked the filthy talk, and superstitious behaviour, which there he heard and saw. Wherefore the host, bearing to him a grudge, chanced to have certain talk with Gabriel of Saconnex, presenteur, concerning the riches, and a sumptuous collar set with rich jewels of this Octovian.

(1) The names of his persecutors in the story be not expressed. (2) Ex Pantal.
(3) Ex Crisp. et Adrian. (4) Ex Pantal. Crisp. et aliis. (5) Ex Pantal. et Crisp.

Thus these two, consulting together, did suborn a certain person to borrow of him a certain sum of crowns, which because Octovian refused to lend, the other caused him to be apprehended for heresy, thinking thereby to make attachment of his goods: but such order was taken by Blondel's friends, that they were frustrated of their purpose. Then Blondel, being examined of his faith, gave a plain and full confession of that doctrine, which he had learned; for which he was committed to prison, where he did much good to the prisoners. For some that were in debt, he paid their creditors and loosed them out. To some he gave meat, to others, raiment. At length, through the importune persuasions of his parents and friends, he gave over and changed his confession. Notwithstanding the presenteur, not leaving him so, appealed him up to the high court of Paris. There Octovian being asked again touching his faith, which of his two confessions he would stick to, he, being before admonished of his fall, and of the offence given thereby to the faithful, said he would live and die in his first confession, which he defended to be consonant to the verity of God's word. That done, he was condemned to be burned, and so haste was made to his execution, lest his friends in the court might come between, and save his life.[1]

Faith joined with good works.

Hubert Cheriet, alias Burre, a young man, a Tailor, at Dijon, A.D. 1549.

Hubert, being a young man of the age of nineteen years, was burned for the gospel at Dijon; who, neither by any terrors of death, nor allurements of his parents, could be otherwise persuaded, but constantly to remain in the truth unto death.[2]

Master Florent Venote, Priest, martyred at Paris, A. D. 1549. Persecuted by Peter Liset, President of the Council of Paris, and other Sorbonists.

This Florent remained in prison in Paris four years and nine hours. During that time there was no torment which he did not abide and overcome. Among all other kinds of torments, he was put in a narrow prison or break, so straight, that he could neither stand nor lie, which they call the hose or boot, 'ad Nectar Hippocratis;' because it is straight beneath, and wider above, like to the instrument wherewith apothecaries are wont to make their hypocras. In this he remained seven weeks, where, the tormentors affirm, that no thief or murderer could ever endure fifteen days, but was in danger of life or madness.

At last, when there was a great show in Paris at the king's coming into the city, and divers other martyrs in sundry places of the city were put to death, he, having his tongue cut off, was brought to see the execution of them all; and last of all, in the Place of Maulbert, was put into the fire, and burned the 9th of July at afternoon.[3]

Ann Audebert, an Apothecary's Wife and Widow, martyred at Orleans, A.D. 1549.

She, going to Geneva, was taken and brought to Paris, and by the council there adjudged to be burned at Orleans. When the rope was put about her, she called it her wedding-girdle wherewith she should be married to Christ; and as she should be burned upon a Saturday, upon Michaelmas-even; 'Upon a Saturday,' said she, 'I was first married, and upon a Saturday I shall be married again.' And seeing the dung-cart brought, wherein she should be carried, she rejoiced thereat, showing such constancy in her martyrdom as made all the beholders to marvel.[4]

A poor godly Tailor of Paris, dwelling in the street of St. Anthony at Paris, A.D. 1549. Persecuted by Henry II., the French King; apprehended by an Officer of the King's House; examined by Peter Castellane, Bishop of Macon.

Amongst many other godly martyrs that suffered in France, the story of this poor tailor is not the least nor worst to be remembered. His name is not yet

(1) Ex Crisp. lib. vi. (2) Ibid. (3) Ibid. (4) Ibid.

French History. sought out in the French stories for lack of diligence in those writers; more is the pity. The story is this: Not long after the coronation of Henry II., the French king, at whose coming into Paris divers good martyrs were there brought out, and burned for a spectacle, as is abovesaid, a certain poor tailor, who then dwelt not far from the king's palace, in the street bearing the name of St. Anthony, was apprehended by a certain officer in the king's house, for that upon a certain holy day he followed his occupation, and did work for his living. Before he was had to prison, the officer asked him, why he did labour and work, giving no observation to the holy day?

A. D. 1525 to 1560.

To whom he answered, that he was a poor man, living only upon his labour; and as for the day, he knew no other but only the Sunday, wherein he might not lawfully work for the necessity of his living. Then the officer began to ask of him many questions; whereunto the poor tailor did so answer, that eftsoons he was clapped in prison. After that, the officer, coming into the court to show what good service he had done for the holy church, declared to certain estates, how he had taken a Lutheran working upon a holy day; showing that he had such answers of him, that he commanded him to prison. When the rumour hereof was noised in the king's chamber, through the motion of those who were about the king, the poor man was sent for to appear, that the king might have the hearing of him.

The tailor imprisoned for breaking a piece of a holy day.

Hereupon the king's chamber being voided, save only a few of the chiefest peers remaining about the king, the simple tailor was brought. The king, sitting in his chair, commanded Peter Castellane, bishop of Macon (a man very fit for such inquisitions), to question with him. The tailor, being entered, and nothing appalled at the king's majesty, after his reverence done unto the prince, gave thanks to God, that he had so greatly dignified him being such a wretch, as to bring him where he might testify his truth before such a mighty prince. Then Castellane, entering talk, began to reason with him touching the greatest and chiefest matter of religion; whereunto the tailor without fear, or any halting in his speech, with present audacity, wit, and memory, so answered for the sincere doctrine and simple truth of God's gospel, as was both convenient to the purpose, and also to his questions aptly and fitly correspondent.

Brought before the king.

Notwithstanding, the nobles there present, with cruel taunts and rebukes, did what they could to dash him out of countenance. Yet all this terrified not him, but with boldness of heart, and free liberty of speech, he defended his cause, or rather the cause of Christ the Lord, neither flattering with their persons, nor fearing their threats; this was to them all a singular admiration, to behold that simple poor artificer to stand so firm and bold, answering before a king, to those questions propounded against him. Whereat when the king seemed to muse with himself, as one somewhat amazed, and who might soon have been induced, at that present, to further knowledge, the egregious bishop and other courtiers, seeing the king in such a muse, said, he was an obstinate and stubborn person, confirmed in his own opinion, and therefore was not to be marvelled at, but to be sent to the judges, and to be punished. And therefore, lest he should trouble the ears of the said Henry the king, he was commanded again to the hands of the officer, that his cause might be informed: and so, within few days after, he was condemned, by the high steward of the king's house, to be burned alive. And lest any deep consideration of that excellent fortitude of the poor man might further, peradventure, pierce the king's mind, the cardinals and bishops were ever in the king's ear, telling him, that these Lutherans were nothing else but such as carry vain smoke in their mouths, which being put to the fire, would soon vanish. Wherefore the king was appointed himself to be present at his execution, which was sharp and cruel, before the church of Mary the Virgin; where it pleased God to give such strength and courage to his servant, in suffering his martyrdom, that the beholding thereof did more astonish the king than all the others did before.[1]

His boldness in answering for his religion before the king.

Pestilent council about the king.

A fumish comparison of a fiery cardinal.

The death and martyrdom of this tailor.

Claudius Thierry, martyred at Orleans, A.D. 1549.

The same year, and for the same doctrine of the gospel, one Claudius also was burned at the said town of Orleans being apprehended by the way coming from Geneva to his country.[2]

(1) Ex Crisp. et Pantal. lib. vii. (2) Ex Crisp.

Leonard Galimard, at Paris, A.D. 1549

This Leonard, for the confession likewise of Christ and his gospel, was taken and brought to Paris, and there, by the sentence of the council, was judged to be burnt the same time that Florent Venote, above-mentioned, did suffer at Paris.[1]

Macæus Moreou, martyred at Troyes, A.D. 1549.

He was burned at Troyes in Champagne (a town in France), remaining constant to the end in the gospel, for which he was apprehended.[2]

Johan Godeau, and Gabriel Berandine, Martyrs, A.D. 1550.

These two were of the church of Geneva. Afterwards for their friendly admonishing a certain priest, who in his sermon had abused the name of God, they were taken at Chambery. Godeau standing to his confession, was burned. Gabriel, though he began a little to shrink for fear of the torments, yet being confirmed by the constant death of Godeau, recovered again, and standing likewise to his confession, first had his tongue cut out; who, notwithstanding, through God's might, did speak so as he might be understood. Thereupon the hangman being accused for not cutting off his tongue rightly, said that he could not stop him of his speech. And so these two, after they had confirmed many in God's truth, gave their life for Christ's gospel.[3]

Thomas Sanpaulinus, martyred at Paris, A.D. 1551. His Persecutors were John Andreas, Promoter; Peter Liset, President of the Council of Paris; Maillard and others; Sorbonists; also one Aubertus, a councillor.

This Thomas, a young man of the age of eighteen years, coming from Geneva to Paris, rebuked there a man for swearing; for which cause he, being suspected for a Lutheran, was followed and watched whither he went, and was taken and brought before the council of Paris, and put in prison, where he was racked, and miserably tormented; to the intent he should either change his opinion, or confess others of his profession. His torments and rackings were so sore, through the setting on of Maillard and other Sorbonists, that the sight thereof made Aubert, one of the council, a cruel and vehement enemy against the gospel, to turn his back and weep. The young man, when he had made the tormentors weary with racking, and yet would utter none, at last was had to Maulbert Place in Paris, to be burned; where he, being in the fire, was plucked up again upon the gibbet, and asked whether he would turn? to whom he said, that he was in his way towards God, and therefore desired them to let him go. Thus this glorious martyr remaining inexpugnable, glorified the Lord with constant confession of his truth.[4]

Maurice Secenate, martyred in Provence, A. D. 1551.

He, having interrogations first put to him by the lieutenant of that place, made his answers thereunto, so as no great advantage could be taken thereof. But being greatly compuncted and troubled in his conscience for dissembling with the truth, and called afterwards before the lord chief judge, he answered so directly, that he was condemned for the same, and burned in Provence.[5]

John Putte, or de Puteo, surnamed Medicus, martyred at Uzez, in Provence, A. D. 1551. Accused by a Citizen of Uzez.

This Medicus, being a carpenter and unlettered, had a controversy about a certain pit with a citizen of the town of Uzez, where he dwelt. He, to cast, in the law, this Medicus from the pit, accused him of heresy, bringing for his

(1) Ex Crisp. (2) Ibid. (3) Ibid. (4) Ibid. (5) Ibid.

French History. witnesses those labourers whom Medicus had hired to work in his vineyard: wherefore he, being examined of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, was condemned and burned at Uzez, in Provence.[1]

A. D. 1525 to 1560.

Claudius Monerius, martyred at Lyons, A. D. 1551. His Persecutors were, the Governor of Lyons, and the Official of the Archdeacon of Lyons.

This man, being well instructed in the knowledge of God's word, for which he was also driven from Avernia, came to Lyons, and there taught children. Hearing of the lord president's coming to the city, he went to give warning to a certain familiar friend of his, and so conducted him out of the town. In returning again to comfort the man's wife and children, he was taken in his house; and so he, confessing that which he knew to be true, and standing to that which he confessed, after much afflictions in prisons and dungeons, was condemned and burned at Lyons. He was noted to be so gentle and mild of conditions, and constant withal, and also learned, that certain of the judges could not forbear weeping at his death.

The said Monerius, being in prison, wrote certain letters, but one especially very comfortable to all the faithful, which, the Lord willing, in the end of these histories shall be inserted. He wrote also the questions and interrogatories of the official, with his answers likewise to the same; which summarily we have here contracted, as followeth:

The sacrament. *The Official:* 'What believe you of the sacrament? is the body of Christ in the bread, or no?'

The Martyr: 'I worship Jesus Christ in heaven, sitting at the right hand of God the Father.'

Official: 'What say you of purgatory?'

The Martyr: 'Forasmuch as there is no place of mercy after this life, therefore no need there is of any purgation; but necessary it is that we be purged before we pass hence.'

Supremacy. *Official:* 'Of the pope what think you?'

The Martyr: 'I say he is a bishop as other bishops are, if he be a true follower of St. Peter.'

Vows. *Official:* 'What say you of vows?'

The Martyr: 'No man can vow to God so much, but the law requireth much more than he can vow.'

Praying to saints. *Official:* 'Are not saints to be invocated?'

The Martyr: 'They cannot pray without faith, and therefore it is in vain to call upon them. And again, God hath appointed his angels about us, to minister in our necessities.'

Official: 'Is it not good to salute the blessed Virgin with Ave Maria?'

The Martyr: 'When she was on this earth she had need of the angels greeting; for then she had need of salvation, as well as others: but now she is so blessed, that no more blessing can be wished unto her.'

Images. *Official:* 'Are not images to be had?'

The Martyr: 'For that the nature of man is so prone to idolatry, ever occupied and fixed in those things which lie before his eyes, rather than upon those which are not seen; images therefore are not to be set before Christians. You know nothing is to be adored, but that which is not seen with eyes, that is, God alone, who is a Spirit, and him only we must worship, in spirit and truth.'

Official: 'What say you by the canonical or ordinary hours for prayer?'

The Martyr: 'To hours and times, prayer ought not to be tied: but whensoever God's Spirit doth move us, or when any necessity driveth us, then ought we to pray.'

Then the Official asked, what he thought of holy oil, salt, with such other

(1) Ex Crisp.

like? to whom the Martyr answered, that all these things were a mere Maranismus,[1] that is, they savoured of the law of Maranorum, and of the superstition of the Jews.

Renate Poyet, martyred at Saumur, in France, A. D. 1552.

Renate Poyet, the son of William Poyet, who was chancellor of France, for the true and sincere profession of the word of God, constantly suffered martyrdom, and was burned in the city of Saumur, A. D. 1552.[2]

John Joyer, and his Servant, a young man, martyred at Toulouse, A. D. 1552.

These two coming from Geneva to the country with certain books, were apprehended by the way, and at length had to Toulouse, where the master was first condemned. The servant being young, was not so prompt to answer them, but sent them to his master saying, that he should answer them. When they were brought to the stake, the young man, first going up, began to weep. The master, fearing lest he would give over, ran to him, and he was comforted, and they began to sing. As they were in the fire, the master, standing upright to the stake, shifted the fire from him to his servant, being more careful for him than for himself; and when he saw him dead, he bowed down into the flame, and so expired.[3]

Hugh Gravier, a Schoolmaster and Minister, of Cortilfon, in the Country of Neufchatel, martyred at Berg, A. D. 1552.

At Berg, in Bresse, a day's journey from Lyons, this Gravier was burned. He coming from Geneva to Neufchatel, there was elected to be minister. But first, going to see his wife's friends at Macon, there, as he was coming away out of the town, he was taken upon the bridge, with all his company; and in the end, he, willing for the women and the rest of the company to lay the fault to him for bringing them out, was sentenced to be burned, notwithstanding that the lords of Bern sent their heralds to save his life, and also that the official declared him to be an honest man, and to hold nothing, but what was agreeable to the Scriptures.[4]

Five Students, Martyrs, namely: Martial Alba, Peter Scribe, Bernard Seguine, Charles Faber, Peter Navihere, at Lyons, A. D. 1553.

Their Persecutors were: Tignatius, the Governor or Deputy of Lyons; Buatherius, Official to the Archbishop of Lyons; Clepierius, Chamberlain; three Orders of Friars; Judge Melierus; Dr. Cunuban, a Grey Friar; Judge Vilard; Primatius, the Official; Cortrerius, a Judge.

These five students, after they had remained in the university of Lausanne, a certain time, consulted amongst themselves, being all Frenchmen, to return home every one to his country, to the intent they might instruct their parents and other their friends in such knowledge as the Lord had given them. So, taking their journey from Lausanne, first they came to Geneva, where they remained awhile. From thence they went to Lyons, where they, sitting at the table of one that met them by the way, and desired them home to his house, were apprehended and led to prison, where they continued a whole year; that is, from the 1st of May to the 16th of the same month again. As they were learned and well exercised in the Scriptures, so every one of them exhibited severally a learned confession of his faith; and with great dexterity, through the power of the Lord's Spirit, they confounded the friars with whom they disputed; especially Peter Scribe or Scrivener, and Seguine.

They were examined sundrily of the sacrament of the Lord's body, of

(1) Maranatha is a Hebrew word mentioned, 1 Cor. xvi. and signifieth curse and malediction to the loss of all that a man hath, and thereof cometh Maranismus: vid. Nic. Lyr.
(2) Ex Crisp. (3) Ex Crisp. et aliis. (4) Ex Crisp. lib. iii.

French History. A.D. 1525 to 1560.

purgatory, of confession and invocation, of free-will, and of the supremacy, &c. Although they proved their cause by good Scripture, and refuted their adversaries in reasoning, yet right being overcome by might, sentence was given, and they burned in the said town of Lyons. Being set upon the cart, they began to sing psalms. As they passed by the market-place, one of them with a loud voice saluted the people with the words of the last chapter to the Hebrews; 'The God of peace, which brought again from death the great Pastor of the sheep in the blood of the eternal testament,' &c. Coming to the place, first the two youngest, one after another, went up upon the heap of wood to the stake, and there were fastened, and so after them the rest. Martial Alba, being the eldest, was the last; who likewise being stripped of his clothes, and brought to the stake, desired this petition of the governor, which was that he might go about his fellows tied at the stake, and kiss them: which being granted, he went and kissed every one, saying, 'Farewell, my brother.' Likewise the other four, following the same example, bade each one, 'Farewell, my brother.' With that, fire was commanded to be put unto them. The hangman had tied a rope about all their necks, thinking first to strangle them; but their faces being smeared with fat and brimstone, the rope was burnt before they were strangled. So the blessed martyrs, in the midst of the fire, spake one to another to be of good cheer, and so departed.[1]

Their Examinations briefly touched.

Supremacy.

The Friar: 'Thou sayest, friend! in thy confession, that the pope is not supreme head of the church; I will prove the contrary. The pope is successor of St. Peter: ergo, he is supreme head of the church.'

The Martyr: 'I first deny your antecedent.'

Friar: 'The pope sitteth in the place of St. Peter: ergo, he is the successor of St. Peter.'

The head of the church.

The Martyr: 'I will grant neither of the two: first, because he who succeedeth in the room of Peter, ought to preach and teach as Peter did; which thing the pope doth not. Secondly, although he did so preach as Peter did, he might well follow the example of Peter, yet should he not therefore be the head of the church, but a member only of the same. The head of men and angels, whom God hath appointed, is Christ alone, saith St. Paul.' [Ephes. i.]

Friar: 'Although Christ be the head of the whole church militant and triumphant, yet his vicar here on earth is left to supply his room.'

The Martyr: 'Not so, for the power of his divinity being so great, to fill all things, he needeth no vicar or deputy to supply his absence.'

Friar: 'I will prove, that although Christ be king both of heaven and earth, yet he hath here on earth many vicars under him, to govern his people.'

Regiment civil. Regiment spiritual.

The Martyr: 'It is one thing to rule in the civil state, another thing to rule spiritually. For in civil regiment we have kings and princes ordained of God by the Scriptures, for the observation of public society: in the spiritual regiment and kingdom of the church it is not so.'

Another Friar: 'Thou sayest St. Peter is not the head of the church; I will prove he is. Our Lord said to Peter, Thou shalt be called Cephas; which Cephas is as much to say in Latin, caput: ergo, Peter is head of the church.'

The Martyr: 'Where find you that interpretation? St. John, in his first chapter, doth expound it otherwise: Thou shalt be called Cephas, that is as much (saith he) as petrus, or stone.'

Then the judge Vilard, calling for a New Testament, turned to the place, and found it to be so; whereupon the friar was utterly dashed, and stood mute.

Friar: 'Thou sayest in thy confession, that a man hath no free will; I will prove it. It is written in the Gospel [Luke x.], how a man going from Jerusalem to Jericho fell among thieves, and was spoiled, maimed, and left half dead, &c. Thomas Aquinas expoundeth this parable to mean free will, which he saith, is maimed; yet not so, but that some power remaineth in man to work.'

The Martyr: 'This interpretation I do refuse and deny.'

Friar: 'What! thinkest thou thyself better learned than St. Thomas?'

(1) Ex Crisp. et Pantal. &c.

The Martyr: 'I do arrogate no such learning unto myself. But this I say, this parable is not so to be expounded, but is set forth for example of the Lord, to commend to us charity towards our neighbour, how one should help another.'

Friar: 'Thou sayest in thy confession, that we are justified only by faith, I will prove that we are justified by works. By our works we do merit: ergo, by works we are justified.'

The Martyr: 'I deny the antecedent.'

Justification.

Friar: 'St. Paul, in the last chapter of Hebrews, saith, Forget not to do good, and to distribute unto others: Talibis enim victimis promeretur Deus; that is, For by such oblations God is merited. We merit God by our works: ergo, we are justified by our works.'

The Martyr: 'The words of St. Paul in that place be otherwise, and are thus to be translated: Talibus enim victimis delectatur Deus; that is, With such sacrifices God is delighted, or is well pleased.'

Vilard, the judge, turned to the book, and found the place even to be so as the prisoner said. Here the friars were marvellously appalled and troubled in their minds: of whom one asked then, What he thought of confession?' To whom the martyr answered, that confession is only to be made to God, and that those places which they allege for auricular confession, out of St. James and other, are to be expounded of brotherly reconciliation between one another, and not of confession in the priest's ear. And here again the friars stood, having nothing to say against it.

Confession.

Transubstantiation.

A Black Friar: 'Dost thou not believe the body of Christ to be locally and corporally in the sacrament? I will prove the same. Jesus Christ taking bread, said, This is my body: ergo, it is truly his body.'

The Martyr: 'The verb *est* is not to be taken here substantively in its own proper signification, as showing the nature of a thing in substance, as in philosophy it is wont to be taken; but as noting the property of a thing signified, after the manner and phrase of the Scripture; where one thing is wont to be called by the name of another, so as the sign is called by the name of the thing signified, &c. So is circumcision called by the name of the covenant, and yet is not the covenant; so the lamb hath the name of the passover, yet is not the same; in which two sacraments of the old law, ye see the verb *est* to be taken, not as showing the substance of being, but the property of being in the thing that is spoken of. And so likewise in the sacrament of the new law.'

Friar: 'The sacraments of the old law and of the new, do differ greatly; for these give grace, so did not the other.'

Sacraments give no grace.

The Martyr: 'Neither the sacraments of the old, nor of the new law, do give grace, but show Him unto us, who giveth grace indeed. The minister giveth the sacraments, but Jesus Christ giveth grace by the operation of the Holy Ghost: of whom it is said, This is he which baptizeth with the Holy Ghost,' &c.

Friar: 'The fathers of the Old Testament, were they not partakers of the same grace and promises with us?' [John ii.]

The Martyr: 'Yes, for St. Paul saith, that the fathers of the Old Testament did eat the same spiritual meat, and did drink of the same spiritual drink with us.'

Friar: 'Jesus Christ saith [John vi.], Your fathers did eat manna in the desert, and are dead: ergo, they were not partakers of the same grace with us in the New Testament.'

The true eating of manna.

The Martyr: 'Christ here speaketh of those, who did not eat that manna with faith, which was a type and figure of that Bread of Life that came from heaven; and not of them who did eat the same with faith, as Moses, Aaron, Joshua, Caleb, and such others; who, under the shadows of the Old Testament, did look for Christ to come. For so it is written of Abraham, that he saw the day of Christ, and rejoiced;—not seeing it with his bodily eyes, but with the eyes of his faith.'

Here the doltish doctor was at a stay, having nothing to say, but, 'Hear friend! be not so hot, nor so hasty, tarry a while, tarry a while.' At length, after his tarrying, this came out.

Friar: 'I will prove that they of the Old Testament were not partakers of

French History. A.D. 1525 to 1560.

the same grace with us. The law (saith St. Paul) worketh anger; and they that are under the law, are under malediction: ergo, they of the old law and testament, were not partakers of the same grace with us.'

The Martyr: 'St. Paul here proveth, that no man by the law can be justified, but that all men are under the anger and curse of God thereby, forasmuch as no man performeth that which in the law is comprehended; and therefore, we have need every man to run to Christ, to be saved by faith, seeing no man can be saved by the law. For whosoever trusteth to the law, hoping to find justification thereby, and not by Christ only, the same remaineth still under malediction: not because the law is accursed, or the times thereof under curse, but because of the weakness of our nature, which is not able to perform the law.'

The fathers of the Old Testament, how they were under the law, and how they were under grace.

Friar: 'St. Paul [Rom. vii.] declareth in the Old Testament to be nothing but anger and threatenings, and in the New Testament to be grace and mercy, in these words where he saith, Wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death? The grace of God, by Jesus Christ.'

The Martyr: 'St. Paul in this place neither meaneth nor speaketh of the difference of times between the Old and the New Testament, but of the conflict between the flesh and the spirit; so that whereas the flesh is ever rebelling against the spirit, yet the spiritual man notwithstanding, through the faith of Christ, hath the victory. Furthermore, the true translation of that place hath not *gratia Dei*, but gratias ago Deo, per Jesum Christum,' &c.

The sacrament.

Primacius, the official, seeing the friar almost here at a point, set in, and said, 'Thou lewd heretic, dost thou deny the blessed sacrament?'

The Martyr: 'No, Sir, but I embrace and reverence the sacrament, so as it was instituted by the Lord, and left by his apostles.'

Official: 'Thou deniest the body of Christ to be in the sacrament, and thou callest the sacrament bread.'

The Martyr: 'The Scripture teacheth us to seek the body of Christ in heaven, and not on earth; where we read [Colos. iii.], If ye be risen with Christ, seek not for the things which are upon the earth; but for the things which are in heaven, where Christ is sitting at the right hand of God,' &c. And whereas I affirm the sacrament not to be the body, but bread, speaking of bread remaining in its own substance, herein I do no other but as St. Paul doth, who, likewise, doth call it bread four or five times together.' [1 Cor. xi.]

Friar: 'Jesus Christ said, that he was the bread of life.'

Official: 'Thou naughty heretic! Jesus Christ said that he was a vine, and a door, &c., where he is to be expounded to speak figuratively; but the words of the sacrament are not so to be expounded.'

The Martyr: 'Those testimonies which you allege, make more for me than for you.'

Official: 'What sayest thou, lewd heretic! is the bread of the Lord's supper, and the bread that we eat at home, all one, and is there no difference between them?'

The Martyr: 'In nature and substance there is no difference: in quality and in use there is much difference. For the bread of the Lord's table, though it be of the same nature and substance with the bread that we eat at home, yet when it is applied to be a sacrament, it taketh another quality, and is set before us to seal the promise of our spiritual and eternal life.'

And this was the effect of their examinations.[1]

Petrus Bergerius, at Lyons, A.D. 1553.[2]

About the same time when these five students above specified were apprehended, this Bergerius also was taken at Lyons, and with them examined, and made also the like confession with them together, and shortly after them suffered the same martyrdom. He had been before an occupier or merchant of wines. He had a wife and children at Geneva, to whom he wrote sweet and comfortable letters. In the dungeon with him was a certain thief and malefactor, who had lain there the space of seven or eight months. This thief, for pain and torment cried out on God, and cursed his parents that begat him, being almost eaten up with lice, miserably handled, and fed with bread such as dogs

(1) Ex Crisp. (2) The name of his persecutor appeareth not in his story.

and horses had refused to eat: so it pleased the goodness of Almighty God, that through the teaching and prayers of this Bergerius, he was brought to repentance of himself, and knowledge of God; learning much comfort and patience by the word of the gospel preached unto him. Touching his conversation, he wrote a sweet letter to those five students above mentioned, wherein he praiseth God for them, and especially for this Bergerius; declaring also in the same letter, that the next day after that he had taken hold of the gospel, and framed himself to patience, according to the same, his lice, of which he could pluck out before no less than twenty at once, betwixt his fingers, were now so gone from him, that he had not one. Furthermore, so the alms of good men were extended towards him, that he was fed with white bread, and that which was very good: such is the goodness of the Lord toward them that love and seek his truth.' The name of this convert was John Chambone.[1]

French History. A. D. 1525 to 1560.

Notable conversion of a thief in prison.

Stephen and Dyonisius Peloquine, Brethren, martyred at Ville Franche, near Lyons, A.D. 1553.

Stephen Peloquine, brother to this Dyonisius, was taken about two or three years before, with Ann Audebert above mentioned, and also martyred for the testimony of the gospel at the same time, with a small fire. After whom followed Dyonisius Peloquine, in the same steps of martyrdom, who was his brother. This Dyonisius had been sometime a monk, and changing his weed, took a wife, with whom he lived a certain space at Geneva in godly order and modesty of life. Coming afterwards to Ville Franche, six miles from Lyons, from thence he was had to Lyons, where he remained in prison ten months. From thence he was reversed to Ville Franche, where he was condemned, degraded, and burned. The articles whereupon he was condemned, were respecting the mass, the sacrament, auricular confession, purgatory, the Virgin Mary, and the pope's supremacy. He suffered on the 11th of September, A. D. 1553. In his martyrdom, such patience and fortitude God gave him, that when he was half burned, yet he never ceased holding up his hands to heaven, and calling upon the Lord; to the great admiration of them that looked on.[2]

Ludovicus Marsace, and Michael Gerard, his Cousin; also Stephen Gravot, Carpenter: all martyred at Lyons, A.D. 1553. Their Persecutors were, the King's Lieutenant at Lyons; the Official; and the Friars.

At Lyons the same year these three also were apprehended and sacrificed. Ludovicus had been of the order of the Demi-lances, who served the king in his wars: afterwards coming to Geneva, he was trained up in the knowledge and doctrine of the Lord. Upon divers articles he was examined, as the invocation of saints, and of the Virgin Mary; free-will, merits and good works, auricular confession, fasting, and the Lord's supper. In his second examination, they inquired of him, and also of the other two, touching vows, the sacraments, the mass, and the vicar of Christ; in all which articles, because his and their judgment dissented from the doctrine of the pope's church, they were condemned. The answers of Marsace to the articles, are to be seen at large in the Book of the French Martyrs, set out by John Crispine.

The lieutenant, among other blasphemies, had these words: 'Of the four evangelists, but two were pure, Matthew and John; the other two, Mark and Luke, were but gatherers out of the others. The epistles of St. Paul, except that the doctors of the church had authorized them, he would otherwise esteem them no better than the fables of Æsop.'[3]

Blasphemies of the papists.

Item, the said lieutenant said to M. Cope's maid, speaking somewhat of the law, 'Cursed be the God of that law.'

When the sentence of condemnation was given against these three, they were so glad thereof, that they went out praising God, and singing psalms. This troubled the judges sore, to see them so little to esteem their death: insomuch that the lieutenant caused them to be made to hold their peace; saying,

(1) Ex Epist. Johan. Chambone; et ex Crisp; Pantal. &c. (2) Ex Crisp.
(3) Note, what opinion the papists have of the law of God, when it standeth not with their law.

French History. A. D. 1525 to 1560.

'shall these vile abjects so vaunt themselves against the whole state of the realm?' Then as Marsace was going into a corner by, to pray, one of the soldiers would not suffer him: to whom he said, 'That little time which we have, will you not give us to pray?' With that the soldier, being astonished, went his way.

As they were brought out of prison to the stake, the hangman tied a rope about the necks of the other two. Marsace seeing himself to be spared because of his order and degree, called by the way to the lieutenant, that he might also have one of the precious chains about his neck, in honour of his Lord; which being granted, so were these three blessed martyrs committed to the fire, where they, with meek patience, yielded up their lives to the hands of the Lord, in testimony of his gospel.[1]

Mattheus Dimonetus, Merchant; martyred at Lyons, A.D. 1553. The Persecutors were the Lieutenant of Lyons, Primacius and Buatherius, Officials, and Orus, an Inquisitor.

This merchant first lived a vicious and detestable life, full of much corruption and filthiness. He was also a secret enemy and searcher-out of good men, when and where they convented together; who, being called notwithstanding, by the grace of God, to the knowledge and favour of his word, shortly after was taken by the lieutenant, and Buatherius the official, in his own house at Lyons; and so, after a little examination, was sent to prison. Being examined by the inquisitor and the officials, he refused to yield any answer to them, knowing no authority they had upon him, but only to the lieutenant. His answers were, that he believed all that the holy universal church of Christ did truly believe, and all the articles of the creed. To the article of the holy Catholic church, being bid to add also 'Romanam,' that is, the church of Rome, that he refused. Advocates he knew none, but Christ alone. Purgatory he knew none, but the cross and passion of the Lamb, which purgeth the sins of all the world. True confession, he said, ought to be made not to the priest once a year, but every day to God and to those whom we have offended. The eating of the flesh and blood of Christ he took to be spiritual: and the sacrament of the flesh and blood of Christ to be eaten with the mouth, and that sacrament to be bread and wine under the name and signification of the body and blood of Christ; the mass not to be instituted of Christ, being a thing contrary to his word and will. For the head of the church, he knew none, but only Christ. Being in prison, he had great conflicts with the infirmity of his own flesh, but especially with the temptation of his parents, brethren, and kinsfolks, and the sorrow of his mother: nevertheless the Lord so assisted him, that he endured to the end. At his burning he spake much to the people, and was heard with great attention. He suffered on the 15th of July, A.D. 1553.[2]

William Neel, an Austin Friar, martyred at Evreux in France, A.D. 1553. His Persecutors were Legoux, the Dean Ilieriensis; and M. Simon Vigor, the Penitentiary of Evreux.

Henry Pantaleon, and likewise Crispine and Adrian, make mention also of one William Neel, a friar Augustine, who suffered in much like sort the same year, and was burned at Evreux in France. The occasion of his trouble rose first, for the rebuking of the vicious demeanour of the priests there, and of the dean, named Legoux: for which the dean caused him to be sent to Evreux, to the prison of the bishop. The story of this William Neel, with his answers to their articles objected, is to be read more at large in the ninth book of Pantaleon, and others.

Simon Laloe, martyred at Dijon, A.D. 1553. His Persecutor was the Bailiff or Steward of the City of Dijon.

Simon Laloe, a spectacle-maker, coming from Geneva into France for certain business, was laid hand of by the bailiff of Dijon. Three things were demanded

(1) Ex Crisp.; Pantal. (2) Ex Crisp (3) Ibid. (4) Lib. ix.

of him: first, where he dwelt? secondly, what was his faith? thirdly, what fellows he knew of his religion? His dwelling (he said) was at Geneva. His religion was such as was then used at Geneva. As for his fellows (he said) he knew none, but only those of the same city of Geneva, where his dwelling was. When they could get of him no other answer but this with all their racking and torments, they proceeded to his sentence, and pursued the execution of the same, which was on the 21st of November, A. D. 1553. The executioner, who was named James Silvester, seeing the great faith and constancy of that heavenly martyr, was so compuncted with repentance, and fell in such despair of himself, that they had much ado, with all the promises of the gospel, to recover any comfort in him. At last, through the mercy of Christ, he was comforted, and converted; and so he, with all his family, removed to the church at Geneva.[1]

French History.

A.D. 1525 to 1560.

The executioner converted.

Nicholas Nayle, martyred at Paris, A.D. 1553.

This Nicholas, a shoemaker, coming to Paris with certain fardels of books, was there apprehended; who, stoutly persisting in confessing the truth, was tried with sundry torments, to utter what fellows he had besides of his profession, and that so cruelly, that his body was dissolved almost one joint from another; but so constant he was in his silence, that he would express none. As they brought him to the stake, first they put a gag or piece of wood in his mouth, which they bound with cords to the hinder part of his head so hard, that his mouth on both sides gushed out with blood, and disfigured his face monstrously. By the way they passed by an hospital, where they willed him to worship the picture of St. Mary standing at the gate: but he turned his back as well as he could, and would not. For this the blind people were so grieved, that they would have fallen upon him. After he was brought to the fire, they so smeared his body with fat and brimstone, that at the first taking of the fire, all his skin was parched, and the inward parts not touched. With that the cords burst which were about his mouth, whereby his voice was heard in the midst of the flame, praising the Lord; and so the blessed martyr departed.[2]

Tormments.

Peter Serre, martyred near Toulouse, A. D. 1553. His Persecutors were a Woman of Toulouse; the Official of the Bishop of Toulouse; and the Inquisitor and Chancellor of the Bishop of Cozeran.

Peter Serre was first a priest; then, changing his religion, he went to Geneva, and learned the shoemakers' craft, and so lived. Afterwards, upon a singular love, he came to his brother at Toulouse, to the intent to do him good. His brother had a wife, who was not well pleased with his religion and coming. She, in secret counsel, told another woman, one of her neighbours, of this. What doth she, but goeth to the official, and maketh him privy to all. The official, thinking to foreslack no time, taking counsel with his fellows, laid hands upon this Peter, and brought him before the inquisitor; to whom he made such declaration of his faith, that he seemed to reduce the inquisitor to some feeling of conscience, and began to instruct him in the principles of true religion. Notwithstanding, all this helped not, but that he was condemned by the said chancellor to be degraded, and committed to the secular judge. The judge inquiring of what occupation he was, he said, that of late he was a shoemaker: whereby the judge, understanding that he had been of some other faculty before, required what it was. He said he had been of another faculty before, but he was ashamed to utter it, or to remember it, being the worst and vilest science of all others in the whole world besides. The judge and the people, supposing that he had been some thief or cutpurse, inquired to know what it was; but he for shame and sorrow stopped his mouth, and would not declare it. At last, through their importunate clamour, he was constrained to declare the truth, and said, that he had been a priest! The judge thereupon was so moved, that he condemned him; first, enjoining him in his condemnation, to ask the king forgiveness, he then judged him to have his tongue cut out, and so to be burned. From this sentence, he appealed to the parliament of Toulouse:

Priest craft a vile and a filthy art.

(1) Ex Crisp. (2) Ibid.

French History. A. D. 1525 to 1560.

not for that he thought thereby to save his life, but because he was enjoined to ask the king forgiveness, whom he had never offended; also because he was judged to have his tongue cut off, wherewith he would praise his God. Notwithstanding, by the sentence of that parliament, he was likewise condemned to be burned; only he was pardoned for asking forgiveness of the king, and the cutting off of his tongue, so that he would say nothing against their religion.

As he went to burning, he passed by the college of St. Martial, where he was bid to honour the picture of the Virgin standing at the gate; which because he refused, the judge commanded his tongue to be cut off: and so being put to the fire, he stood so quiet, looking up to heaven all the time of burning, as though he had felt nothing; bringing such admiration to the people, that one of the parliament said, that way was not the best, to bring the Lutherans to the fire, for that would do more hurt than good.[1]

Constancy notable.

Stephen King, and Petrus Denocheus, martyred at Chartres, A. D. 1553. Persecuted by the Governor of Marches.

Stephen King, after he had been at Strasburg a while, returned again into his country, dwelling in a town bearing the name of St. George, not far from Chaustors; where he served in the place of a notary, and had under him a clerk named Peter Denoche, who also had been at Geneva, and was there zealous in instructing the ignorant, and rebuking blasphemous swearers, and other offenders. These two were not long together but they were both suspected of Lutheranism, and apprehended by the governor of the Marches, or the marshal, and so were carried to Chartres, where, after their constant confession, upon their examination made, they were enclosed in prison, and there sustained long and tedious endurance; during which mean time, Stephen King made many worthy songs and sonnets in the praise of the Lord, whereby to recreate his spirit in that doleful captivity. At length, when, after long persuasions and fair promises of the bishop and of others, they could not be revoked from the doctrine of their confession, they were condemned. From that condemnation, they appealed to the court of Paris, but the council there, confirming their former sentence, returned them again to Chartres, from whence they came, where they were both executed with cruel punishment of fire.[2]

Antonius Magnus, or Magnæus, martyred at Paris, A. D. 1554. Persecuted by the Priests of Bruges.

Antonius Magnus was sent by the five who were in prison at Lyons, abovementioned, and by others also that were in captivity at Paris, to Geneva, to commend them to their prayers unto God for them; who, after certain business there dispatched, returned again into France, and there, within three hours of his coming, was betrayed and taken by certain priests at Bruges, and there delivered by the said priests unto the official. After a few days the king's justices took him from the official, and sent him to Paris, where, after great rebukes and torments suffered in the prison, and firmly persisting in the profession of the truth, by their capital sentence he was adjudged to have his tongue cut out, and so was burned at Maulbert-place in Paris.[3]

William Alençon, Bookseller; also a certain Shearman, at Montpelliers, A. D. 1554. Betrayed by false Brethren.

This Alençon did much good in the provinces of France by carrying books. Coming to Montpelliers, he was there circumvented by false brethren, detected, and laid in prison. In his faith he was firm and constant, to the end of his martyrdom, being burned the 7th of January, 1554.

There was the same time at Montpelliers a certain shearman or clothworker, who had been long in durance for religion, but at length, for fear and infirmity, he revolted; to whom it was enjoined by the judges to make public recantation, and to be present also at the burning of Alençon aforesaid: at the beholding of whose death and constancy, it pleased God to strike into this man such

(1) Ex Crisp. (2) Ex Histor. Gallic. per Crisp. (3) Ex Crisp.

boldness, that he desired the judges, that either he might burn with this Alençon, or else be brought again into prison, saying, that he would make no other recantation, but so. Wherefore, within three days after he was likewise condemned to the fire, and burned in the town aforesaid.[1] *French History.* A. D. 1525 to 1560.

Paris Panier, a Lawyer, martyred at Dol, A. D. 1554.

At Dol was beheaded a good and godly lawyer, named Paris Panier, for constant standing to the gospel of Christ, A. D. 1554.[2]

Peter du Val, Shoemaker, martyred at Nismes, A. D. 1554.

At Nismes in Dauphiné, Peter du Val sustained sore and grievous rackings and torments; wherewith his body being broken, dissolved, and maimed, yet he notwithstanding, manfully abiding all their extremity, would name and utter none. Then was he had to the fire, and there consumed, A. D. 1554.[3]

Johannes Filieul, or Filiolus, Carpenter; and Julianus le Ville, Point-maker, martyred at Sanserre, A. D. 1554. Their Persecutors were Giles le Pers, Lieutenant for the Marshal of St. Andrew, and Inquisitor for the Province of Bourbon; and also John Bergeronius, another Inquisitor or Counsellor.

These two blessed and constant martyrs, as they were going toward Geneva, with one of their sons and a daughter, were apprehended by Giles le Pers; who, in the way overtaking them, and most wickedly and Judasly pretending great favour to them, and to their religion, which he (as he said) supposed them to be of, with these and many other fair words circumvented and allured them to confess, what was their faith? whither they went with their children? and also that their wives were at Geneva? When they had declared this, the wretched traitor gave a sign to his horsemen, and so were these simple saints of Christ entrapped and brought to the castle of Nivern. Being in prison, they were examined of many things, whereunto they answered uprightly, according to their faith.

First, touching the sacrament, they affirmed the transubstantiation of the bishop of Rome to be against the article of the Creed, which saith that Christ is gone up to heaven, and there sitteth at the right hand of God: and therefore the bread and wine must needs remain in their properties; bearing notwithstanding a sacrament, or a holy sign, of the body and blood of the Lord. For like as by bread and wine the heart of man is comforted, so the body of Christ crucified, and his blood shed, spiritually hath the like operation in the souls of the believers. *Transubstantiation.* *A similitude between the bread and the body of Christ.*

For the mass, they said it was a thing most superstitious, and mere idolatry; and if we put any part of salvation therein (they said), it was utterly a robbing of the passion of Christ the Son of God, and that it was not once to be named out of a christian mouth. Also, that those who say that Peter either was pope, or author of the said mass, are far deceived. And as for turning bread into the body of Christ by the words of consecration, it was an error (they said) more of madmen, than any of sadmen: forasmuch as God is neither subject to men, nor to the tongues or exorcisms of men. Purgatory they denied to be any, save only the blood of Jesus Christ. *The mass.*

Furthermore, as they would not bereave the saints of God of their due honour, so neither the saints themselves (said they) will be contented to rob God of his honour only due to him. *Honour to God, not to saints.*

As touching confession, their opinion was, that the wounds and causes of conscience belong to no man, but only to God.

After these answers given and written, they were sent to the monastery of St. Peter, there to be disputed with. That done, the matter came to be debated among the judges, what was to be done with them. Some would their goods to be taken by inventory, and them to be banished. But Bergeronius at last caused to be determined, that they should be burned, and first to hear mass.

(1) Ex Crisp. (2) Ex Pantal. (3) Ex Crisp.

French History. From that court they appealed to the court of Paris; but the matter there was nothing amended, where behold the judgment of God. In the mean time, while they were at Paris, the wretched persecutor, Giles le Pers, was suddenly struck mad and died in a frenzy; which made many men to wonder, and especially the martyrs to be more constant.[1]

A. D. 1525 to 1560.

At last, the decree of the sentence was read against them.

I. For speaking against the sacrament: which they denied.

II. For speaking against baptism: which also they denied.

III. For speaking contumely against the saints: which they in like manner denied.

Torments. After this, the officer, to cause them to recant, threatened them with torments, which they sustained very extreme, the space from after dinner till three of the clock. When all that would not turn them, he sent to them a friar Dominic, a man captious and sophistical, to press them in disputation: but as he could do no hurt unto them, so could they do no good upon him. When the time of their execution did approach, the officer aforesaid put into their hands, being tied, a wooden cross, which they took with their teeth, and flung away: for which, the officer commanded both their tongues to be cut off. Herein appeared another marvellous work of the Lord: for nevertheless that their tongues were taken from them, to the intent they should not speak, yet God gave them utterance, their tongues being cut out, to speak at their death, saying, 'We bid sin, the flesh, the world, and the devil, farewell for ever, with whom we shall never have to do hereafter.' Divers other words they spake besides, which the people did hear and note. At last, when the tormentor came to smear them with brimstone and gunpowder, 'Go to,' said Filiolus, 'salt on, salt on the stinking and rotten flesh.' Finally, as the flame came bursting up to their faces, they, persisting constant in the fire, gave up their lives, and finished their martyrdoms.[2]

Dyonisius Vayre, martyred at Rouen, A. D. 1554. Persecuted by William Langlois, Under-Sheriff, and Johannes Langloys, the King's Procurator.

In the same year suffered, at Rouen, Denis Vayre, who, first leaving his popish priesthood, went to Geneva, where he learned the art of bookbinding, and brought many times books into France. After that, in the reign of king Edward VI., he came to Jersey, and there was minister, and preached. After the death of king Edward, the time not serving him to tarry, thinking to return again to Geneva, he came into Normandy with his books, into a town called Feueillet; where he, going out to hire a cart, William Langlois, with John Langlois his brother, came in and stayed his books, and him also who had the custody of them. Denis, albeit he might have escaped, yet hearing the keeper of his books to be in trouble, came, and presenting himself, was committed; the other was delivered. First, after two months and a half imprisonment, he was charged to be a spy, because he came out of England. Then from that prison he was removed to the bishop's prison, and then to Rouen; where sentence was given, that he should be burned alive, and thrice lifted up, and let down again into the fire. After the sentence given, they threatened him with many terrible torments, unless he would disclose such as he knew of that side. To whom he answered, that the sounder part of all France, and of the senate, was of that religion: notwithstanding, he would utter no man's name unto them. And as for their torments (he said) he passed not; for if he were killed with racking, then he should not feel the burning of the fire. When they saw him so little to pass for their torments, they left that, and proceeded to his burning: and first, they put a cross in his hands, which he would not hold. Then because he, coming by the image of the Virgin Mary, would not adore the same, they cried, 'Cut out his tongue:' and so they cast him into the fire, where he should be thrice taken up; but the flame went so high, that the hangman, being not able to come near him, cried to the people standing by to help, and so did the officers with their staves lay upon the people, to help their tormentors, but never a man would stir. And this was the end and martyrdom of that blessed Denis.[3]

(1) Note the just vengeance of God upon a wicked persecutor.
(2) Ex Crisp. et Pantal. et aliis. (3) Ex Pantal. l. 10.

There was a rich merchant of Paris, who said in jest to the friars of St. Francis, 'You wear a rope about your bodies, because St. Francis once should have been hanged, and the pope redeemed him upon this condition, that all his life after he should wear a rope.' Upon this the Franciscan friars of Paris caused him to be apprehended, and laid in prison, and so judgment passed upon him that he should be hanged: but he, to save his life, was contented to recant; and so did. The friars, hearing of his recantation, commended him, saying, if he continued so, he should be saved; and so calling upon the officers, caused them to make haste to the gallows, to hang him up while he was yet in a good way (said they) lest he fall again. And so was this merchant, notwithstanding his recantation, hanged for jesting against the friars.[1]

French History. A.D. 1525 to 1560.

A merchant hanged for jesting at the friars.

To this merchant may also be adjoined the brother of Tamer, who, when he had before professed the truth of the gospel, and afterwards by the counsel and instruction of his brother was removed from the same, fell into desperation and such sorrow of mind, that he hanged himself.[2]

The judgments of God.

Thomas Galbergne, a Coverlet-maker, martyred at Tournay, A.D. 1554.

This Thomas had copied out certain spiritual songs out of a book in Geneva, which he brought with him to Tournay, and lent the same to one of his fellows. This book being espied, he was called for by the justice, and examined of the book, which (he said) contained nothing but what was agreeing to the Scripture; and that he would stand by.

Then he was had to the castle, and after nineteen days was brought to the town-house, and there adjudged to the fire; whereunto he went cheerfully, singing psalms. As he was in the flame, the warden of the friars stood crying, 'Turn, Thomas! Thomas! yet it is time, remember him that came at the last hour.' To whom he cried out of the flame with a loud voice, 'And I trust to be one of that sort;' and so calling upon the name of the Lord, gave up his spirit.[3]

Add also to this, one Nicholas Paul, beheaded at Gaunt. These two should have been placed among the Dutch martyrs in the table before.

Richard Feurus, a Goldsmith, martyred at Lyons, A.D. 1554. Persecuted by the Latrunculator, or Under-marshal or Examiner of Dauphine; also by the Lieutenant, and his Attorney, and a Scribe, with divers others.

Feurus, a goldsmith, born at Rouen, first being in England, and in London, there received the taste and knowledge of God's word, as in his own epistle he recordeth. Then he went to Geneva, where he remained nine or ten years; and from thence returning to Lyons, he was there apprehended and condemned. Upon this he appealed to the high-court of Paris, through the motion of his friends; where, in the way, as he was led to Paris, he was met by certain whom he knew not, and by them taken from his keepers, and so set at liberty; which was A.D. 1551.

After that, continuing at Geneva about the space of three years, he came upon business to the province of Dauphiné, and there, as he found fault with the grace said in Latin, he was detected, and taken in his inn at night, by the under-marshal, or him who had the examination of malefactors. The next day he was sent to the justice, from him to the bishop; who ridding their hands of him, then was he brought to the lieutenant, who sent his advocate with a notary to him in the prison, to examine him of his faith. The whole process of his examinations, with his adversaries and the friars, in his story described, is long; the principal contents come to this effect:

The examination of Richard Feurus.

Inquisitor:[4] 'Dost thou believe the church of Rome?'
The Martyr: 'No, I do believe the catholic and universal church.'
Inquisitor: 'What catholic church is that?'

(1) Ex Pantal. lib. vii. (2) Ex Jo. Manlio in dictis Phil. Melancth. (3) Ex Crisp. lib. iv.
(4) This inquisitor was the advocate that the lieutenant sent with the notary.

French History. A.D. 1525 to 1560.

The Martyr: 'The congregation or communion of Christians.'

Inquisitor: 'What congregation is that, or of whom doth it consist?'

The Martyr: 'It consisteth in the number of God's elect, whom God hath chosen to be the members of his Son Jesus Christ, of whom he is also the head.'

Inquisitor: 'Where is the congregation, or how is it known?'

The Martyr: 'It is dispersed through the universal world, in divers regions, and is known by the spiritual direction wherewith it is governed, that is to say, both by the word of God, and by the right institution of Christ's sacraments.'

The church.

Inquisitor: 'Do you think the church that is at Geneva, Lausanne, Bern, and such other places, to be a more true church than the holy church of Rome?'

The Martyr: 'Yea, verily, for these have the notes of the true church.'

Difference between the church of Rome, and the church of Christ.

Inquisitor: 'What difference then make you between those churches and the church of Rome?'

The Martyr: 'Much; for the church of Rome is governed only by traditions of men, but those are ruled only by the word of God.'

Inquisitor: 'Where learned you this doctrine first?'

The Martyr: 'In England; at London.'

Inquisitor: 'How long have you been at Geneva?'

The Martyr: 'About nine or ten years.'

The Virgin Mary no advocate.

Inquisitor: 'Dost thou not believe the Virgin Mary to be a mediatrix and advocate to God for sinners?'

The Martyr: 'I believe, as in the word of God is testified, that Jesus Christ is the only Mediator and Advocate for all sinners: albeit the Virgin Mary be a blessed woman, yet the office of an advocate belongeth not unto her.'

Whether saints do pray.

Inquisitor: 'The saints that be in paradise, have they no power to pray for us?'

The Martyr: 'No, but I judge them to be blessed, and to be contented with the grace and glory which they have; that is, that they be counted the members of the Son of God.'

Inquisitor: 'And what then judge you of those who follow the religion of the church of Rome? think you them to be Christians?'

The church of Rome is not the church of Christ.

The Martyr: 'No, for that church is not governed with the Spirit of God, but rather fighteth against the same.'

Inquisitor: 'Do you then esteem all those who separate themselves from the church of Rome to be Christians?'

The Martyr: 'I have not to answer for others, but only for myself. Every man, saith St. Paul, shall bear his own burden.'[1]

And thus the advocate, when he had asked him whether he would put his hand to that he had said, and had obtained the same, departed to dinner.

At the next examination was brought unto him a Franciscan friar, who, first entering with him touching the words that he spake in his inn, asked him, why grace might not be said in Latin? 'Because,' said he, 'by the word of God, Christians are commanded to pray with heart and with spirit, and with that tongue which is most understood, and serveth best to the edification of the hearers.'

Then the friar, bringing forth his 'Benedicite,' 'Agimus tibi gratias,' &c. 'Laus Deo,' 'Pax vivis,' 'Requies defunctis,' &c., began thus to reason:

Praying in a strange tongue.

Friar: 'God understandeth all tongues, and the church of Rome hath prescribed this form of praying, receiving the same from the ancient church and the fathers, who used then to pray in Latin. And if any tongue be to be observed in prayer, one more than another, why is it not as good to pray in the Latin tongue, as to pray in the French?'

The Martyr: 'My meaning is not to exclude any kind of language from prayer, whether it be Latin, Greek, Hebrew, or any other, so that the same be understood, and may edify the hearers.'

Friar: 'When Christ entered the city of Jerusalem, the people cried, lauding him with *Hosanna filio David;* and yet understood they not what they said, as Jerome writeth.'

(1) Gal. vi.

The Martyr: 'It may be that Jerome so writeth, that they understood not the prophetical meaning, nor the accomplishment of these words upon Christ's coming: but that they understood the phrase of that speech or language which they spake, speaking in their own language, Jerome doth not deny.'

Then the friar, declaring that he was no fit person to expound the Scriptures being in the Latin tongue, inferred the authorities of councils and doctors, and testimonies of men; which seemed to move the officer not a little, who, then charging him with many things, as with words spoken in contempt of the Virgin Mary, and of the saints, also with rebellion against princes and kings, came at last to the matter of the sacrament, and demanded thus:

Inquisitor: 'Dost thou believe the holy host which the priest doth consecrate at the mass or no?'

The Martyr: 'I believe neither the host, nor any such consecration.'

Inquisitor: 'Why? dost thou not believe the holy sacrament of the altar, ordained of Christ Jesus himself?'

The Martyr: 'Touching the sacrament of the Lord's supper, I believe that whensoever we use the same according to the representation of St. Paul, we are refreshed spiritually with the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the true spiritual meat and drink of our souls.' The sacrament.

The friar then inferred the words of St. John's gospel, saying, 'My flesh is meat indeed,'[1] &c. and said, that the doctors of the church had decided that matter already, and had approved the mass to be a holy memorial of the death and passion of our Lord Jesus Christ.

The Martyr: 'The sacrament of the supper I believe to be ordained of the Lord for a memorial of his death, and for a stirring up of our thanksgiving to him; in which sacrament we have nothing to offer up to him, but do receive with all thanksgiving the benefits offered of God to us most abundantly in Christ Jesus his Son.'

And thus the advocate with the friar, bidding the notary to write the words that he had spoken, departed; who after eight days, being accompanied by the said Franciscan, and other friars of the Dominics, sent for the said Richard Feurus again to his house, and thus began to inquire:

Inquisitor: 'Dost thou believe any purgatory?'

The Martyr: 'I believe that Christ with his precious blood hath made an end of all purgatory, and purgation of our sins.' Purgatory.

Inquisitor: 'And dost thou think then there is no place after this life, where souls of men departed remain till they have made satisfaction for their sins?'

The Martyr: 'No; but I acknowledge one satisfaction once made for the sins of all men, by the blood and sacrifice of Jesus Christ our Lord, which is the propitiation and purgation for the sins of the whole world.'

Friar: 'In Matthew xviii., Christ, speaking by way of a parable or similitude, of a certain cruel servant, who, because he would not forgive his fellow-servant, was cast into prison, saith, "That he shall not come out from thence till he hath paid the uttermost farthing:" by which similitude is signified unto us a certain middle place, which is left for satisfaction to be made after this life for sins.'

The Martyr: 'First, the satisfaction for our sins by the death of Christ is plain and evident in the Scriptures; as in these places: Come to me, all you that labour and be burdened, and I will refresh you.[2] I am the door, he that entereth by me, shall be saved.[3] I am the way, verity and life.[4] Blessed be they that die in the Lord, for they rest from their labours.[5] Also to the thief who hanged with the Lord, it was said, This day thou shalt be with me in paradise,[6] &c. Secondly; as touching this similitude, it hath no other demonstration but to admonish us of our duty, in showing charity, and forgiving one another; which unless we do, there is no mercy to be looked for at the hands of God.' Satisfaction for sins.

Friar: 'If this be true that you say, then it should follow that there is neither purgatory nor any limbus, which were against our christian faith and our creed, which saith, He descended into hell,' &c. Limbus.

(1) John vi. 55. (2) Matt. xi. (3) John x.
(4) John xiii. (5) Apoc. xiii. (6) Luke xxiii.

French History. A. D. 1525 to 1560.

Deputy: 'Dost thou not believe there is a limbus?'

The Martyr: 'Neither do I believe there is any such place nor doth the Scripture make any mention thereof.'

Friar: 'Where were the old fathers then, before the death of Christ?'

The Martyr: 'In life, I say, eternal, which they looked for, being promised before to Adam, Abraham, and the patriarchs, in the seed to come.'

Deputy: 'What, dost thou believe that the pope hath any power?'

The Martyr: 'Yea verily.'

The power of the pope.

Deputy: 'Dost thou believe that the pope, as the vicar of Jesus Christ, can here bind and loose?'

The Martyr: 'That I do not believe.'

Deputy: 'How then doest thou understand the power of the pope?'

The Martyr: 'I understand the power of the pope so as St. Paul declareth [2 Thess.], saying, that because the world refused to receive the love of the truth unto salvation, therefore God hath given to Satan, and to his ministers, power of illusions and errors, that men should believe lies, and set up to themselves pastors and teachers such as they deserve.'

Christ's vicar in earth.

Friar: 'Christ gave to St. Peter power to bind and loose, whose successor, and vicar of Christ, is the pope, for the government of the church, that it might have one head in the world, as it hath in heaven. And though the pastors do not live according to the word which they preach, yet their doctrine is not therefore to be refused, as Christ teacheth in the 23d of Matthew.'

The Martyr: 'If the pope and his adherents would preach the word purely and sincerely, admixing no other inventions of their own, nor obtruding laws of their own devising, I would then embrace their doctrine, howsoever their lives were to the contrary: according as Christ doth tell us of the scribes and pharisees, admonishing us to follow their doctrine, and not their lives.[1] But there is great difference, whether they that take the governance of the church do sit in Moses's chair, which is the seat of truth, or else do sit in the chair of abomination, spoken of by Daniel, and also by St. Paul, where he saith, that the man of perdition shall sit in the temple of God, vaunting himself insolently above all that is called God.[2]

The keys of binding and loosing.

'And as touching the keys of binding and loosing, given to Peter, Christ therein assigned to Peter and other apostles the office of preaching the word of the gospel, which they did also well observe, in preaching nothing else but only the word, in which word is all the power contained of binding and loosing. Neither is it to be granted, the church to have two heads, one in heaven, another in earth; the head whereof is but one, which is Jesus Christ, whom the Father hath appointed to be head alone both in heaven and earth, as St. Paul in many places of his epistles doth teach.'[3]

Friar: 'You have no understanding how to expound the Scriptures, but the old doctors have expounded the Scriptures, and holy councils, whose judgments are to be followed. But what say you to auricular confession?'

Auricular confession.

The Martyr: 'I know no other confession but that which is to be made to God, and reconciliation towards our neighbour, which Christ and his apostles have commended to us.'

Friar: 'Have you not read in the gospel, how Christ doth bid us to confess to the priest, where he commanded the leper, being made whole, to show himself to the priest?'

The Martyr: 'The true church of the Lord Jesus Christ never observed this strange kind of confession, to carry our sins to the priest's ear. And though the church of Rome hath intruded this manner of confessing, it followeth not thereby that it is to be received. And as touching the leper whom the Lord sent to the priest, he was not sent therefore to whisper his sins in the priest's ear, but only for a testimony of his health received according to the law.

'Of the other confession which is to be made to God, we have both the examples and testimonies of the prophet David full in the Psalms,[4] where he saith, that he confessed his sins unto the Lord, and received forgiveness of the same.'

After this, the friar, proceeding further to make comparison between the

(1) Matt. xxiii.
(2) 2 Thess. ii.
(3) Ephes. i.; Coles. i. &c..
(4) See Psalms xxxii., li., and cvi.

church of Rome and the church of Geneva, would prove that the pope hath power to set laws in the church without any express word of God: for so it is written (said he) that there were many other things besides, which are not written in this book.[1] Also, where Christ promiseth to his disciples, to send unto them the Holy Ghost, who should induce them into all truth. Moreover, such decrees and ordinances as are in the church, were decided (said he) and appointed by the doctors of the church and by all the councils, directed, no doubt, by the Holy Ghost. Furthermore he inferred, that the church also of Geneva had their ordinances and constitutions made without any word of God. And for example, he brought forth the order of the Psalms and service publicly observed and appointed upon Wednesday, in the church of Geneva, as though that day were holier than another.

French History. A. D. 1525 to 1560.

The church of Rome and of Geneva compared.

To this the martyr answered again, declaring that the ordinance of those public prayers and psalms on Wednesday in the church of Geneva, was not to bind conscience, or for any superstitious observation, or for any necessity which either should bind the conscience, or could not be altered at their arbitrement; but only for an order or commodity for public resort, to hear the word of God, according as ancient kings and temporal magistrates have used in old time to do, in congregating the people together; not to put any holiness in the day, or to bind the conscience to any observation (as the pope maketh his laws), but only for order's sake, serving unto commodity.

And as touching that any thing should be left for doctors and councils to be decided, without the express word of God, that is not so; for that all things be expressed and prescribed by the word, whatsoever is necessary either for government of the church, or for the salvation of men; so that there is no need for doctors of the church, or councils, to decide any thing more than is decided already.

Paul saith, that he durst utter nothing but what the Lord had wrought by him.[2] St. John, speaking of the doctrine of Christ Jesus, willeth us to receive no man, unless he bring with him the same doctrine.[3] St. Paul warneth the Galatians, not to believe an angel from heaven, bringing another doctrine than that which they had already received.[4] Christ, calling himself the good shepherd, noteth them to be his sheep which hear his voice, and not the voice of others.[5] And St. Peter admonishing the pastors of the church, forewarns them to teach only the word of God, without any seeking of lordship or dominion over the flock.[6] From this moderation how far the form of the pope's church doth differ, the tyranny which they use, doth well declare.

The church ought to be governed only by the voice of the Lord's word.

Friar: 'In the old church priests and ministers of the church were wont to assemble together for deciding of such things as pertained to the government and direction of the church; whereas in Geneva no such thing is used, as I can prove by this your own testament here in my hands, that you the better may understand what was then the true use and manner of the church.'

The Martyr: 'What was the true order and manner that the apostles did institute in the church of Christ, I would gladly hear, and also would desire you to consider the same; and when you have well considered it, yet shall you find the institution and regiment of the church of Geneva not to be without the public counsel and advisement of the magistrates, elders and ministers of that church, with such care and diligence as Paul and Silas took in ordering the church of Thessalonica, Berea, &c., wherein nothing was done without the authority of God's word, as appeareth in the 17th chapter of the Acts. As likewise also in establishing the church of Antioch, when the apostles were together in council for the same, there was no other law or doctrine followed, but only the word of God, as may appear by the words of the council, Quid tentatis Deum, jugum imponere? &c. And albeit the ministers of the church of Rome, and the pope, were not called to the institution of the aforesaid church of Geneva, yet it followeth not therefore, that there was no lawful order observed, either in establishing that church or any other.'

Churches may be instituted without the pope.

Baptism in the pope's church, is no necessary cause to follow all the pope's errors.

Friar: 'You were first baptized in the church of the pope, were ye not?'

The Martyr: 'I grant I was, but yet that nothing hindereth the grace of God: he may renovate and call to further knowledge whom he pleaseth.'

(1) John xxi. (2) Rom. xv. (3) 2 John.
(4) Gal. ii. (5) John x. (6) 1 Peter v.

French History.

A. D. 1525 to 1560.

A Councillor: 'I would wish you not to stick to your own wisdom and opinion. You see the churches in Germany, how they dissent one from another: so that if you should not submit your judgment to the authority of the general councils, every day you shall have a new Christianity.'

The Martyr: 'To mine own wisdom I do not stick, nor ever will, but only to that wisdom which is in Christ Jesus, although the world doth count it foolishness. And where ye say, that the churches of Germany dissent among themselves one from another; that is not so, for they accord in one agreement altogether, touching the foundation and principal grounds of christian faith. Neither is there any such fear that every day should rise up a new Christianity, unless the church be balanced with authority of the councils, as you pretend. For so we read in the prophet David, in Psalm xxxiii., and in other places of Scripture, that the councils of the nations and people shall be overthrown and subverted, by the Lord,[1] &c. Wherefore the best is, that we follow the counsel of God and his word, and prefer the authority thereof before all other counsels and judgments of men. And thus doing, I for my part had rather dwell and settle myself in this little Christianity, be it ever so small, than in that populous papality, be it ever so great in multitude.'[2]

Agreement in the principal points of doctrine in the churches reformed.

And thus was this godly Feurus commanded again by the deputy to the bishop's prison, and from thence shortly after removed to Lyons, not by the open and beaten way, but by secret and privy journeys, lest perhaps he should be taken from them again, as he was before.

After he was come to Lyons, he was brought before Tignatius the judge, and a doctor of Sorbonne, called Fumosus, who questioned with him touching sundry articles of religion. But in conclusion, when they neither with arguments could convict him, nor with promises allure him, nor with threatening terrors stir him, either to betray the truth which he knew, or to bewray those whom he knew not, who took him away before from his keepers, they proceeded at last to the sentence, condemning him first to have his tongue cut out, and then to be burned. All which he received willingly and quietly for righteousness' sake, thus finishing his martyrdom, on the 7th of July, A.D. 1554.[3]

Nicholas du Chense, martyred at Gry, near Besançon, A.D. 1554. Persecuted by an Inquisitor Monk.

The cause and occasion why this Nicholas came in trouble was, for that he, going from Lausanne (where he abode for his conscience), to fetch his sister, and her husband, and certain other of his friends; as he went from Besançon, toward the town of Gry, did not do homage to a certain cross in the way; where a certain monk, who was an inquisitor, overtook him, and thereby suspected him. He was guided by the same monk, craftily dissembling his religion, to a lodging in Gry; where the justice of the place coming in incontinent took him. Nicholas seeing how he was by the monk, his conductor, betrayed; 'O false traitor!' said he, 'hast thou thus betrayed me?' Then after examination he was condemned. Being carried to the place of martyrdom, by the way he was promised, that if he would kneel down and hear a mass, he should be let go as a passenger. But Nicholas, armed with perseverance, said, he would rather die, than commit such an act: who, calling upon the name of the Lord, took his death patiently.[4]

False dealing.

John Bertrand, a Forester, or Keeper of the Forest of Marchenoir, martyred at Blois, A.D. 1556. Persecutors: The Seigniors or Lords of Estnay and Ciguongnes, dwelling by the town of Machenoir; and Denis Barbes, councillor of Blois.

For the religion and gospel of Christ this John was apprehended by these persecutors here specified, and led bound to Blois, where he was examined by Denis the councillor, of divers points: as, whether he had spoken at any time against God, against the church, and the he-saints, and the she-saints of para-

(1) Psalm xxxiii. (2) 'Parvus Christianismus potior populoso papatu.'
(3) Ex Crisp.; Pant. et aliis. (4) Ex Crisp. lib. vi.

dise? whereunto he said, No. Item, whether at any time he had called the mass abominable? which he granted, for that he, finding no mass in all the Scripture, was commanded by St. Paul, that if an angel from heaven would bring any other gospel besides that which was already received, he should account it accursed. After his condemnation they would have him to be confessed, and presented to him a cross to kiss: but he bade the friars with their cross depart; 'That is not the cross,' said he, 'that I must carry.' Entering into the cart before the multitude, he gave thanks to God, that he was not there for murder, theft, or blasphemy, but only for the quarrel of our Saviour. Being tied to the post, he sang Psalm xxv. Of age he was young, his countenance was exceeding cheerful and amiable, his eyes looked up to heaven. 'O the happy journey,' said he, seeing the place where he should suffer, 'and the fair place that is prepared for me!' When the fire was kindled about him, 'O Lord,' cried he, 'give thy hand to thy servant; I commend my soul unto thee;' and so meekly yielded up his spirit: whose patient and joyful constancy so astonied the people, that of long time before nothing did seem to them so admirable.[1]

French History. A. D. 1525 to 1560.

Peter Rousseau, martyred A.D. 1556. Persecuted by his own Brother-in-law.

Peter Rousseau, coming from Geneva and Lausanne to his country, partly to communicate with certain of his acquaintance in the word of God, partly for other certain affairs, because he required his inheritance of his brother-in law, was by him betrayed. Then, being constant in his confession which he offered up, he was put to the rack three times, which he suffered constantly with great torments. Afterwards he had his tongue cut off, and a ball of iron put in his mouth. He was drawn upon a hurdle, all broken and maimed, to the fire, where he was lifted up into the air, and let down three times; and when he was half burned, the ball fell from his mouth, and he with a loud voice called on the name of God, saying, 'Jesus Christ, assist me.' And so this blessed martyr gave up his life to God.[2]

Cruelty.

Arnold Moniere, and John de Cazes, martyred at Bourdeaux, A.D. 1556. The name of his Persecutor was Anthony de Lescure, the King's Attorney.

After that Arnold Moniere was taken and examined of the justice, and so was laid in prison, John de Cazes, resorting to the same town of Bourdeaux, and hearing of him, and being admonished moreover, that if he went to him he should be impeached of heresy, notwithstanding went to comfort him, and so was also imprisoned. After many examinations, sentence was given upon them to be burned. When the time came of their martyrdom, they were drawn through the dirt upon a hurdle to the place, accompanied by a number of bills, glaves, gunners, and trumpeters. Moreover, albeit there was no such cause (they being two simple poor men), yet the magistrates commanded (upon what occasion I know not) all the gates of the city to be shut, and guarded with keepers. When the blessed martyrs were brought and bound to the post, which was before the palace, they, much rejoicing that they were made worthy to suffer for Christ, made confession of their faith, and many earnest exhortations unto the people. But, to stop the hearing of these saints, the trumpeters were commanded to sound, who, during all the time of their suffering, never ceased. The hangman, preparing himself first to strangle Cazes, chanced to fall down from the top of the post to the pavement, and brake his head in such sort as the blood followed in great quantity. Notwithstanding recovering himself, he went to Moniere, and him he strangled, who patiently rendered up his life. Cazes, who was the stronger of them both, being set on fire before the hangman came, suffered the extremity of the fire with great pains, but greater patience; for as his legs were almost half burnt, yet he endured, crying, 'My God! my Father!' and so gave up his life.

Trumpets brought in to stop the hearing of God's saints.

And further, to note the work of God that followed when these two mild and

(1) Ex Gallic. Hist. per Crisp. lib. vi. (2) Ex Crisp.

French History. A.D. 1524 to 1560.

martyred saints were almost consumed in the fire to ashes, suddenly, without matter or cause, such a fear fell upon them at the execution, that the justices and the people, notwithstanding that they had the gates locked for them, and were defended with all manner of weapons about them, not knowing wherefore, took them to their legs, in such haste fleeing away, that they overran one another. The prior of St. Anthony's fell down, so that a great number went over him. The judge Pontacke on his mule, with his red robe, fleeing as the others did, was overthrown with the press in the street called Poteuin, in such sort that he was fain to be carried to Pichon's house, a widow, and there cried within, 'Hide me; save my life; I am dead! I see even the like matter as at the last commotion! My friends! hide my mule, that no man see her nor know her.' Briefly, such was the fear which came upon them, that every man shut up his house. After the fear was past, every man asked what the matter was, but none could tell, neither could the enemies of God's truth perceive, who was he that put them so to flight and fear, without any semblance of any adversary about them.[1] This story is testified, and to be found both in the volume of the French martyrs, printed by John Crispine [lib. vi.], also in the book of Dutch martyrs, written by Adrian.

Fear sent among God's enemies.

* Bartholomew Hector, martyred at Turin, A. D. 1556. Persecuted by a gentleman called Perriere; by M. Bartholomew Eme, President; and by M. Augustine d'Eglise, Councillor.

First, this Hector was a traveller about the country, and a seller of books, having his wife and children at Geneva. As he came into the vale of Angrogne, in Piedmont, to get his living with selling of books, he was taken by a certain gentleman, and there arrested and sent to Turin, then examined, and at last condemned. Being condemned, he was threatened, that if he spake any thing to the people, his tongue should be cut off; nevertheless he ceased nothing to speak. After his prayers made, wherein he prayed for the judges, that God would forgive them, and open their eyes, he was offered his pardon at the stake, if he would convert; which he refused. Then he prepared himself to his death, which he took patiently: whereat many of the people wept, saying, 'Why doth this man die, who speaketh of nothing but God?'[2] *

Philip Cene, and James his fellow, martyred at Dijon, A. D. 1557.[3]

This Philip Cene was an apothecary at Geneva. He was taken at Dijon, and there imprisoned, and in the same town of Dijon he, with one James his companion, was burned. As this Philip went to his death singing psalms, the friar, standing by, stopped his mouth with his hand. The most part of the people wept bitterly, saying, 'Be of good courage, brethren! be not afraid of this death;' which when one of the adversary part heard, he said to one of the magistrates, 'Do you not see how almost the half part of the people is on their side, and doth comfort them?'[4]

Archambant Seraphon, and M. Nicholas du Rousseau, martyred at Dijon, A. D. 1557.

These two were in prison together with Philip and James above-mentioned, at Dijon. Archambant, going about with a packet of pedlary-ware to get his living, and coming towards his wife, heard of certain prisoners at Dijon, to whom he wrote, to comfort them with his letters. The next day after, he was searched at Aussone, and letters of certain scholars of Paris found about him. Then he was brought to Dijon, where he, with the other, called M. Nicholas du Rousseau, constantly suffered.

The same Archambant had been also condemned three years before at Toul, and as he was led to Bourdeaux, he escaped.[5]

(1) 'Impius fugit, et nemo persequitur.'
(2) Ex. Hist. Gal. per. Crisp. lib. vi. [See also Edition 1596, p. 835.—Ed.]
(3) The accusers appear not in the story. (4) Ex Crisp. lib. vi.
(5) Ex ejus epist. ad uxorem, apud Crisp. lib. vi.

Philbert Hamlin, martyred at Bourdeaux, A. D. 1557. Persecuted by the King's Attorney of Sainctes Ville.

French History.

A. D. 1525 to 1560.

Philbert Hamlin first was a priest: he then went to Geneva, where he exercised printing, and sent books abroad. After that he was made minister at the town of Allenart, in Saintonge, in which and in other places he did much good in edifying the people. At last he was apprehended at Sainctes Ville, and with him his host a priest, whom he had instructed in the gospel; and after confession made of his faith, he, with the said priest, was carried to Bourdeaux before the president. As he was in prison on a Sunday, a priest came in with all his furniture, to say mass in the prison; whom Philbert, seeing to be revested, came and plucked his garments from his back with such zeal and vehemency, that the mass garments, with the chalice and candlesticks, fell down and were broken; saying, 'Is it not enough for you to blaspheme God in churches, but you must also pollute the prison with your idolatry?' The jailor, hearing of this, in his fury laid upon him with his staff, and also complained of him; whereby he was removed to the common prison, and laid in a low pit, laden with great irons, so that his legs were swollen withal; and there he continued eight days. A little before, perceiving the priest his host to decline from the truth, he did what he could to confirm him in the same: but when he knew he had flatly renounced Christ and his word, he said unto him, 'O unhappy and more than miserable! is it possible for you to be so foolish, as for saving of a few days which you have to live by the course of nature, so to start away, and to deny the truth? Know you therefore, that although you have, by your foolishness, avoided the corporal fire, yet your life shall be never the longer; for you shall die before me, and God shall not give you the grace that it shall be for his cause, and you shall be an example to all apostates.' He had no sooner ended his talk, but the priest, going out of prison, was slain by two gentlemen who had a quarrel with him: whereof when Master Philbert had heard, he affirmed that he knew of no such thing before, but spake as it pleased God to guide his tongue. Whereupon immediately he made an exhortation of the providence of God, which by the occasion hereof moved the hearts of many, and converted them unto God.

The zeal of Philbert.

Philbert prophesieth.

The marvellous judgment of God against apostates.

At last the aforesaid Philbert, after his condemnation, was had to the place of his martyrdom before the palace; and as he was exhorting the people, to the intent his words should not be heard, the trumpets blew without ceasing. And so, being fastened to the post, this holy martyr, praying and exhorting the people, was strangled, and his body with fire consumed on Palm-Sunday eve.[1]

Trumpets blown to stop the hearing of Philbert.

Nicholas Sartorius, martyred at Aost, by Piedmont, A. D. 1557. His Persecutors were Ripet, a Secretary; Anthony Eschaux, Bailiff; and the King's Procurator.

Nicholas Sartorius, of the age of six and twenty years, born in Piedmont, came to the parts of Chambery in Lent, where a certain warden of the friars in the town of Aost had preached on Good Friday, upon the passion. The report of that sermon being recited to this Sartorius, by one that heard him, Sartorius reprehended the error and blasphemies thereof, which were against the holy Scriptures. Shortly after, the party that told him went to a secretary, named Ripet, who covertly came to entrap Nicholas, demanding him of the friar's sermon: 'And did not our preacher,' said he, 'preach well?' 'No,' said Nicholas, 'but he lied falsely.' Ripet, entering further with him, demanded, 'And do you not believe the body of the Lord to be in the host?' to whom Nicholas then answered again, 'That is against our creed, which saith, that he ascended up and sitteth,' &c. Incontinently Ripet went to the friar and his companions, to cause him to be apprehended. The friends of Nicholas, perceiving the danger, willed him to avoid and save himself, and also accompanied him out of the town about the space of three leagues. Then was great pursuit made after him to all quarters, who at length was taken at the town of St. Remy, at the foot of the mountain of Great St. Bernard, where he was examined before Anthony Eschaux, bailiff of the town, and other justices, before whom he answered with great boldness for his faith. Then they brought him to the rack, and when the serjeant

(1) Ex Gallic. Hist. Crisp. lib. vi.

French History. A. D 1525 to 1560.

refused to draw the cord, the bailiff himself, and the receiver, with a canon, did rack him with their own hands. Notwithstanding that the lords of Bern wrote for him to the town of Aost, requiring to have their own subject delivered unto them, they hastened the execution, and pronounced sentence that he should be burned; which sentence he received with such constancy, that neither the king's receiver, nor all the other enemies, could divert him from the truth of the gospel, which he manfully maintained while any spirit remained in his body.[1]

George Tardif, with one of Tours, an Embroiderer; also Nicholas, a Shoemaker, of Jenvile. The first was martyred at Sens; the second at Tours, A. D. 1558; and the third at Jenvile, the same year.[2]

The printer of the story of the French martyrs, named Crispine, among others maketh also memorial of George Tardif; also an embroiderer, of Tours, and of Nicholas of Jenvile, declaring that all these three were together in prison, and afterwards were dissevered, to suffer in sundry places one from the other; of whom, first, George Tardif was executed in Sens.

The embroiderer of Tours, as he was coming with five or six others out of a wood, being at prayer, was taken, and thereupon examined. Before he was examined, he desired the judges that he might pray; which being granted, after his prayer made, wherein he prayed for the judges, for the king, and all estates, and for the necessity of all Christ's saints, he answered for himself with such grace and modesty, that the hearts of many were broken, unto the shedding of tears; seeking (as it seemed) nothing else but his deliverance. Notwithstanding he at last was sent unto Tours, and there was crowned with martyrdom.

The third, who was Nicholas, being but young of years, and newly come from Geneva to his country, for certain money, by means of a lady there dwelling, was caused to be apprehended. When he was condemned and set in the cart, his father, coming with a staff, would have beaten him, but the officers not suffering it, would have struck the old man. The son, crying to the officers, desired them to let his father alone, saying, that his father had power over him to do with him what he would. And so going to the place where he should suffer, having a ball of iron put in his mouth, he was brought at length to the fire, in the town of Jenvile, where he patiently took his death and martyrdom, A. D. 1558.[3]

The Congregation of Paris persecuted, to the number of three or four hundred, A. D. 1558; by the Priests of the College of Plessis; the Doctors of Sorbonne; Dr. Democharès; Cenalis, Bishop of Auranches; Martin, the King's Attorney; the Cardinal of Lorraine; Maillard; and lastly, Henry II., the French King.

In 1558, the 4th of September, a company of the faithful, to the number of three or four hundred, were together convented at Paris, in a certain house having before it the college of Plessis, in the street of St. James, and behind it the college of Sorbonne, who there assembled in the beginning of the night, to the intent to communicate together the Lord's supper: but incontinently that was discovered by certain priests of Plessis, who, gathering together such as were of that faction, came to beset the house, and made an outcry, that the watch might come and take them; so that in short time almost all the city of Paris was up in armour, thinking some conspiracy to have been in the city; who then following the noise, and perceiving that they were Lutherans, a great part of them were in extreme rage, furiously seeking to have their blood, and therefore stopped the streets and lanes with carts, and made fires to see that none should escape. The faithful, albeit God had given them leisure to finish their administration and prayers with such quietness as they never had better, seeing the suddenness of the thing, were struck with great fear; who then, being exhorted by the governors of the congregation, fell to prayer. That done, through the counsel of some who knew the cowardly hearts of the multitude, this order was taken, that the men who had weapons should adventure through the press. Only the women and children remained in the house, and a few

The fury of this world against the poor Christians.

(1) Ex Crisp. lib. vi. (2) The accusers be not named in the story.
(3) Ex Typograph. Crisp. lib. vi.

men with them who were less bold than the others, to the number of six or seven score. Where appeared the admirable power of God in them that went out with weapons, who, notwithstanding that the lanes and passages were stopped, and the fires made, did all escape save only one, who was beaten down with stones, and so destroyed. Certain that remained in the house with the women, afterwards leaped into gardens, where they were stayed till the magistrates came. The women who were all gentlewomen, or of great wealth, only six or seven excepted, seeing no other hope, and perceiving the fury of the people, went up to the windows, crying 'Mercy!'[1] and showing their innocent intent, required ordinary justice. Thus as they were inclosed about six or seven hours, at last came Martin the king's attorney, with force of commissaries and serjeants, who, with much ado appeasing the rage of the people, entered into the house; where he, viewing the women and children, and the other furniture there being prepared for that congregation, perceived testimonies sufficient of their innocency, insomuch that in considering thereof, for pity of heart his eyes could not refrain from tears. Notwithstanding, proceeding in his office, he had them all to prison within the little castle. I omit here the furious usage of the people by the way, how despitefully they plucked and haled the women, tore their garments, thrust off their hoods from their heads, and disfigured their faces with dust and dirt. Neither were they better treated in the prison, than they were in the streets; for all the villains and thieves there were let out of their holes and stinking caves, and the poor Christians placed in their room.

French History.

A.D. 1525 to 1560.

One of the congregation beaten down in the streets and martyred.

Besides these manifold wrongs and oppressions done to these poor innocents, followed then (which was worst of all) the cruel and slanderous reports of the friars and priests, who, in their railing sermons, and other talk, cried out on the Lutherans, persuading the people most falsely, that they assembled together to make a banquet in the night, and there, putting out the candles, they intended to commit most filthy abominations: adding moreover (to make the lie more likely), that certain nuns also and monks were with them. Also that they should conspire against the king, and other like heinous crimes, whatsoever their malice could invent, for defacing of the gospel. With such like malicious misreports and slanders, Satan went about to extinguish the ancient church of Christ in the primitive time, accusing the innocent Christians then of incest, conspiracy, killing of infants, putting out of candles, and filthy whoredom, &c. These sinister rumours and cursed defamations were no sooner given out, but they were as soon received, and spread far, not only to them of the vulgar sort, but also among the estates of the court, and even to the king's ears. The cardinal of Lorraine the same time bare a great sway in the court, who then procured a certain judge of the castle to come in, declaring to the king, that he found there lying on the floor of the aforesaid house, divers couches and pallets, which they intended to use for evil purposes; also much other furniture and preparation appointed for a sumptuous feast or banquet: wherewith the king was mightily inflamed against them, neither was there any one person that durst contrary it.

A false and malicious slander raised against the congregation. †

†

Here the enemies began highly to triumph, thinking verily that the gospel, with all the friends thereof, was overthrown for ever. On the other side, no less perplexity and lamentation were among the brethren, sorrowing not so much for themselves, as for the imprisonment of their fellows. Albeit they lost not their courage so altogether, but as well as they could, they exhorted one another, considering the great favour and providence of God, in delivering them so wonderfully out of the danger. Some comfort they took unto them, consulting together in this order, that first they should humble themselves to God in their own private families: secondly, to stop the running bruits of their holy assemblies, they should write apologies, one to the king, another to the people: thirdly, that letters of consolation should be written and sent to their brethren in prison.

The first apology was written to the king, and conveyed so secretly into his chamber, that it was found and read openly in the hearing of the king and all his nobles: wherein the Christians learnedly and discreetly both cleared themselves of those reports, and showed the malice of their enemies, especially of Satan, who ever, from the beginning of the church, hath gone, and still doth go about

The apology of the congregation against false reports.

(1) Mercy here importeth no offence acknowledged, but to be saved from the rage of the people.

French History. A. D. 1525 to 1560.

to overturn the right ways of the Lord. Declaring further, by manifold examples and continual experience, even from the primitive time, how the nature of the church hath ever been to suffer vexations, and slanderous reports and infamation by the malignant adversaries, &c. And lastly, coming to the king, they craved that their cause might not be condemned, before it had had indifferent hearing, &c.

The true church of Christ ever from the beginning oppressed with slanderous tongues.

Nevertheless, this apology to the king served to little purpose; forasmuch as the adversaries incontinently denied all that was written to the king, making him to believe, that all were but excuses pretensed; neither was there any person that durst reply again. But the other apology, to the people, did inestimable good, in satisfying the rumours, and defending the true cause of the gospel. Whereupon certain doctors of Sorbonne began to write both against the apology and the persons, of whom one was called Democharès, who, taking for his foundation, without any proof, that they were all heretics, cried out for justice, with bills, glaves, fire and sword.

Dr. Democharès, a persecutor.

Another Sorbonist, more bloody than the first, not only exclaimed against them for putting out the candles in their detestable concourses and assemblies, but also accused them as men who maintained that there was no God, and denied the divinity and humanity of Christ, the immortality of the soul, the resurrection of the flesh; and briefly, all the articles of true religion. And thus he charged them without any proof, moving both the king and people, without any form of law, to destroy and cut them in pieces, &c.

Lying lips.

Cenalis, bishop of Avranches, a persetor.

The third that wrote against them was Cenalis, bishop of Avranches, who debated the same matter, but with less vehemency than the others, defending impudently, that their assemblies were to maintain whoredom; complaining of the judges because they were no sharper with them, saying, that their softness was the cause why the number of them so much increased. Among other points of his book this one thing he disputeth marvellous pleasantly, touching the signs and marks of the true church; first, presupposing this one thing, which is true, that the true church hath its signs, by which it may be known from the false church: and thereupon (making no mention at all either of preaching, or ministration of sacraments) thus he inferreth: that their church, which was the catholic church, had bells[1] by which their assemblies be ordinarily called together; and the other church, which is of the Lutherans, hath claps of harquebusses and pistolets for signs, whereby they (as it is commonly bruited) are wont to congregate together. Upon this supposal, as upon a sure foundation, grounding his matter, he vaunted and triumphed as one having gotten a great conquest, and made a long antithesis or comparison, by which he would prove that bells were the marks of the true church. 'The bells,' said he, 'do sound; the harquebusses do crack or thunder. The bells do give a sweet tune and melodious; the signs of the Lutherans do make a foul noise and terrible. The bells do open heaven; the others do open hell. Bells chase away clouds and thunder; the others engender clouds, and counterfeit thunder:' with many other properties more, which he brought out to prove that the church of Rome is the true church, because it hath those bells.

Bells made the mark of the true church.

The commodity of bells in the pope's church.

Mark, good reader! the profound reasons and arguments which these great doctors had, either to defend their own church, or to impugn the apologies of the Christians.

Briefly, to finish the residue of this story: as the faithful Christians were thus occupied in writing their apologies, and in comforting their brethren in prison with their letters, the adversaries again with their faction were not idle, but sought all means possible to hasten forward the execution, giving diligent attendance about the prison and other open places, to satisfy their uncharitable desire with the death of those whose religion they hated.

Finally, the 17th day of September, commission was directed out by the king, and certain presidents and councillors appointed to over-

(1) Note well the true notes of the pope's holy church.

see the expedition of the matter. Whereupon divers of the poor afflicted gospellers were brought forth to their judgment and martyrdom, as anon, Christ willing, you shall hear. *French History.* A. D. 1525 to 1560.

Henry Pantaleon,[1] partly touching this persecution of the Parisians, referreth the time thereof to A. D. 1557, which the French chronicles do assign to the year 1558; and addeth moreover, that the Germans being at the same time in a certain colloquy at Worms, divers learned men resorted thither from Geneva and other quarters, desiring of the princes and protestants there, that they, by their ambassadors sent to the French king, would become suitors unto him for the innocent prisoners, who, for the cause abovesaid, were detained in bands at Paris. By the means of their intercession (saith he) and especially for that the French king was then at war, as God provided, with Philip king of Spain, a great part of the captives were rescued and delivered; albeit certain of the said number were executed before the coming of the German ambassadors, the names and martyrdom of whom hereunder do ensue.[2] God's help in time of need.

Nicholas Clinet, martyred at Paris, A. D. 1558. Persecuted by certain Priests of the College of Plessis; and by Dr. Maillard, Sorbonist.

Of this godly company thus brought to judgment and to martyrdom, the first was Nicholas Clinet, of the age of sixty years, who first being a schoolmaster to youth at Saintonge, where he was born, was there pursued, and had his image burned. From thence he came to Paris, where, for his godly conversation, he was made one of the elders or governors of the church. For his age he was suspected of the judges to be a minister, and therefore was set to dispute against the chiefest of the Sorbonists, and especially Maillard, whom he did so confute both in the Scriptures, and also in their own Sorbonical divinity (wherein he had been well exercised and expert), in the presence of the lieutenant-civil, that the said lieutenant confessed that he never heard a man better learned, and of more intelligence. Dr. Maillard confuted.

Taurin Gravelle, a Lawyer, martyred at Paris, A. D. 1558. Persecuted by Dr. Maillard, a Sorbonist.

Taurin Gravelle was first a student of the law at Toulouse: after that he was made an advocate in the court of Paris: lastly, for his godliness, he was ordained an elder to the said congregation, with Clinet above mentioned. This Taurin, having in his hands the keeping of a certain house of one M. Barthomier, his kinsman, and seeing the congregation destitute of a room, received them into the said house. And when he perceived the house to be compassed with enemies, albeit he might have escaped with the rest, yet he would not, but did abide the adventure, to the intent he would answer for the fact, in receiving the said assembly into the house. The constancy of this man was invincible, in sustaining his conflicts with the Sorbonists. With Dr. Maillard, especially, he was of old acquaintance, whom he did know so well, even from his youth upwards, that whensoever the said doctor would open his mouth to speak against the saints for their nightly assemblies, he again did reproach him with such filthy acts, &c., that neither they who heard could abide it, neither yet could he deny it, being so notorious that almost all the children in the streets did know it; and yet that Sorbonical doctor shamed not to impeach good men of immorality, for their godly assemblies in the night; whose life was as far from all chastity, as were their holy assemblies clear from all impurity. In fine, these two godly elders, in cruel pains of the fire, finished their martyrdom. † Note the holy life of these Sorbonical doctors.

(1) Lib. xi. (2) Ex Crisp.; et Pantal. lib. xi.

French History. A.D. 1525 to 1560.

Philippe de Luns, a Gentlewoman, martyred at Paris, A.D. 1558. Persecuted by the Lieutenant-Civil; Dr. Maillard, Sorbonist; Mosnier, Lieutenant; evil Neighbours; Bertrand, Lord-Keeper of the Seal, and Cardinal of Sens; and the Marquis of Trane.

Next unto Clinet and Gravelle above said, was brought out Mme. Philippe, gentlewoman, of the age of twenty-three years. She came first from the parts of Gascony with her husband, who was lord of Graveron, unto Paris, there to join herself to the church of God, where her husband also had been a senior or elder; who, in the month of May before, was taken with an ague, and deceased, leaving this Philippe a widow, who nevertheless ceased not to serve the Lord in his church, and also in the house was taken with the said company. Many conflicts she had with the judges and the Sorbonists, especially Maillard; but she always sent him away with the same reproach as the others did before, † and bade him, 'Avaunt wretch!' saying she would not answer one word to such a villain. To the judges her answer was this: that she had learned the faith which she confessed in the word of God, and in the same would live and The sacrament. die. And being demanded whether the body of Christ was in the sacrament: 'How is that possible,' said she, 'to be the body of Christ, to whom all power is given, and which is exalted above all heavens, when we see the mice and rats, apes and monkeys, play with it, and tear it in pieces?' Her petition to them was, that seeing they had taken her sister from her, yet they would let her have a Bible or Testament to comfort herself. Her wicked neighbours, although they could touch her conversation with no part of dishonesty, yet many things they laid to her charge, as that there was much singing of psalms in her house, and that twice or thrice an infinite number of persons were seen to come out of her house. Also when her husband was dying, no priest was called for; neither was it known where he was buried; neither did they ever hear any word of their infant being baptized; for it was baptized in the church of the Lord. Among her The just hand of God against false and bloody witnesses. other neighbours that came against her, two there were dwelling at St. Germain in the suburbs; between whom, incontinent, arose a strife, wherein one of them struck the other with a knife. The death of this gentlewoman was the more hastened of the lord-keeper of the seal, Bertrand, cardinal of Sens, and his son-in-law, the marquis of Trane, to have the confiscation of her goods.

The martyrdom of Clinet, Gravelle, and Philippe de Luns. These three holy martyrs above recited, were condemned on the 27th of September, by the process of the commissioners and the lieutenant-civil: and then being put in a chapel together, certain doctors were sent to them, but their valiant constancy remained unmovable. After that they were had out of their prison, and sent every one in a dung-cart to the place of punishment. Clinet ever cried by the way, protesting, that he said or maintained nothing but the verity of God. And being asked of a doctor, whether he would believe St. Austin, touching certain matters? he said, 'Yea;' and that he had said nothing but what he would prove by his authority.

The gentlewoman, seeing a priest come to confess her, said, that she had confessed unto God, and had received of him remission: other absolution she found none in Scripture. And when certain councillors did urge her to take The cross. in her hands the wooden cross, according to the custom of them that go to their death, alleging how Christ commanded every one to bear his cross, she answered, 'My lords!' said she, 'you make me in very deed to bear my cross, condemning me unjustly, and putting me to death in the quarrel of my Lord Jesus Christ, who willeth us to bear our cross, but no such cross as you speak of.'

Gravelle looked with a smiling countenance, and showed a cheerful colour, declaring how little he passed for his condemnation; and being asked of his friends to what death he was condemned, 'I see well,' said he, 'that I am condemned to death, but to what death or torment I regard not.' And coming from the chapel, when he perceived they went about to cut out his tongue, unless he would return, he said, that was not so contained in the arrest, and therefore he was unwilling to grant unto it; but afterwards, perceiving the same so to be agreed by the court, he offered his tongue willingly to be cut, and incontinent spake plainly these words: 'I pray you pray to God for me.'

The gentlewoman also, being required to give her tongue, did likewise, with these words: 'Seeing I do not stick to give my body, shall I stick to give my

tongue? No, no.' And so these three, having their tongues cut out, were brought to Maulbert-place. The constancy of Gravelle was admirable, casting up his sighs and groanings to heaven, declaring thereby his ardent affection by praying to God. Clinet was somewhat more sad than the other, by reason of the feebleness of nature and his age. But the gentlewoman yet surmounted all the rest in constancy, who neither changed countenance, nor colour, being of an excellent beauty. *French History.* A.D. 1525 to 1560.

After the death of her husband, she used to go in mourning weed, after the manner of the country; but the same day, going to her burning, she put on her French hood, and decked herself in her best array, as going to a new marriage, the same day to be joined to her spouse Jesus Christ. And thus these three, with singular constancy, were burned: Gravelle and Clinet were burned alive; Philippe, the gentlewoman, was strangled, after she had a little tasted the flame with her feet and visage; and so she ended her martyrdom.[1] Precious in the sight of God is the death of his saints.

Nicholas Cene and Peter Gabart, martyred at Paris, A.D. 1558. Their Persecutors: the Lieutenant, Dr. Maillard, Councillors, and Friars.

Of the same company was also Nicholas Cene, a physician, brother to Philip Cene above mentioned, and martyred at Dijon, and Peter Gabart; which two, about five or six days after the other three before, were brought forth to their death, on the 2d of October.

Nicholas Cene was but newly come to Paris the same day, when he was advertised of the assembly which then was congregated in the street of St. James; and (as he desired nothing more than to hear the word of God) he came thither even as he was, booted, and was also with them apprehended, sustaining the cause of God's holy gospel unto death.

The other was Peter Gabart, a solicitor of processes, about the age of thirty years, whose constancy did much comfort the prisoners. He was put among a great number of scholars in the little castle, whom when he heard to pass the time in talking of philosophy, 'No, no,' said he, 'let us forget these worldly matters, and learn how to sustain the heavenly cause of our God, which lies here in defence of the kingdom of Jesus Christ our Saviour.' And so he began to instruct them how to answer to every point of christian doctrine as well as if he had done no other thing in all his life, but only studied divinity; and yet was he but very simply learned. Then was he sent from them apart to another prison, full of filthy stench and vermin; where, notwithstanding, he ceased not to sing psalms, that the others might well hear him. He had a nephew in prison by, being but a child, of whom he asked what he had said to the judges? He said, that he was constrained to do reverence to a crucifix, painted. 'O thou naughty boy!' said he, 'have not I taught thee the commandments of God? Knowest thou not how it is written, Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image,' &c. And so he began to expound to him the commandments; whereunto he gave good attention. A wholesome lesson for all students. Images forbidden.

In their examinations, many questions were propounded by the doctors and friars, touching matters both of religion, and also to know of them what gentlemen and gentlewomen were there present at the ministration of the sacrament: whereunto they answered in such sort, as was both sufficient for defence of their own cause, and also to save their other brethren from blame, saying that they would live and die in what they had said and maintained.

When the time of their execution was come, they perceived that their judges had intended, that if they would relent, they should be strangled; if not, they should burn alive, and their tongues be cut from them: which torments being content to suffer for our Saviour Jesus Christ, they offered their tongues willingly to the hangman to be cut. Gabart began a little to sigh, for that he might no more praise the Lord with his tongue; whom then Cene did comfort. Then were they drawn out of prison in the dung-cart to the suburbs of St. Germain: whom the people in rage and madness, followed with cruel injuries and blasphemies, as though they would have done the execution themselves upon them, maugre the hangman. The cruelty of their death, was such as hath not lightly Their tongues cut out. Cruelty.

(1) Ex Crisp. lib. vi.

French History. A. D. 1525 to 1560.

been seen; for they were holden long in the air over a small fire, and their lower parts burnt off, before the higher parts were much harmed with the fire. Nevertheless these blessed saints ceased not in all these torments to turn up their eyes to heaven, and to show forth infinite testimonies of their faith and constancy.

In the same fire also many Testaments and Bibles at the same time were burnt.

Upon the sight of this cruelty, the friends of the other prisoners who remained behind, fearing the tyranny of these judges, presented certain causes of refusal against the said judges, requiring other commissioners to be placed. But the king, being hereof advertised by his solicitor, sent out his letters patent, commanding the said causes of refusal to be frustrated, and willed the former judges to proceed, all other lets and obstacles to the contrary notwithstanding: and that the presidents should have power to choose to them other councillors, according to their own arbitrement, to supply the place of such as were absent: amongst whom also the said solicitor was received, instead of the king's procurator, to pursue the process.[1] By these letters patent it was decreed, that these stubborn sacramentaries (as they were called) should be judged accordingly, save only that they should not proceed to the execution, before the king were advertised. These letters aforesaid stirred up the fire of this persecution not a little, for the judges at this refusal took great indignation, and were mightily offended for that reproach. Notwithstanding so it pleased God, that a young man, a German, called Albert Hartung, born in the country of Brandenburg, and godson to Albert, marquis of Brandenburg, by the king's commandment was delivered, through the importunate suit of the said marquis.[2]

Albert Hartung delivered.

Frederick Danville, and Francis Rebezies, martyred at Paris, A.D. 1558. Persecutors: Two Presidents, twenty-five Councillors, the Lieutenant-Civil, Doctors, Friars, Sorbonists, Benedict, Jacobin, Democharès, and Maillard.

Mention was made above of certain young scholars and students who were in the little castle with Peter Gabart. Of that number of scholars were these two, Frederic Danville, and Francis Rebezies, neither of them being past twenty years of age. How valiantly they behaved themselves in those tender years, sustaining the quarrel of our Lord Jesus Christ, what confession they made, what conflicts they had, disputing with the doctors of Sorbonne, their own letters left in writing do make record; the effect whereof briefly to touch is this: and first touching Frederic Danville.

The lieutenant-civil, who before was half suspected, but now, thinking to prove himself a right catholic, and to recover his estimation again, came to him, beginning with these words of Scripture, 'Whosoever denieth me before men, him will I deny before my Father,'[3] &c.: that done, he asked him what he thought of the sacrament. To whom Frederic answered that if he should think Christ Jesus to be between the priest's hands after the sacramental words (as they call them) then should he believe a thing contrary to the holy Scripture, and to the creed, which saith, that he sitteth on the right hand of the Father: also to the testimony of the angels, who spake both of the ascending of Christ, and of his coming down again.[4] After this he questioned with him touching invocation of saints, purgatory, &c., whereunto he answered so that he rather did astonish the enemies, than satisfy them.

Furthermore, on the 12th of September, the said Frederic again was brought before Benedict Jacobin, and his companion, a Sorbonist, called Noster Magister; who thus began to argue with him.

The Doctor: 'Which think you to be the true church, the church of the Protestants, or the church of Paris?'

The Martyr: 'I recognise that to be the true church where the gospel is truly preached, and the sacraments rightly administered, so as they be left by Jesus Christ and his apostles.'

(1) See here, how the whole power of the world was confederate together against the poor saints of God, according to the prophecy of the second Psalm: 'Astiterunt reges terræ et principes convenerunt in unum, adversus Dominum,' &c.

(2) Ex Crisp. lib. vi. (3) Matt. x. (4) Acts i.

Doctor: 'And think you the church of Geneva is such a one as you speak of?' *French History.*
The Martyr: 'I so judge it to be.'
Doctor: 'And what if I do prove the contrary, will you believe me?' A. D. 1525 to 1560.
The Martyr: 'Yea, if you shall prove it by the Scripture.'
Doctor: 'Or will you believe St. Austin and other holy doctors innumerable?'
The Martyr: 'Yea, so they dissent not from the Scripture and the word of God.'

Doctor: 'By the authority of St. Austin the church is there where is the succession of bishops; whereunto I frame this argument: there is the church, where is the perpetual succession of bishops: in the church of Paris is such succession of bishops: ergo the church of Paris is the true church.' The church.

The Martyr: 'To your *major* I answer, that if St. Austin mean the succession of such as are true bishops indeed, who truly preach the gospel, and rightly administer the sacraments, such bishops I suppose to be at Geneva, where the gospel is truly preached, and the sacraments are duly administered, and not in the church of Paris. But otherwise, if St. Austin mean the succession of false bishops, such as neither preach nor minister according to God's word, so is the same in no wise to be granted.'

Doctor: 'Calvin is there by his own thrusting in, and only by the choosing of the people.'

The Martyr: 'And that soundeth more for him to be of God's divine election, forasmuch as by him the gospel of God is preached truly, and from this no man shall bring me.'

After this disceptation, the ninth of the same month came against him another doctor with two Sorbonists, who, bringing forth a scroll out of his bosom, pretended that a certain scholar, coming from Geneva, made his confession, wherein was contained, that in receiving of the bread and wine, the body and blood of Christ is received really. Whereupon they demanded of him, whether he would receive the same confession.

The Martyr: 'Whatsoever I have said unto you, that will I hold. And as touching this word *really*, I know right well, that they of Geneva do not take it for any carnal presence, as you do; but their meaning is, to exclude thereby only a vain imagination.' 'Really.'

Doctor: 'I marvel much that you so refuse the word *really*, and use only *spiritually*, seeing that Calvin himself doth use the same word *really*.'

The Martyr: 'Calvin meaneth thereby no other thing but as we do.'

Doctor: 'What say you of confession auricular?' Confession auricular.

The Martyr: 'The same that I said before to Monsieur Lieutenant, that is, that I take it for a plantation, not planted by God in his word.'

Doctor: 'The Almains, in their confession which they sent to our king to be approved, have these words:[1] We do not reject auricular confession; for it is a gospel secret and privy. And also Melancthon, in his Book of Common Places, doth call it *Evangelium Secretum*.'[2]

Another time the said Frederic was called again before the lords, the 20th of the said month, where they did nothing but demand of him certain questions, as where he was born, and whether he had heard in his country at Oleron, that M. Gerard, the bishop there, did sing mass. 'Yea,' said he. 'And why do not you also,' said they, 'receive the same?' He answered, 'Because *he* did it, to retain and keep his bishopric.' The martyr, for lack of paper, could proceed herein no further.

The examinations of the aforesaid Francis Rebezies.

Rebezies had three sundry examinations: the first with the lieutenant-civil: the second with the presidents and the councillors: the third with the friars. First, the lieutenant, inquiring of his name, country, and parents, asked whether he The first examination.

(1) 'Confessionem auricularem non improbamus; est enim Evangelium secretum.'
(2) Melancthon, in his Common Places, speaking of the popish confession which consisteth in the enumeration of sin, saith, that it is a snare of conscience, and against the gospel; and otherwise maketh there no mention of 'Evangelium Secretum:' no more doth the confession of the Almains.

French History. A.D. 1525 to 1560.

was at the communion, whether he received with them the bread and wine, and whether he was a servitor to M. Nicholas Cene, senior of the congregation? Whereunto he said, 'Yea.' Also whether he was a distributor of the tokens, whereby they were let in that came? That he denied.

Then he was brought into the council chamber, before two presidents, and twenty-five councillors; who, after other questions about his country and parents, demanded whether he was taken with them in the house? He answered Yea. What he had to do there? To hear the word of God, and to receive with them. Who brought him thither? Himself. Whom there he knew? No man. How he durst, or would enter, knowing no person there? Truth it was (said he) that he knew there two or three. Who were they? M. Gravelle, Clinet, and John Sansot, feigning that name of himself. Whether he knew the preacher? That he denied. Whether he allowed the act there done to be good? Yea. Whether he did not better like to resort unto their beautified temples, to hear mass, or whether he did not take the mass to be a holy thing, and ordained of God? He answered again contrary, believing that it was a great blasphemy against God, and a service set up of the devil. Whether he did not acknowledge purgatory? Yea, that purgatory, which is the death and passion of Christ, which taketh away the sins of the whole world. The death of Christ is the principal (said they), but thou must also believe another. Alas (said he), can we never content ourselves with the simplicity of the gospel, but man always will be putting to something of his own brain: in so many places of the Scripture we see the blood of Jesus Christ to be sufficient, as John i. Apocalypse v. Hebrews ix. Isaiah xliii., where the Lord himself saith, that it is he, who, for his own sake, putteth away our iniquities, &c. As St. Paul also saith, that God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself, &c. And on the contrary, when they objected the words of the parable, Thou shalt not come out, till thou hast paid the last farthing:[1] to this he answered, that the words of that parable had no such relation, but to matters civil; and this word 'until' meaneth there, as much as never.

The second examination.

Mass.

Purgatory.

After that he was charged there by one, for reading the books of Calvin, Bucer, and Bullinger. The president asked, if he were not afraid to be burned as were the others before, and to bring his parents into such dishonour? He answered, that he knew well, that all who would live godly in Christ Jesus, should suffer persecution;[2] and that to him either to live or to die, were advantage in the Lord. And as touching his parents, Christ himself (said he) doth premonish, that whosoever loveth father or mother more than him, is not worthy to be his, &c.[3] 'Jesus Maria!' said the president, 'what youth are these now-a-days, who cast themselves so headlong into the fire!' And so was he commanded away.

The third examination.

Thirdly, He was brought before Benet, master of the doctors of Sorbonne, and another called Jacobin, on the 14th of October; where he, chancing to speak of the Lord, the doctor began thus to object as followeth:

The difference between 'the Lord,' and 'our Lord.'

The Doctor: 'See how you, and all such as are of your company, simply name the Lord, without putting to the pronoun, *our*. So may the devils well call the Lord, and tremble before his face.'

The Martyr: 'The devils call the Lord in such sort as the Pharisees did, when they brought the adulteress before him, and called him master; yet neither attended they to his doctrine, nor intended to be his disciples: whose case I trust is nothing like to ours, who know, and confess (as we speak) him to be the true Lord with all our heart, so as true Christians ought to do.'

The church.

Doctor: 'I know well you hold the church to be, where the word is truly preached, and the sacraments are sincerely administered, according as they are left by Christ and his apostles.'

The Martyr: 'That do I believe, and in that will I live and die.'

Doctor: 'Do you not believe that whosoever is without that church, cannot obtain remission of his sins?'

The Martyr: 'Whosoever doth separate himself from that church, to make either sect, part, or division, cannot obtain, as you say.'

Churches.

Doctor: 'Now let us consider two churches, the one wherein the word is rightly preached, and the sacraments are administered accordingly as they be

(1) Matt. v. (2) 2 Tim. iii. (3) Matt. x.

left unto us: the other, wherein the word and sacraments be used contrarily. Which of these two ought we to believe?' *French History.*

The Martyr: 'The first.'

A. D. 1525 to 1560.

Doctor: 'Well said. Next is now to speak of the gifts given to the said church: as the power of the keys, and confession for remission of sins after we be confessed to a priest. Also we must believe the seven sacraments in the same church truly administered, as they be here in the churches of Paris, where the sacrament of the altar is administered, and the gospel is truly preached.'

The Martyr: 'Sir, now you begin to halt. As for my part, I do not receive in the church more than two sacraments, which be instituted in the same for the whole commonalty of Christians. And as concerning the power of the keys, and your confession, I believe, that for the remission of our sins, we ought to go to no other but only to God, as we read 1 John i., If we confess our sins, God is faithful and just to pardon our offences, and he will purge us from all our iniquities, &c. Also in the prophet David, in the 19th and 32d Psalms: I have opened my sin unto thee,' &c. Power of the keys. Confession.

Doctor: 'Should I not believe that Christ, in the time of his apostles, gave to them power to remit sins?'

The Martyr: 'The power that Christ gave to his apostles, if it be well considered, is nothing disagreeing to my saying: and therefore I began to say (which here I confess) that the Lord gave to his apostles to preach the word, and so to remit sins by the same word.'

Doctor: 'Do you then deny auricular confession?'

The Martyr: 'Yea verily I do.'

Doctor: 'Ought we to pray to saints?'

The Martyr: 'I believe not.'

Doctor: 'Tell me what I shall ask, Jesus Christ being here upon the earth? Was he not then as well sufficient to hear the whole world, and to be intercessor for all, as he is now?'

The Martyr: 'Yes.'

Doctor: 'But we find that when he was here on earth, his apostles made intercession for the people: and why may they not do the same as well now also?' Intercession of saints.

The Martyr: 'So long as they were in the world, they exercised their ministry, and prayed one for another, as needing human succours together; but now, being in paradise, all the prayer that they make, is this: that they wish that they who be yet on earth, may attain to their felicity; but to obtain any thing at the Father's hand, we must have our recourse only to his Son.'

Doctor: 'If one man have such charge to pray for another, may not he then be called an intercessor?'

The Martyr: 'I grant.'

Doctor: 'Well then, you say there is but one intercessor: whereupon I infer, that I, being bound to pray for another, need not now to go to Jesus Christ to have him an intercessor, but to God alone, setting Jesus Christ apart; and so ought we verily to believe.'

The Martyr: 'You understand not, Sir, that if God do not behold us in the face of his own well-beloved Son, then shall we never be able to stand in his sight: for if he shall look upon us, he can see nothing but sin; and if the heavens be not pure in his eyes, what shall be thought then of man, so abominable and unprofitable, who drinketh iniquity like water, as Job doth say?'

Then the other friar, seeing his fellow to have nothing to answer to this, inferred as followeth.

Doctor: 'Nay, my friend! as touching the great mercy of God, let that stand, and now to speak of ourselves, this we know, that God is not displeased with those who have recourse unto his saints.'[1]

The Martyr: 'Sir, we must not do after our own wills, but according to that which God willeth and commandeth: For this is the trust that we have in him, that if we demand any thing after his will, he will hear us.[2]

Doctor: 'As no man cometh to the presence of an earthly king, or prince,

(1) Note this blasphemous doctrine, which maketh saints equal intercessors with Christ.
(2) 1 John v.

French History. A.D 1525 to 1560.

without means made by some about him; so, or rather much more, to the heavenly King above,' &c.

The Martyr: 'To this earthly example, I will answer with another heavenly example of the prodigal son, who sought no other means to obtain his Father's grace, but came to the Father himself.'

Worshipping of saints.

Then they came to speak of adoration, which the said martyr Rebezies disproved by the Scripture, Acts x. xiii. xiv.; Apocalypse xix. xxii.; Hebrews x. xii. xiv.: where is to be noted, that whereas the martyr alleged the twelfth chapter to the Hebrews; the doctors answered, that it was in the eleventh chapter, when the place indeed is neither in the eleventh, nor in the twelfth, but in the fourteenth chapter of the Acts. So well seen were these doctors in their divinity.

The presence of Christ in the host.

Doctor: 'Touching the mass, what say you? believe you not that when the priest hath consecrated the host, our Lord is there as well, and in as ample sort, as he was, hanging upon the cross?'

The Martyr: 'No, verily; but I believe that Jesus Christ is sitting at the right hand of his Father; as appeareth by Hebrews x., 1 Cor. xv., Colossians iii. And therefore (to make short with you) I hold your mass for none other, but for a false and counterfeited service, set up by Satan, and retained by his ministers, by which you do annihilate the precious blood of Christ, and his oblation once made of his own body; and you know right well that the same is sufficient, and ought not to be reiterated.'

Doctor: 'You deceive yourselves in the word reiteration, for we do not reiterate it so, as you think; as by example I will show. You see me now in this religious garment; but if I should put upon me a soldier's weed, then should I be disguised, and yet for all that I should remain the same still within my doublet, that I was before in my friar's weed. So is it with the sacrifice: we confess and grant, that Naturaliter, that is, naturally, he was once offered in sacrifice; and also in sitting, Naturaliter, that is, naturally, at the right hand of his Father; but Supernaturaliter, et subscriptivè, that is, supernaturally, we sacrifice the same without reiteration. Supernaturaliter we sacrifice him; but that sacrifice is only disguised, to understand that he is contained under that curtain and whiteness which you see.'

Naturaliter.

Supernaturaliter, et subscriptivè.

The disguised sacrifice of the papists.

The Martyr: 'Sir, this I say, that such a disguised sacrifice is a diabolical sacrifice; and this you may take for a resolution.'

Doctor: 'And how is your belief touching the holy supper?'

The body of Christ spiritually received in the sacrament.

The Martyr: 'That if it be administered unto me by the minister, in such usage, as it hath been left of Christ and his apostles; preaching also the word purely withal. I believe that, in receiving the material bread and wine, I receive with lively faith the body and blood of Jesus Christ spiritually.

Doctor: 'Say corporally.'

The Martyr: 'No, Sir, for his words be spirit and life; and let this content you.'

Matrimony of ministers.

Doctor: 'What say you, Is it lawful for a priest to marry?'

The Martyr: 'I believe it to be lawful for him, in such sort as the apostle saith, Whosoever hath not the gift of continency, let him marry; for it is better to marry than to burn. And if this do not content you, further you may read what he writeth of bishops and elders, 1 Timothy iii. and Titus i.'

And thus these doctors, affirming that he denied priesthood, gave him leave to depart, saying, 'God have mercy on you!' 'So be it,' said he

After this, about the 22d of October, the said Rebezies and Frederic Danville, were brought up to a chamber in the castle, to be racked, to the intent they should utter the rest of the congregation; in which chamber they found three councillors, who thus began with them: 'Lift up thy hand. Thou shalt swear by the passion of Jesus Christ, whose image here thou seest' (showing him a great marmoset there painted on paper); whereunto Rebezies answered, 'Monsieur, I swear to you by the passion of Christ, which is written in my heart.' 'Why dost not thou swear to us,' said the councillors, 'as we say unto thee?' 'Because,' said he, 'it is a great blasphemy against the Lord.' Then the councillors read their depositions, and, first beginning with Rebezies, said: 'Wilt thou not tell us the truth, what companions thou knowest to be of

this assembly?' Rebezies named, as he did before, Gravel, Clinet (which were already burnt), and John Sansot. To whom they said, that the court had ordained, that if he would give no other answer but so, he should be put to the torture or rack; and so he was commanded to be stripped to his shirt, having a cross put in his hand, and being bid to commend himself to God and the Virgin Mary. But he neither would receive the cross, nor commend himself to the Virgin Mary, saying, that God was able enough to guard him, and to save him out of the lion's mouth: and so, being drawn and stretched in the air, he began to cry, 'Come, Lord! and show thy strength, that man do not prevail,' &c. But they cried, 'Tell truth, Francis! and thou shalt be let down.' Nevertheless he continued still in his invocation and prayer to the Lord, so that they could have no other word but that. And after they had thus long tormented him, the councillors said, 'Wilt thou say nothing else?' 'I have nothing else,' said he, 'to say.' And so they commanded him to be loosed, and be put by the fire-side. Who, being loosed, said to them, 'Do you handle thus the poor servants of God?' And the like was done to Frederic Danville also, his companion (who at the same time was also very sick), of whom they could have no other answer but as of the other. So mightily did God assist and strengthen his servants, as ever he did any else, as by their own letters and confession it doth appear.[1]

French History. A. D. 1525 to 1560.

The martyrs racked.

The constancy of these martyrs.

These constant and true martyrs of Christ, after they had returned from the torture unto their fellow-prisoners, ceased not to thank and praise the Lord for his assistance. Frederic did sigh oftentimes, and being asked of his fellows, why he so did? he said, it was not for the evil that he had suffered, but for the evils that he knew they should suffer afterwards. 'Notwithstanding,' said he, 'be strong, brethren! and be not afraid, assuring yourselves of the aid of God, who hath succoured us, and also will comfort you.' Rebezies with the rack was so drawn and stretched, that one of his shoulders was higher than the other, and his neck drawn on the one side, so that he could not move himself: and therefore desiring his brethren to lay him upon his bed, there he wrote his confession, which hitherto we have followed. When the night came they rejoiced together, and comforted themselves with meditation of the life to come, and contempt of this world, singing psalms together till it was day. Rebezies cried twice or thrice together, 'Away from me, Satan!' Frederic being in bed with him, asked why he cried, and whether Satan would stop him of his course? Rebezies said, that Satan set before him his parents; 'but by the grace of God,' said he, 'he shall do nothing against me.'

Brotherly compassion.

The comfort of God's saint.

The day next following they were brought once or twice before the councillors, and required to show what fellows they had more of the said assembly: which when they would not declare, the sentence was read against them, that they should be brought in a dung-cart to Malbert place, and there, having a ball in their mouths, be tied each one to his post, and afterwards be strangled; and so be turned into ashes.

Afterwards came the friars and doctors, Demochares, Maillard, and others, to confess them, and offering to them a cross to kiss, which they refused. Then Demochares by force made Rebezies to kiss it whether he would or no, crying to them moreover, that they should believe in the sacrament. 'What,' said Frederic, 'will ye have us to pluck Christ Jesus out from the right hand of his Father?' Demochares said, that so many of their opinion had suffered death before, and yet none of them all ever did any miracles, as the apostles and other holy martyrs did. Frederic asked them, if they required any miracle? 'No,' said they; and so stood mute, save only that Demochares prayed them to consider well what they had said unto them. Maillard also added, that he would gage his soul to be damned, but it was true. Frederic answered, that he knew it was contrary.

Dr. Maillard gageth his soul.

At last, being brought to the place of execution, a cross again was offered them, which they refused. Then a priest standing by, bade them believe in the Virgin Mary. 'Let God,' saith they, 'reign alone.' The people standing by, 'Ah mischievous Lutheran!' said they. 'Nay, a true Christian I am,' said he. When they were tied to their stakes, after their prayers made, when they were bid to be dispatched, one of them comforting the other, said, 'Be strong, my brother! be strong: Satan, away from us!' As they were thus exhorting, one

(1) Ex literis Franc. Rebez. in Crisp. lib. vi.

French History. A. D. 1525 to 1560.

standing by said, 'These Lutherans do call upon Satan.' One John Morel (who afterwards died a martyr), then standing by at liberty, answered, 'I pray you let us hear,' said he, 'what they say, and we shall hear them invocate the name of God.' Whereupon the people listened better unto them, to hearken, as well as they could, what they said: they crying still as much as their mouths being stopped could utter, 'Assist us, O Lord.' And so they, rendering up their spirits to the hands of the Lord, did consummate their valiant martyrdom.[1]

The death and martyrdom of Rebezies and Danville.

After the martyrdom of these two abovesaid, the intention of the judges was to dispatch the rest one after another in like sort, and they had procured already process against twelve or thirteen ready to be judged. But a certain gentlewoman, then prisoner amongst them, had presented causes of exceptions or refusals against them, whereby the cruel rage of the enemies was stayed to the month of July following. In the mean time, as this persecution was spread into other countries, first the faithful cantons of the Switzers perceiving these good men to be afflicted for the same doctrine which they preached in their churches, sent their ambassadors to the king to make supplication for them. The same time also came letters from the county palatine, elector, tending to the same end, to solicit the king for them. The king, standing the same time in great need of the Germans for his wars, was contented at least that they should proceed more gently with them; and so the fire for that time ceased. Most of them were sent to abbeys, where they were kept at the charge of the priors, to be constrained to be present at the service of idolatry, especially the young scholars; of whom some shrunk back, others being more loosely kept, escaped away. The most part were brought before the official to make their confession, and to receive absolution ordinary. Divers made their confession ambiguous and doubtful, &c.'[2]

The Switzers make supplication to the French king for the martyrs.

Rena Scau and John Almarick, martyred at Paris, A.D. 1558.

These two young men were also of the company above specified, and were in prison, where they sustained such cruelty, being almost racked to death, that Almarick could not go when he was called to the court to be judged. And being upon the rack, he rebuked their cruelty, and spake so freely, as though he had felt no grief; and as they said, who came to visit him, he testified unto them, that he felt no dolour so long as he was upon it. Both these died in prison, continuing still firm and constant in the pure confession of Christ's church.[3]

John Bordel, Matthew Vermeil, Peter Bourdon, Andrew de Fou, martyred in the Country of Brasil, A. D. 1558. Persecuted by Villegaignon, a French Captain.

Mention is made in the French story of one Villegaignon, lieutenant for the French king, who made a voyage into the land of Brasil with certain French ships, and took an island nearly to the same adjoining, and made therein a fortress. After they had been there a while, Villegaignon (for lack of victuals, as he pretended), sent certain of them away in a ship to the river Plata, towards the pole Antarctic, a thousand miles off.[4] In this ship were these four here mentioned; who, forsaking their ship by occasion of tempest, were carried back again, and so came to the land of Brasil, and afterwards to their own countrymen. Villegaignon, being much grieved thereat, first charged them with departing without his leave. Moreover, being terrified in his mind with false suspicion and vain dreams, fearing and dreaming lest they had been sent as privy spies by the Brasilians, because they came from them, and had been friendly entertained of them; he began to devise how he might put them to death under some colour of treason: but the cause was religion. For albeit sometime he had been a professor of the gospel, yet afterwards, growing to some dignity, he fell to be an apostate, and cruel persecutor of his fellows. But when no proof or conjecture probable could be found to serve his cruel purpose, he, knowing them to be earnest protestants, drew out certain articles of religion for them to answer, and so entrapping them upon their confession, he laid them in,

(1) Ex Crisp. lib. vi. (2) Ibid. Et ex Pantal. lib. xi. (3) Ibid.
(4) He sent them far enough then, because they should never return, pretending that he lacked victual, but the cause was religion.

irons and in prison, and secretly, with one executioner and his page, he took one after another, beginning with John Bordel, and first brought him to the top of a rock, and there being half strangled, without any judgment threw him into the sea; and after the like manner, ordered also the rest. Of whom three were thus cruelly murdered and drowned; to wit, John Bordel, Matthew Vermeil, and Peter Bourdon. The fourth, who was Andrew de Fou, he caused by manifold allurements somewhat to incline to his sayings, and so he escaped the danger; not without great offence taken of a great part of the Frenchmen in that country.[1]

French History.

A. D. 1525 to 1560.

Geffery Varagle, martyred at Turin, in Piedmont, A. D. 1558. Persecuted by the King's Lieutenant.

In the same year, 1558, suffered also Geffery Varagle, preacher in the valley of Angrogne, at the town of Turin, in Piedmont, who first was a monk, and said mass the space of seven and twenty years. Afterwards, returning from Buske toward Angrogne to preach, as he had used before to do, sent by the ministers of Geneva, and other faithful brethren, he was apprehended in the town of Bruges, and brought before the king's lieutenant; where he was questioned with, touching divers articles of religion: as of justification, works of supererogation, free-will, predestination, confession, satisfaction, indulgences, images, purgatory, the pope, &c. Hereunto he answered again in writing, with such learning and reason, alleging against the pope's own distinctions,[2] that as the story reporteth, the court of Turin, marvelling at his learning, condemned him more for reproach of shame, than upon true opinion grounded on judgment. When he was brought to the place of execution, the people who stood by and heard him speak, declared openly, that they saw no cause why he should die. A certain old companion of his, a priest, calling him by his name, 'Master Geffery,' desired him to convert from his opinions: to whom he patiently answered again, desiring him, that he would convert from his condition. And thus after he had made his prayer unto God, and had forgiven his executioner, and all his enemies, he was first strangled, and then burned. In the aforesaid story, relation is made moreover, concerning the said Geffery, that at the time of his burning a dove was seen, as was credibly reported of many, flying and fluttering divers times about the fire; testifying, as was thought, the innocency of this holy martyr of the Lord. But the story addeth, that upon such things we must not stay: and so concludeth the martyrdom of this blessed man.[3]

The report of a dove flying about the fire.

Benet Romaine, a Mercer or Haberdasher, at Draguignan in Provence, A.D. 1558. Persecuted by Lanteaume Blanc; De Lauris, Councillor and Son-in-law to Miniers, Lord of Opede, the cruel Persecutor; Anthony Revest, the Lieutenant; Barbosi, Judge-ordinary of Draguignon; Joachim Partavier, the King's Advocate; Caval and Cavalieri, Consuls; the Official; Gasper Siguiere, Officer in Draguignan; and also a Friar observant.

The lamentable story of Benet Romaine is described at large among other French martyrs, by John Crispine, printer: the brief recital whereof here followeth. This Benet, having wife and children at Geneva, to get his living used to go about the country with certain mercery ware, having cunning also amongst other things, how to dress corals. As he was coming toward Marseilles, and passed by the town of Draguignan, he happened upon one of the like faculty, named Lanteaume Blanc, who, being desirous to have of his corals, and could not agree for the price, also knowing that he was one of Geneva, went to a councillor of the court of Aix, being then at Draguignan, whose name was De Lauris, son-in-law to Miniers, lord of Opede, the great persecutor against Merindol,[4] &c. This De Lauris, consulting together with the aforesaid Blanc, and pretending to buy certain of his coral which he saw to be very fair,

(1) Ex Crisp. lib. vi. et ex Comment. Gallic. de statu Relig. et. Reipub.
(2) The pope's own distinctions, as follow: Dist. xix. cap. 'Dominus;' Distinct. xxi. cap. 'In nono;' Distinct. xxi. cap. 'omnes,' et cap. 'Sacro sancto.' (3) Ex Crisp. lib. vi. page 897.
(4) Of Miniers or Minerius, the great persecutor, read hereafter in the story of Merindol.

French History. A. D. 1525 to 1560.

and knowing also that he had to the worth of three hundred crowns, incontinent after his departing from him, sent to the officer of the town to attach the said Benet, as one being the greatest Lutheran in the world. Thus when he was arrested for the king's prisoner, Blanc and his fellows, who sought nothing but only the prey, were ready to seize on his goods; and likewise of the other two men whom he hired to bear his merchandise. Then were these three poor men separated asunder, and Romaine examined before the consuls, and the king's advocate, and other councillors, where he kept his Easter? whether he received at the same Easter? whether he was confessed before, and fasted the Lent? Also he was bid to say his 'Pater Noster,' the 'Creed,' and 'Ave Maria;' which two first he did, but refused to say 'Ave Maria.' Then was he asked for worshipping of saints, women-saints and men-saints, and when he heard mass? He said, he would worship none but God alone: mass he heard none these four years, nor ever would. Hereupon he was committed to a stinking and loathsome place, with iron chains upon his legs. De Lauris thus having his will upon the poor man, sent for the lieutenant, named Anthony Revest, told him what he had done, and willed him to see the prisoner. The lieutenant, being angry that he did so usurp upon his office, denied to go with him to the prisoner, excusing the filthy savour of the place. Notwithstanding the same day, the lieutenant with another went to the prison, and caused the said Romaine to come before him, of whom he inquired many things, of his dwelling, of his name and age, his wife and children, of his faculty, and the cause of his coming; also of his religion, and all such points thereto belonging. Unto whom he answered again simply and truly in all respects, as lay in his conscience; and thereunto, being required (because he could not write), he put to his mark. After this confession being thrice made, and his answer taken, certain faithful brethren of that place found means to come to him, and counselled him, that seeing he had sufficiently already made confession of his faith, he would seek means to escape out from his enemies, who sought nothing but his death; and showed unto him what he should say unto the lieutenant. But he refused so to do, being willing there to render account of his faith, and contented to die for the same.

Interrogatories ministered to Romaine.

Romaine sealeth the confession of his faith.

Romaine refuseth to escape.

Barbosi, persecutor.

A gross question of a gross judge.

A free answer of a poor prisoner.

The fame of his constancy being known in the town, judge Barbosi, a man blind and ignorant, and no less deformed, came to see him, and asked, 'What, do they believe,' said he, 'in any God in Geneva?' Romaine looking upon him, 'What art thou,' said he, 'that so wretchedly dost blaspheme?' 'I am,' said he, 'the judge-ordinary of this place.' 'And who hath put thee,' said Romaine, 'such a gross and deformed person, in such an office? Thinkest thou that we be infidels, and no Christians? And if the devils themselves do confess a God, suppose you that they of Geneva, do deny their God? No! no! we believe in God, we invocate his name, and repose all our trust in him,' &c. Barbosi took such grief with this, departing from Romaine, that he ceased not to pursue him to death.

The lieutenant then being urged, and much called upon, and also threatened by this Barbosi and others, prepared to proceed in judgment against him, taking to him such judges and advocates as the order there required. There was at the same time an observant friar, who had there preached all the Lent. He, being very eager and diligent to have the poor Christian burned, and seeing the judges intent about the business, to set the matter forward, said, that he would go and say mass of the Holy Ghost,[1] to illuminate their intents to have the said Romaine condemned and burned alive at a little fire. Moreover, he procured Caval and Cavalieri, the consuls, to threaten the lieutenant, that they would complain of him to the high court of parliament, if he would not after that sort condemn Romaine to be burnt. In the mean time the faithful Christians of the said town, fearing lest by his racking, danger might happen to the brethren, sent to Romaine again in the prison certain instructions and means how he might be aided, such as should not be against God: but when the lieutenant came, the poor man forgot his instructions; so simple he was, and ignorant of the subtleties of this world.[2]

When the time came that the judges were set, and the process should be read, Barbosi, with others whom the friar had procured, had agreed before, that

(1) Mass, a common instrument for all things, and also to blow the fire.
(2) 'Filii hujus seculi prudentiores in sua generatione quam filii lucis.'

he should be fired alive, and put to the rack, to disclose his fellows, and also gagged that he might not speak and infect the residue. On the other part, one there was of the advocates (albeit a man wholly superstitious), who, seeing the rage of the others, gave contrary advice, saying, that Romaine should be sent home again, for that he was a town-dweller of Geneva, neither had taught there any kind of doctrine, nor brought any books, or had they any informations against him; and that which he had spoken, was a thing constrained by his oath, forced by the justice. And as touching his opinion, it was no other but as other young men did follow, who were either of the one part, or of the other; and therefore that here remained no more, but only the lieutenant to give his verdict, &c. Thus much being spoken, and also because the lieutenant was before suspected, and the time of dinner drew near, they arose for that time, deferring the matter to another season. The friar-observant in the mean while was not idle, inciting still the consuls and the people, who, at the *ringing* of a bell being assembled together with the official and the priests in a great rout, came crying to the lieutenant to burn the heretic, or else they would fire him, and all his family; and in semblable wise did the same to the other judges and advocates: the official moreover added, that if it were not better seen to than so, the Lutherans would take such courage, and so shut up their church doors, that no man should enter in. Then, because the lieutenant would not take to him other judges after their minds, in all post-haste the people contributed together, that at their own charge the matter should be pursued at the parliament of Aix, and so compelled the lieutenant to bring the process unto judgment, every man crying, 'To the fire, to the fire, that he may be burned!'

Good counsel of an advocate.

The friar still bloweth the coals of persecution.

The lieutenant, being not able otherwise to appease the people, promised to bring the matter to the high court of Aix, and so he did. They, hearing the information of the cause, commanded the lieutenant and the other judges to deal no further therein, but to send up the process and the prisoner unto them. This went greatly against the minds of them of Draguignan, who would fain have had him condemned there. Whereupon Barbosi was sent out to the parliament of Aix, where he so practised and laboured the matter, that the cause was sent down again to the lieutenant, and he enjoined to take unto him such ancient advocates, as their old order required, and to certify them again within eight days. And so Romaine, by the sentence of those old judges, was condemned to be burned alive, if he turned not; if he did, then to be strangled, and before the execution, to be put upon the rack, to the intent he should disclose the rest of his company; from which sentence Romaine then appealed, saying that he was no heretic. Hereupon he was carried unto Aix, singing the Commandments as he passed by the town of Draguignan: which when the king's advocate did see, looking out of his window, he said unto him, that he was one of them that concluded his death, but desired God to forgive him. Romaine answered again, 'God will judge us all in the last day of judgment.' After he was come to Aix, he was brought before the councillors, before whom he remained no less constant and firm than before. Then was a fumish friar sent, who, being three hours with him, and not able to remove him, came out to the lords, and said that he was damned: by reason whereof, the sentence given before of his condemnation was confirmed, and he sent back again from whence he came.

The cause of Romaine removed to the parliament of Aix.

His sentence and condemnation.

The king's advocate repenteth.

At this return again from Aix, the consuls of Draguignan sent abroad by parishes unto the curates, that they should signify to their parishioners the day of his death, to the end that they should come; they also caused to be cried through the town by the sound of a trumpet, that all good Christians should bring wood to the great market-place, to burn the Lutheran. The day being come, which was Saturday, the 16th of May, the poor servant of God was first brought to the rack or torture, where, at his first entry, were brought before him the cords, irons, and weights, to terrify him. Then, said they, he must utter his accomplices, and renounce his religion, or else he should be burned alive. He answered with a constant heart, that he had no other accomplices or companions, neither would he hold any other faith, but that which Jesus Christ did preach by his apostles. Then was he demanded of his fellows taken with him, whether they did hold the faith of Rome, or whether he did ever communicate with them, or did know them in the town, or in the province to

Returneth again from Aix to Draguignan.

French History. A.D. 1525 to 1560.

be of his faith? He said, No. Item, What he had to do in that town? He said, To sell his coral. Item, Who gave him counsel to appeal? God, he said, by his Spirit.

Upon this he was put upon the gin or rack, where he, being torn most outrageously, ceased not still to cry unto God, that he would have pity on him for the love of Jesus Christ his Son. Then was he commanded to call to the Virgin Mary, but he would not. Hereupon his torture was renewed afresh, in such cruel sort, that they thought they had left him for dead; for which they sent him to the barbers, and finding that he could endure no longer, they were afraid lest he had been past, and hastened to bring him to the fire. So, after they had essayed him by priests and friars as much as they could, to make him revolt, they helped the hangman to bear him, all broken and dismembered as he was, unto the heap of wood, where they tied him to a chain of iron which was let down upon the faggots. Romaine, seeing himself to be alone lying upon the wood, began to pray to God; whereat the friars being moved, ran to him again to cause him to say 'Ave Maria:' which when he would not do, they were so furious, that they plucked and tore his beard. In all these anguishes the meek saint of God had recourse still to God in his prayers, beseeching him to give him patience. Then left they him lying as dead; but as soon as they descended down from the wood, he began to pray to God again in such sort as one would have thought that he had felt no hurt. Then another great friar, supposing to do more with him than the rest, came up to the wood unto him, to admonish him. Romaine thought at first, that he had been a faithful Christian, by his gentle speech; but afterwards when he urged him to pray to the Virgin Mary, he desired him to depart, and let him alone in peace. As soon as he was departed, Romaine lifted up his head and his eyes on high, praying God to assist him in his great temptation. Then a certain father, a warden, to bring the people to more hatred, cried out and said, 'He blasphemeth! he blasphemeth! he speaketh against the blessed Virgin Mary!' Whereat Barbosi cried, 'Stop his mouth, let him be gagged!' The people cried, 'To the fire! let him be burned!'[1] Then the hangman set fire to the straw and little sticks that were about, which incontinent were set on fire. Romaine still remained hanging in the air till he died. When all his nether parts were burnt well near, he was seen to lift up his head to heaven, moving his lips, without any cry: and so this blessed saint rendered his spirit to God!

Drawn most piteously upon the rack.

Thereon, not able to go, he is borne to the fire.

Cruelty of friars.

A slandering friar.

The cruel death and martyrdom of blessed Romaine.

Of this assembly there were divers judgments and sundry bruits. Some said that if good men had been about him, it had gone better with him, and that those priests and monks who were about him, were whoremasters and infamous.

Others said, that he had wrong, and that a hundred of that company there were, who more deserved death than he, especially among those who condemned him. Others went away marvelling, and disputing of his death and doctrine. And thus was the course finished of this valiant and thrice blessed martyr and servant of the Lord Jesus the Son of God.[2]

Francis Civaux martyred at Dijon, A.D. 1558. Persecuted by the Covent of the Jacobin Friars at Dijon, and a Priest of that Place.

This Francis Civaux was secretary to the French ambassador here in England in queen Mary's time, who afterwards, being desirous to hear the word of God, went to Geneva. Also he was placed to be secretary to the senate or council of Geneva; where he continued about the space of a year. Having then certain business, he came to Dijon.

There was at the same time a priest that preached at Dijon such doctrine, that the said Francis, being worthily offended thereat, came friendly unto the priest, and reasoned with him touching his doctrine, showing by the Scriptures, how and where he had erred. The priest excused himself, that he was not so well instructed to dispute, but he would bring him the next day to a certain learned man, whom he knew there in the town, and desired the said Francis to go with him to breakfast, where he would be glad to hear them two in conference together. Whereunto when Francis had consented, the priest incontinent went

(1) 'Crucifige, crucifige eum!' (2) Ex Crisp. lib. vi. p. 902.

to the Jacobin friars, where the matter was thus contrived, that at the breakfast time Francis, unawares, should be apprehended there. *French History.*

When the next day came, the priest brought Francis, according to his appointment, to a Jacobin friar, who, pretending much fair friendship unto him, as one glad and desirous of his company, besought him to take a breakfast with him the next morrow, and there they would enter conference together. With this also Francis was content, and to prepare himself the better to that conflict, sat up almost all the night writing with his fellow. The next morrow, as Francis with his fellow were preparing themselves toward the breakfast, the Jacobin in the mean time went to the justice of the town, to admonish him to be ready at the time and place appointed. Thus, as the Jacobin was standing at the justice's door, the companion of Francis, seeing the friar there stand, began to mistrust with himself, and told Francis, willing him to beware of the friar. Moreover, the same night Francis had in his dream, that the said friar should commit him to the justice. But he, either not caring for his dreams, or else not much passing for the danger, committed himself to the hands of God, and went. As they were together disputing in the covent of the Jacobins, Francis, thus betrayed of the priest, was apprehended by the officers, carried to prison, and within seven days after, being Saturday before the nativity of our Lord, was brought to the place of execution, where first he was strangled, and then burned.[1] And as touching the fellow and companion of this Francis abovementioned, he was also apprehended with him, and put in prison; but because he was but a young novice, and yet not fully confirmed, he recanted, and was delivered.

A. D. 1525 to 1560.

A privy Judas.

Francis' admonished by his dream.

Peter Arondeau, martyred at Paris, A. D. 1559. His Persecutors were the Priests of Rochelle, Manroy a Priest, the Lieutenant of Rochelle, the Cardinal of Lorraine, and two Presidents, to wit, Magister and St. Andre.

The town of Rochelle, as it is a place of great commodity because of the sea, so was it not inferior to other good towns in France, for nourishing and supporting the holy assemblies of the Lord. Unto this town, about A.D. 1559, resorted one Peter Arondeau, a man of base condition, with a little packet of mercery ware there to sell: who there, being known to join himself to the church and congregation of the faithful, was demanded by certain ministers of Antichrist, whether he would go to hear mass or no? He said, that he had been there too oft to his great grief; and that since the time that the Lord had taken the veil from his eyes, he knew the mass to be abominable, forged in the shop of the enemy of all mankind. They to whom he thus answered were priests; amongst whom was one named Manroy, who, taking the others there present for witnesses, brought him straight to the lieutenant. The deposition being taken, and information made, it was decreed incontinently, that his body should be attached. And although by one of his friends he was admonished to save himself, and to avoid the danger, yet he ceased not to put himself into his enemy's hands; and so was led prisoner. As he was in prison, many of the faithful came to comfort him, but rather he was able to comfort not only those who came to comfort him, but also the others who were there prisoners with him. The priests left no diligence unsought to stir up the lieutenant, who was of himself too much inflamed in such matters.

The mass.

Arondeau, after many interrogations, and threatening words, and also fair promises of his pardon, still continued the same man. Then the lieutenant seeing his constancy, condemned him to death. Arondeau, praising God for his grace given, did not a little rejoice that he might suffer in that quarrel, and in token of rejoicing, did sing a psalm, being fully resolved to accept the said condemnation, without any appeal. But his friends, not pleased with his resolution, came to him; and so persuaded with him not to give his life so very cheaply over to his enemies' hands, that he was turned from that, and made his appeal. The appeal being entered, the lieutenant, seeking to gratify the adversaries of the gospel, and especially the cardinal of Lorraine, secretly, by the backside of the town, and out of the highway, conveyed the poor prisoner unto Paris; who,

Peter Arondeau condemned.

He appealeth.

(1) Ex scripto testimonio Lenatus Genevensis.

French History. A.D. 1525 to 1560.

being brought unto Paris by privy journeys, as is said, was put into prison, committed to the custody of two presidents, to wit, Magister, and St. Andre; by means of whom the sentence of the lieutenant was confirmed, and also put in execution the 15th day of November, in the year above said; on which day the said Arondeau was burned quick at the place called St. John, in Greve, at Paris. The constancy heroical which God gave him, and wherein he endured victorious unto death, was a mirror or glass of patience unto M. Anne du Bourge, councillor in the parliament of Paris, and to divers others then prisoners; and was to them a preparation toward the like death, which shortly after they suffered.

Not long after the happy end of this blessed martyr, the aforenamed Manroy, who was the principal accuser and party against him, was struck with a disease called apoplexia,[1] and thereupon suddenly died.

By this, and many other such like examples, the mighty judgment of God most evidently may appear; who, albeit commonly he doth use to begin his judgment with his own household in this world, yet neither do his adversaries themselves always escape the terrible hand of his justice.

God's just vengeance upon the lieutenant, a persecutor.

Also the lieutenant who was his condemner, tarried not long after the priest, but he was arrested personally to appear before the king's council, through the procurement of a certain gentleman of Poland, called Anthony de l'Eglise, against whom the said lieutenant had given false and wrong judgment before; by reason whereof the aforesaid gentleman so instantly did pursue him before the lords of the council, that all the extortions and pollings of the lieutenant were there openly discovered, and so he condemned to pay to the gentleman a thousand French crowns of the sum, within fourteen days, upon pain of double as much. Also he was deposed from his office, and there declared unworthy to exercise any royal office hereafter for ever, with infamy and shame perpetual.[2]

Thomas Moutard, martyred at Valenciennes, A.D. 1559. Persecuted by a Priest of that Town.

In the town of Valenciennes, not far from France, in the same year, which was 1559, in the month of October, suffered Thomas Moutard; who, first being converted from a disordered life to the knowledge of the gospel, is to us a spectacle of God's great gracious mercy towards his elected Christians. This Moutard was attached for certain words spoken to a priest, saying thus: that his God of the host was nothing but an abomination, which abused the people of God. These words were taken first as if spoken in drunkenness; but the next day after, when the same words were repeated to him again, to know whether he would abide by the words there uttered, or no, he said, 'Yea; for it is an abuse,' said he, 'to seek Jesus Christ any where else than in heaven, sitting in the glory and at the right hand of God his Father: and in this he was ready to live and die. His process being made, he was condemned to be burned quick. But, as he was carried from the town-house to the place of punishment, was never seen a man with such constancy to be so assured in heart, and so to rejoice at that great honour which God had called him unto. The hangman hasted as much as was possible, to bind him, and dispatch him. The martyr, in the midst of the flaming fire, lifting up his eyes unto heaven, cried to the Lord that he would have mercy on his soul; and so in great integrity of faith and perseverance, he gave up his life to God.[3]

Against the bodily presence of Christ in the host.

Constancy of a good conscience.

This Dutch story should have gone before with the Dutch martyrs; but seeing Valenciennes is not far distant from France, it is not much out of order to adjoin the same with the French martyrs; who, at length, shall be joined altogether in the kingdom of Christ: which day the Lord send shortly. Amen!

Thus have we (through the assistance of the Lord) deduced the

(1) Apoplexia is a sickness engendered in the brain by abundance of gross humours, which deprive them that have it of speech, feeling, and moving. Most commonly it assaileth gluttons, drunkards, and surfeiters.

(2) Ex Crisp. lib. vi. p. 907. (3) Ibid.

table of the French, and also of the Dutch martyrs, unto the time and reign of queen Elizabeth, that is, to the year 1560. Since that time also divers have suffered both in France and in the lower country of Germany; whose story shall be declared (the Lord willing) more at large, when we come to the time of queen Elizabeth. In the mean season it shall suffice for this present to insert their names only, which here do follow.

Spanish History. A. D. 1540 to 1560.

The residue of the French Martyrs.

Anne du Bourge, councillor, of Paris; Andrew Coffier, John Isabeau, John Indet, martyrs, of Paris; Geffery Guerien, John Morel, John Barbeville, Peter Chevet, Marin Marie, Margarite Rich, Adrian Daussi, Giles le Court, Philip Parmentier, Marin Rosseau, Peter Milot, John Berfoy: besides the tumult of Amboise, and the Persecution of Vassy; also Austin Marlorat, and Master Mutonis.

The residue of the Dutch Martyrs.

James de Lo, of the Isle of Flanders; John de Buissons, at Antwerp; Peter Petit, John Denys, Guymon Guilmein, Simeon Herme, of the Isle of Flanders; John de Lannoy, at Tournay; Andrew Michel, a blind man, at Tournay; Francis Varlut, at Tournay; Alexander Dayken, of Bramcastle; William Cornu, in Hainault; Anthony Caron, of Cambray; Renaudine de Francville. Certain suffered at Tournay: Michel Robilert, of Arras; Nicaise de le Tombe; Roger du Mont.

To the catalogue of French martyrs above rehearsed, the story of Merindol and Cabriers, with the lamentable handling of them, is also to be annexed.[1] But because the tractation thereof is prolix, and cannot well be contracted into a short discourse, therefore we have deferred the same to a more convenient room, after the table here following next of the Spanish and Italian martyrs, where better opportunity shall be given to prosecute more at large that tragical persecution, the Lord so permitting.

A TABLE OF CERTAIN MARTYRS, WHO, FOR THE CAUSE OF RELIGION, SUFFERED IN SPAIN.

The Spanish Martyrs.

Franciscus San Romanus, at Burgos, in Spain. Persecuted by certain Spanish Merchants in Antwerp, and also by the Friars of that City.

The conversion of San Romanus.

In the year 1540 this Francis was sent by certain Spanish merchants of Antwerp, to Bremen, to take up money due, to be paid by certain merchants there; where he, being at a sermon, hearing Master Jacobus (prior some time of the Austin friars of Antwerp) preach, was so touched and drawn, through the marvellous working of God's Spirit, at the hearing thereof, albeit having no perfect understanding of the Dutch tongue, that not only he understood all that was there said, but also coming to the preacher, and accompanying him home (all his other worldly business set apart), there recited the whole contents of his sermon every word (as they said, who heard the said minister of Bremen preach) in perfect form and order as he had preached. After this little taste, and happy beginning, he proceeded further, searching and conferring with learned men, that in short space he was grown to great towardness and ripe knowledge in the word of life. The minister, marvelling at the sudden mutation of the man, and also seeing the vehemency of his zeal joined withal, began to exhort him

(1) Touching the story of Merindol, vide infra.

Spanish History.

A.D. 1540 to 1560.

how to temper himself with circumspection and discretion, still more and more instructing him in the word and knowledge of the gospel, which he so greedily did receive, as one that could never be satisfied; and so remained he with the minister three days together, committing his worldly business, and the message that he was sent for, unto his fellow who came with him. Thus being inflamed with another desire, he ceased to seek for temporal trifles, seeking rather for such French or Dutch books as he could get to read; and again, read the same so diligently, that partly by the reading thereof, partly by Master Jacobus, and also by Master Maccabeus (who was there the same time), he was able in a short time to judge in the chief articles of our religion; insomuch that he took upon him to write letters unto his countrymen the merchants of Antwerp. In these letters first he gave thanks to God for the knowledge of his holy word which he had received: secondly, he bewailed the great cruelty and gross blindness of his countrymen; desiring God to open their eyes and ears, to see and understand the word of their salvation: thirdly, he promised shortly to come to them at Antwerp, to confer with them touching the grace of God, which he had received: fourthly, he declareth to them his purpose in going also to Spain, intending there likewise to impart to his parents and other friends at Burgos, the wholesome doctrine which the Lord had bestowed upon him.

Francis writeth to the merchants of Antwerp.

Beside this, he addressed other letters also to Charles the emperor, opening to him the calamities and miserable state of Christ's church; desiring him to tender the quietness thereof: especially that he would reform the miserable corruption of the church of Spain, &c. Over and besides all this, he wrote there a catechism, and divers other treatises, in the Spanish tongue. And all this he did in one month's space.

Also to the emperor.

In the mean time the Spanish merchants of Antwerp, understanding by his letters both his change of religion, and also his purpose of coming to Antwerp, sent him letters again, pretending outwardly a fair countenance of much good will, but secretly practising his destruction; for at the day appointed for his coming, certain friars were set ready to receive him, who took him coming down from his horse, rifled his books, and had him into a merchant's house near hand, where they examined him; with whom he again disputed mightily: and when they found him not agreeing to their faith, they bound him hand and foot, crying out upon him, and calling him Lutheran; and burnt his books before his face, threatening to burn him also. At this disputation within the house, divers Spaniards were present, which made the friars more bold. Being demanded to show of what faith and religion he was; 'My faith,' said he, 'is to confess and preach Christ Jesus only, and him crucified, which is the true faith of the universal church of Christ through the whole world; but this faith and doctrine you have corrupted, taking another abominable kind of life, and by your impiety have brought the most part of the world into blindness most miserable.' And to explain his faith to them more expressly, he recited all the articles of the creed.

Francis betrayed by Spanish merchants.

The faith and confession of San Romanus.

This done, then the friars asked, whether he believed the bishop of Rome to be Christ's vicar, and head of the church, having all the treasures of the church in his own power, and being able to bind and loose? also to make new articles, and abolish the old, at his own will and arbitrement? Hereunto Francis answered again, that he believed none of all this, but on the contrary did affirm that the pope was Antichrist, born of the devil, being the enemy of Jesus Christ, transferring to himself God's honour; and who moreover, being incited by the devil, turned all things upside down, and corrupted the sincerity of Christ's religion, partly by his false pretences beguiling, partly by his extreme cruelty destroying, the poor flock of Christ, &c. With the like boldness he uttered his mind likewise against the mass and purgatory. The friars could suffer him meanly well to speak, till he came to the pope, and began to speak against his dignity, and their profit; then could they abide no longer, but thundered against him words full of cruelty and terror. As they were burning his books, and began also to cast the New Testament into the fire, Francis, seeing that, began to thunder out against them again. The Spaniards then, supposing him not to be in his right senses, conveyed him into a tower six miles distant from Antwerp, where he was detained in a deep cave or dungeon, with much misery, the space of eight months; in which time of his imprisonment many grave and discreet persons came to visit him, exhorting him that he would

The pope Antichrist.

The pope's crown and the friars' bellies not to be touched.

Francis brought into prison.

change his opinion, and speak more modestly. Francis answered again, that he maintained no opinion erroneous or heretical; and if he seemed to be somewhat vehement with the friars, that was not to be ascribed to him, so much as to their own importunity; hereafter he would frame himself more temperately. Hereupon the Spaniards, thinking him better come to himself, discharged him out of prison, which was about the time when the emperor was in his council at Ratisbon. A. D. 1541.

Spanish History. A. D. 1540 to 1560.

San Romanus, being thus freed out of prison, came to Antwerp, where he remained about twenty days. From thence he went to Louvain, unto a certain friend of his, named Francis Dryander (who also afterwards died a martyr), with whom he had much conference about divers matters of religion; who gave him counsel not to alter the state of his vocation, being called to be a merchant, which state he might exercise with a good conscience, and do much good. And as touching religion, his counsel was, that he should say or do nothing for favour of men, whereby the glory of God should be diminished; but so that he required notwithstanding in the same, a sound and right judgment, conformed to the rule of God's word, lest it might chance to him, as it doth to many, who, being carried with an inconsiderate zeal, leave their vocations, and while they think to do good, and to edify, destroy and do harm, and cast themselves needlessly into danger. 'It is God,' said he, 'that hath the care of his church, and will stir up faithful ministers for the same; neither doth he care for such as rashly intrude themselves into that function without any calling.'

San Roman delivered out of prison. Francis Dryander.

This advertisement of Dryander, Francis did willingly accept, promising hereafter to moderate himself more considerately. But this promise was shortly broken, as you shall hear; for, passing from Dryander he went to Ratisbon, and there, having time and opportunity convenient to speak to the emperor, he stepped boldly unto him, beseeching him to deliver his country and subjects of Spain from false religion, and to restore again the sincerity of Christ's doctrine, declaring and protesting, that the princes and protestants of Germany were in the truer part, and that the religion of Spain, being drowned in ignorance and blindness, was greatly dissonant from the true and perfect word of God; with many other words pertaining to the same effect. The emperor all this while gave him gentle hearing, signifying that he would consider upon the matter, and so do therein, as he trusted should be for the best. This quiet answer of the emperor ministered to him no little encouragement of better hope; and albeit he might perceive there in the city many examples to the contrary, yet all that discouraged not him, but he went the second, and also the third time, unto the emperor, who quietly again so answered him as before. And yet this our Francis, not satisfied in his mind, sought with a greater ardency the fourth time to speak to the emperor; but he was repulsed by certain of the Spaniards about the emperor, who, incontinent, without all further hearing or advising in the cause, would have thrown him headlong into the river Danube, had not the emperor staid them, and willed him to be judged by the laws of the empire. By this commandment of the emperor he was reserved and detained with other malefactors in bonds, till the emperor took his voyage into Africa. Then Francis, with other captives following the court, after the emperor was come into Spain, was there delivered to the inquisitors; by whom he was laid in a dark prison under the ground. Oft and many times he was called for to examination, where he suffered great injuries and contumelies, but ever remained in his conscience firm and unmovable. The articles whereupon he stood, and for which he was condemned, were these:

Boldness of San Roman to the emperor.

The emperor's gentle answer.

San Roman brought into Spain.

The Articles of San Romanus.

That life and salvation in the sight of God, come to no man by his own strength, works, or merits, but only by the free mercy of God, in the blood and sacrifice of his Son our Mediator.

That the sacrifice of the mass, which the papists do account available, 'ex opere operato,' for the remission of sin both to the quick and the dead, is horrible blasphemy.

That auricular confession with the numbering up of sins, also that satisfaction, purgatory, pardons, invocation of saints, and worshipping of images, be mere blasphemy against the living God.

Spanish History.

Item, That the blood of Christ is profaned and injured in the same aforesaid.

A. D. 1540 to 1560.

After the inquisitors perceived that by no means he could be reclaimed from his assertions, they proceeded at last to the sentence, condemning him to be burned for a heretic. Many other malefactors were brought also with him to the place of execution, but all they were pardoned and dismissed: he only for the gospel, being odious to the whole world, was taken and burned. As he was led to the place of suffering, they put upon him a mitre of paper, painted full of devils, after the Spanish guise.

Barabbas delivered, and Christ taken.

Furthermore, as he was brought out of the city gate to be burned, there stood a wooden cross by the way, whereunto Francis was required to do homage; which he refused, answering, that the manner of Christians is not to worship wood, and he was (said he) a Christian. Hereupon arose great clamour among the vulgar people, for that he denied to worship the wooden cross. But this was turned incontinent into a miracle. Such was the blind rudeness of that people, that they did impute this to the divine virtue, as given to the cross from heaven, for that it would not suffer itself to be worshipped by a heretic: and immediately, for the opinion of that great miracle, the multitude with their swords did hew it in pieces, every man thinking himself happy who might carry away some chip or fragment of the said cross.

The manner of Christians is not to worship wood.

A great Spanish miracle.

Francis constant to the death.

When he was come to the place where he should suffer, the friars were busy about him to have him recant, but he continued ever firm. As he was laid upon the heap of wood, and the fire kindled about him, he began a little at the feeling of the fire, to lift up his head toward heaven; which when the inquisitors perceived, hoping that he would recant his doctrine, they caused him to be taken from the fire. But when they perceived nothing less in him, the adversaries, being frustrated of their expectation, willed him to be thrown in again; and so was he immediately dispatched.

His martyrdom.

After that the martyrdom of this blessed man was thus consummated, the inquisitors proclaimed openly, that he was damned in hell,[1] and that none should pray for him; yea, and that all were heretics, whosoever doubted of his damnation. Nevertheless certain of the emperor's soldiers gathered of his ashes; also the English ambassador procured a portion of his bones to be brought unto him, knowing right well that he died a martyr. Yet this could not be so secretly done, but it came to the ears of the inquisitors, and of the emperor; wherefore the soldiers, going in great danger of life, were committed to prison. Neither did the ambassador himself escape clear from the danger of the pope's scourge; for he was upon the same sequestered from the court, and commanded to be absent for a space. And thus much concerning the notable martyrdom of this blessed San Romanus.[2]

The English ambassador banished the Spanish court.

Rochus, martyred at St. Lucar in Spain, A. D. 1545. Persecuted by an Inquisitor.

A carver burned for breaking his own image.

Rochus was born in Brabant, his father dwelling in Antwerp. By his science he was a carver or graver of images; who, as soon as he began first to taste the gospel, fell from making such images as use to serve for idolatry in temples, and occupied himself in making seals, save only that he kept standing on his stall an image of the Virgin Mary artificially graven, for a sign of his occupation. It happened unhappily, that a certain inquisitor passing by in the street, and beholding the carved image, asked of Rochus what was the price thereof? which when Rochus had set (not willing belike to sell it), the inquisitor bade him scarce half the money. The other answered again, that he could not so live by that bargain. But still the inquisitor urged him to take his offer; to whom Rochus again: 'It shall be yours,' said he, 'if you will give me that which my labour and charges stand me in, but for that price I cannot afford it: yea I had rather break it in pieces.' 'Yea,' said the inquisitor, 'break it? let me see thee;' Rochus with that took up a chisel, and dashed it upon the face of the image, wherewith the nose, or some other part of the face was blemished. The inquisitor, seeing that, cried out that he were mad, and commanded Rochus forthwith to prison: to whom Rochus cried again, that he might do to his own works what he listed; and if the workmanship of the image were not

(1) The inquisitors of Spain take Christ's office, to judge the quick and the dead.
(2) Ex Franc. Encena. Hispano, teste oculato.

after his fantasy, what was that to them? But all this could not help Rochus, but within three days after, sentence was given upon him, that he should be burned, and so was he committed to the executioners. As Rochus was entering the place there to be burned, he cried with a loud voice, asking among the multitude which there stood by, if any man of Flanders were there? It was answered, yea; and also that there were two ships already fraught, and appointed to sail to Flanders. Then said he, 'I would desire some of them to signify to my father dwelling in Antwerp, that I was burned here in this city, and for this cause which you all have heard.' And thus, after his prayers made to God, this good man, being wrongfully condemned, after his godly life made this blessed end, A. D. 1545.

The martyrdom of Rochus

And lest this so rare and strange example of cruelty should seem to lack credit, in the fifth book of the History of Pantaleon there is recorded that a certain Spaniard, coming to Antwerp, made diligent inquisition there amongst the image-makers, to find out the parents of this Rochus, and signified to them what had happened to their son, as hath been by his said parents and friends declared; insomuch that it is also testified, that his father, at the hearing of the said message, for sorrow thereof, died shortly after.[1]

Furthermore, besides these above-recited, and also before their time, I hear and understand by faithful relation, that divers others have been in the said country of Spain, whose hearts God had marvellously illuminated, and stirred up, both before, and also since the coming in of the inquisition, to stand in defence of his gospel, and who were also persecuted for the same, and are said to have died in prison; albeit their names as yet are unknown, for the stories of that country be not yet come to light, but, I trust, shortly shall, as partly some intelligence I have thereof. In the mean time we will come now to the inquisition of Spain, speaking something of the ceremonial pomp and also of the barbarous abuse and cruelty of the same.

Divers good men and martyrs of Spain died in prison.

The Form and Manner of the execrable Inquisition of Spain.

The cruel and barbarous inquisition of Spain first began by king Ferdinand and Isabella his wife, and was instituted against the Jews, who, after their baptism, maintained again their own ceremonies: but now it is practised against them that be ever so little suspected to favour the verity of the Lord. The Spaniards, and especially the great divines there, do hold that this holy and sacred inquisition cannot err, and that the holy fathers, the inquisitors, cannot be deceived.

The Spanish inquisition cannot err.

Three sorts of men most principally be in danger of these inquisitors: they that be greatly rich, for the spoil of their goods: they that be learned, because they will not have their misdealings and secret abuses to be espied and detected: they that begin to increase in honour and dignity, lest they, being in authority, should work them some shame or dishonour.

Three sorts of men chiefly in danger of the inquisition.

The abuse of this inquisition is most execrable. If any word shall pass out of the mouth of any, which may be taken in evil part; yea, though no word be spoken, yet if they bear any grudge or evil will against the party, incontinent they command him to be taken, and put in a horrible prison, and then find out crimes against him at leisure, and in the mean time no man living is so hardy as once to

(1) Ex Pantal. lib. v.

Spanish History. A. D. 1540 to 1560.

open his mouth for him.[1] If the father speak one word for his child, he is also taken and cast into prison as a favourer of heretics: neither is it permitted to any person to enter in to the prisoner; but there he is alone, in a place where he cannot see so much as the ground where he is; and is not suffered either to read or write, but there endureth in darkness palpable, in horrors infinite, in fear miserable, wrestling with the assaults of death.

Miserable handling of God's people in Spain.

By this it may be esteemed what trouble and sorrow, what pensive sighs and cogitations they sustain, who are not thoroughly instructed in holy doctrine. Add, moreover, to these distresses and horrors of the prison, the injuries, threats, whippings, and scourgings, irons, tortures, and racks which they endure. Sometimes also they are brought out, and showed forth in some higher place to the people, as a spectacle of rebuke and infamy. And thus are they detained there, some many years, and murdered by long torments, and whole days together treated much more cruelly, out of all comparison, than if they were in the hangman's hands to be slain at once. During all this time, what is done in the process, no person knoweth, but only the holy fathers and the tormentors, who are sworn to execute the torments. All this is done in secret, and (as great mysteries) pass not the hands of these holy ones. And after all these torments so many years endured in the prison, if any man shall be saved, it must be by guessing; for all the proceedings of the court of that execrable inquisition are open to no man, but all is done in hugger-mugger and in close corners, by ambages, by covert ways, and secret counsels. The accuser is secret, the crime secret, the witness secret, whatsoever is done is secret, neither is the poor prisoner ever advertised of any thing. If he can guess who accused him, whereof and wherefore, he may be pardoned peradventure of his life: but this is very seldom, and yet he shall not incontinent be set at liberty before he hath long time endured infinite torments; and this is called their 'Pen tence,' and so is he let go: and yet not so but that he is enjoined, before he pass the inquisitor's hands, that he shall wear a garment of yellow colours for a note of public infamy to him and his whole race. And if he cannot guess right, showing to the inquisitors by whom he was accused, whereof and wherefore (as is before touched), incontinent the horrible sentence of condemnation is pronounced against him, that he shall be burned for an obstinate heretic. And so yet the sentence is not executed by and by, but after he hath endured imprisonment in some heinous prison.

Divers martyrs in Spain since the time of Queen Elizabeth.

And thus have ye heard the form of the Spanish inquisition. By the vigour and rigour of this inquisition: many good true servants of Jesus Christ have been brought to death, especially in these latter years, since the royal and peaceable reign of this our queen Elizabeth; the names and stories of whom we will partly here recite, according as we have faithful records of such as have come to our hands by writing. The others which be not yet come to our knowledge, we will defer till further intelligence and opportunity, by the Lord's aid and leave, shall serve hereafter.

(1) Example of the same well appeareth in Rochus above-mentioned.

THIRTY CHRISTIAN PRISONERS BROUGHT BEFORE THE COUNCIL OF THE INQUISITION.

A. D. 1559 to 1560.

In the year 1559, May 21, in the town of Valladolid, where commonly the council of the inquisition is wont to be kept, the inquisitors had brought together many prisoners both of high and low estate, to the number of thirty; also the coffin of a certain noble woman, with her picture lying upon it, who had been dead long before, there to receive judgment and sentence. To the hearing of this sentence, they had ordained in the said town three mighty theatres or stages. Upon the first was placed dame Jane, sister to king Philip, and chief regent of his realms; also prince Charles, king Philip's son, with other princes and states of Spain. Upon the other scaffold mounted the archbishop of Seville, prince of the synagogue of the inquisitors, with the council of the inquisition; also other bishops of the land, and the king's council with them.

Three stages.

After that the princes and other spiritual judges and councillors were thus set in their places, with a great guard of archers and halberdiers, and harnessed soldiers, with four heralds-at-arms also giving their attendance to the same, and the earl of Buendia bearing the naked sword, all the market-place where the stages were, being environed with an infinite multitude of all sorts of the world there standing, and gazing out of windows and houses to hear and see the sentences and judgments of this inquisition: then after all were brought forth, as a spectacle and triumph, the poor servants and witnesses of Jesus Christ, to the number as is above said, of thirty, clothed with their 'Sanbenito,' as the Spaniards do call it, which is a manner of vesture of yellow cloth, coming both before them and behind them, spangled with red crosses, and having burning cierges[1] in their hands; also before them was borne a crucifix covered with black linen cloth, in token of mourning. Moreover they that were to receive the sentence of death, had mitres of paper upon their heads, which the Spaniards call 'coracas.' Thus they being produced, were placed in their order, one under another, according as they were esteemed culpable; so that first of all stood up doctor Cacalla, an Austin friar, a man notable and singular in knowledge of divinity, preacher sometime to Charles V., the emperor both of higher and lower Germany.

The ceremonial pomp of the Spanish inquisition.

The Spanish mantle of St. Benet of the yellow colour, with red crosses both before and behind, called Sanbenito.

These things thus disposed, then followed a sermon made by a Dominic friar,[2] which endured about an hour. After the sermon finished, the procurator-general, with the archbishop, went to the stage where the princes and nobles stood, to minister a solemn oath unto them upon the crucifix painted in the mass-book; the tenor of which oath was this:

'Your majesties shall swear, that you will favour the holy inquisition, and also give your consent unto the same; and not only that you shall by no manner of way hinder and impeach the same; but also you shall employ the uttermost of your help and endeavour, hereafter, to see all those executed, who shall swerve from the church of Rome, and join themselves to the sect of the Lutheran heretics, without all respect of any person or persons, of what estate, degree, quality, or condition soever they be.'

The oath given to the princes by the inquisition of Spain.

(1) 'Cierges;' wax-tapers.—Ed. (2) This Dominic was Master Melchior Cano.

Spanish History. A. D. 1559 to 1560.

And thus much for the first article of the oath; the second was this that followeth:

Item, 'Your majesties shall swear, that you shall constrain all your subjects to submit themselves to the church of Rome, and to have in reverence all the laws and commandments of the same; and also to give your aid against all them, whosoever shall hold of the heresy of the Lutherans, or take any part with them.'

In this sort and manner, when all the princes and states, every one in their degree, had received their oath, then the archbishop, lifting up his hand, gave them his benediction, saying, "God bless your highnesses, and give you long life!" This solemn pageant thus finished, at last the poor captives and prisoners were called out, the procurator-fiscal, or the pope's great collector, first beginning with Dr. Cacalla, and so proceeding to the others in order, as hereafter, in the table which followeth, with their names and their judgments, is described:

1. Dr. Cacalla, a Friar Augustine, burned. The Persecutors of Dr. Cacalla and the twenty-seven that follow, were these: The Pope's great Collector, or Procurator-fiscal; the Archbishop of Seville, the Bishop of Valencia, the Bishop of Orense, and lastly, the Inquisitors of Spain.

Before the pope's great proctor, or collector-fiscal, first was called forth doctor Austin Cacalla. This doctor was a friar of Austin's order, and priest of the town of Valladolid, and preacher sometime to the emperor Charles V., a man well accounted of for his learning; who for that he was thought to be as the standard-bearer to the gospellers (whom they call Lutherans), and preacher and doctor unto them; therefore he being first called for, was brought from his stage nearer to the procurator-fiscal, there to hear the sentence of his condemnation; which was, that he should be degraded, and presently burned, and all his goods confiscated to the profit and advancement of justice.

2. Francis de Bivero, Priest of Valladolid, and Brother to the aforesaid Cacalla, burned.

The second prisoner, and next to doctor Cacalla that was called, was Francis de Bivero his brother, priest also of Valladolid, who received likewise the same sentence of condemnation. And to the intent he should not speak any thing to the prejudice, or against the abuse, of the sacred inquisition, as he before had done both within and without the prison with much boldness; and also because he was much favoured of the people; to the end therefore that no commotion should come by his speaking, his mouth was so stopped and shut up, that he could not speak one word.

3. Dame Blanche de Bivero, burned.

The third was dame Blanche, sister to the other two aforesaid, against whom also was pronounced the like sentence, as upon her brethren before.

4. John de Bivero.

The fourth was John de Bivero, brother to the same kindred, who was also judged a heretic, and condemned to perpetual prison, and to bear his 'Sanbenito' all his life long; which is a habiliment of dishonour.

5. Dame Constance de Bivero, Sister to the same aforesaid, burned.

Dame Constance de Bivero, was the fifth sister to the others before specified,

and widow of Ferdinando Ortis, dwelling sometime at Valladolid, who was also condemned, with the like sentence with her brethren, to be burned. *Spanish History.*

A. D. 1559 to 1560.

6. The Coffin with the Dead Corpse of Dame Leonore de Bivero, the Mother of these aforesaid, burned.

The sixth thunderbolt of condemnation was thundered out against a poor coffin, with the dead corpse of dame Leonore de Bivero, mother to these above-named, being herself the sixth, and being already dead long before at Valladolid. Above her coffin was her picture laid, which was also condemned with her dead corpse to be burned for a heretic; and yet I never heard of any opinion that this picture did hold, either with or against the church of Rome. This good mother,[1] while she lived, was a worthy maintainer of Christ's gospel, with great integrity of life; and retained divers assemblies of the saints in her house for the preaching of the word of God. In fine, her corpse with the image also, being brought before the fiscal, was condemned likewise (as the mother with her seven children in the Book of Maccabees) to be burned for a Lutheran heretic, and all her goods to be seized to the behoof of the superior powers, and also her house utterly to be rased and cast down to the ground; and for a memorial of the same, a marble stone was appointed to be set up in the house, whereon the said cause of her burning should be engraved.

7. Master Aflonse Perez, Priest of Valencia, burned.

In the seventh place was condemned Master Aflonse Perez, priest of Valencia, first to be degraded, and afterwards to be burned as a heretic, and all his goods confiscated, and likewise seized, to the behoof of the superiority.

The degradation of Dr. Cacalla, Francis his brother, and Aflonse.

When these seven aforesaid had received their sentence, then the bishop of Valencia, in his Pontificalibus, caused Dr. Cacalla, Francis his brother, and Aflonse Perez, to be apparelled and revested in priestly vesture. This done, he took from them first the chalice out of their hands, and so all their other trinkets in order, according to their accustomed solemnity. And thus they, being degraded, and all their priestly unctions taken from their fingers, also their lips and their crowns rased, so were their yellow habits of Sanbenito put over their shoulders again, with their mitres also of paper upon their heads. This done, Dr. Cacalla began to speak, praying the princes and lords to give him audience: but that not being granted unto him, he was rudely repulsed, and returned again to his standing. Only thus much he protested clearly and openly, that his faith, for which he was so handled, was not heretical, but consonant to the pure and clear word of God; for which also he was pressed and ready to suffer death as a true Christian, and not as a heretic: besides many other worthy sentences of great consolation, which he there uttered in the mean space, while the judges were busy in their sentences against the residue of the martyrs.

Dr. Cacalla not suffered to speak.

8. Don Peter Sarmiento, Knight of the Order of Alcanta

The eighth that was brought before the aforesaid fiscal was Don Peter Sarmiento, knight of the order of Alcantara, dwelling at Valencia, and son of the Marquis de Poza, who was pronounced a heretic, and judged to bear the mark and habit of dishonour all his life, and condemned to perpetual prison, with the loss of his order, and of all his goods; to whom moreover it was enjoined, never to wear any more gold, silver, pearls, or any precious stone about him.

9. Dame Mencia, Wife of the said Don Peter.

Ninthly, after him was called dame Mencia de Figueroa, wife of the aforesaid Don Peter Sarmiento; who likewise, being proclaimed for a heretic, was condemned to the same punishment as her husband was.

(1) This good mother, with her children, burned by Antichrist, resembled the mother with her seven children burned in the Second Book of Maccabees, chap. vii. 1.

Spanish History.

A. D. 1559 to 1560.

10. Don Lovis de Roxas, Son and Heir of the Marquis de Poza.

Next after her was called and brought forth Don Lovis de Roxas, son and heir of the marquis de Poza; who also being declared a heretic, for the great suit and labour that was made for him, was only condemned to bear his Sanbenito unto the town-house, and his goods to be confiscated.

11. Dame Anne Henriques.

After whom, in the eleventh place, followed dame Anne Henriques, daughter of the Marquis Alcanzes, and mother to the aforenamed marquis de Poza, and wife to the lord Alphonsus de Fonseca: who in like sort was declared a heretic, and condemned to bear her Sanbenito to the town-house, and her goods to be confiscated.

12. Christopher Dell Campo, burned.

Christopher dell Campo, citizen of Samora, was the twelfth, who, after he was declared a heretic, was judged to be burned, and his goods to be seized.

13. Christopher de Padilla, burned.

The like sentence was also given upon Christopher de Padilla, citizen of Samora.

14. Anthony de Huezuello, burned.

The fourteenth was Anthony de Huezuello, bachelor of divinity, dwelling at Toro; who, after he was proclaimed heretic, and his goods confiscated, was condemned to be burned; and moreover had his mouth stopped, for that he should not speak and make confession of his faith unto the people.

15. Katharine Romain, burned.

Then followed Katharine Romain, dwelling in Pedrosa, called from her standing; who, receiving the like sentence, was condemned to be burned, and all her goods confiscated.

16. Frances Errem, burned.

The sixteenth was Frances Errem, born in Pegnaranda, whom they condemned to be burned alive, and all her goods likewise to be confiscated.

17. Katharine Ortega.

After her, succeeded in the next sentence of martyrdom, Katharine Ortega, dwelling in Valladolid, daughter of Hernando Piazo, fiscal, and widow of captain Lovis, pronounced with the others to be a heretic; and forasmuch as she was reckoned to be a schoolmistress to the rest, she was judged to be burned, and her goods confiscated.

18. Isabell Strada. 19. Jane Valesques.

In the eighteenth and nineteenth places, stood Isabel de Strada, and Jane Valesques, both dwelling in Pedrosa; who likewise were condemned to be burned, and all their goods confiscated.

20. A Smith.

A certain workman of white iron, or smith, for entertaining assemblies in his house, and for watching with them, received also with them the like sentence, to lose both life and goods for the gospel's sake.

21. A Jew.

With these also was joined a Portuguese, named Goncalo Vaes, of Lisbon,

who was born a Jew, afterward baptized, and then returned again to his Judaism; who, for more shame to the others, was put also in the same tale and number (as the two thieves were joined with Christ); and was also with them condemned to be burned, and his goods seized. *Spanish History.* A.D. 1559 to 1560.

22. Dame Jane de Silva.

After these was called dame Jane de Silva, wife to John de Bivero, brother to Dr. Cacalla, to whom it was enjoined to bear a mantle all her life for penance, and token of her trespass, and all her goods were confiscated.

23. Leonore de Lisueros, Wife of Huezuello.

In like manner was called for Leonore de Lisueros, wife of the aforesaid Anthony Huezuello, bachelor of divinity.

24. Marina de Sajávedra.

Item, Marina de Sajavedra, wife of Cisueras de Sareglio.

25. Daniel Quadra.

Item, Daniel Quadra, born at Pedrosa: all which three persons were pronounced heretics, and condemned to do penance in perpetual prison, with their mantles, and confiscation of all their goods.

26. Dame Mary de Royas.

Dame Mary de Royas, sister of the marquis of Royas, because she was in a cloister, and was come of a good house, was therefore judged to bear her mantle to the town-house, and all her goods confiscated.

27. Anthony Dominick.

Anthony Dominick de Pedrosa, being then brought out, was judged and condemned to three years' penance in prison for his heresy, clothed with the mantle of yellow, and all his goods confiscated.

28. Anthony Basor, an Englishman.

Last of all was produced Anthony Basor, who, for that he was an Englishman, was judged to bear his mantle of yellow to the town-house in penance for his crime, and incontinent was thrust into a cloister for one year, to the intent he might there be instructed in the Catholic ordinances of the church of Rome, as they be called.

After these sentences had been thus pronounced, they that were condemned to be burned, with the coffin of the dead lady and her picture upon the same, were committed to the secular magistrate and to their executioners, who were commanded to do their endeavour. Then were they all incontinent taken, and every one set upon an ass, their faces turned backward, and led with a great garrison of armed soldiers unto the place of punishment, which was without the gate of the town, called Del Campo.

When they were come to the place, there were fourteen stakes set up at equal distance one from another, whereunto every one severally being fastened according to the fashion of Spain, they were all first strangled, and then burned and turned to ashes, save only Anthony Huezuello, who, forasmuch as he had, both within and without the prison, vehemently detested the pope's spiritualty, therefore he was burned alive, and his mouth stopped from speaking. And thus these faithful Christians, for the verity and pure word of God, were led to

Fourteen martyrs in Spain burned at once.

Italian History

A. D. 1559 to 1560.

death as sheep to the shambles; who not only most christianly did comfort one another, but also did so exhort all them there present, that all men marvelled greatly, both to hear their singular constancy, and to see their quiet and peaceable end.

It is reported that, besides these aforesaid, there remained yet behind thirty-seven other prisoners, at the said town of Valladolid, reserved to another tragedy and spectacle of that bloody inquisition.[1]

Furthermore, whereas the story of the said inquisition, being set out in the French tongue, doth reckon the number of the martyrs above-mentioned to be thirty, and yet, in particular declaration of them, doth name no more than eight and twenty; here is therefore to be noted, that either this number lacked two of thirty, or else that two of the said company were returned back without judgment into the prison again.

And thus much for this present, touching the proceeding of the church of Spain in their inquisition against the Lutherans; that is, against the true and faithful servants of Jesus Christ. Albeit there be other countries also, besides Spain, subject unto the same inquisition, as Naples and Sicily; in which kingdom of Sicily, I hear it credibly reported, that every third year are brought forth to judgment and execution a certain number, after the like sort of christian martyrs; sometimes twelve, sometimes six; sometimes more, sometimes less. Among them there was one, much about the same year above-mentioned, A.D. 1559, who, coming from Geneva to Sicily, upon zeal to do good, was at last laid hands on; and being condemned the same time to the fire, as he should take his death, was offered there of the hangman to be strangled, having the cord ready about his neck; but he, notwithstanding, refused the same, and said that he would feel the fire. And so endured he, singing with all his might unto the Lord, till he was bereaved both of speech and life, in the midst of the flame: such was the admirable constancy and fortitude of that valiant soldier of Christ, as is witnessed to me by him, who, being there present the same time, did both then see that which he doth testify, and also doth now testify what he then saw.

A christian martyr burned in Sicily.

Now it remaineth further, according to my promise, in like order of a compendious table, to comprehend also such martyrs as suffered for the verity and true testimony of the gospel, in the places and countries of Italy; which table consequently here next ensueth.

A TABLE OF SUCH MARTYRS AS SUFFERED FOR THE TESTIMONY OF THE GOSPEL IN ITALY.

The Italian Martyrs.

N. Encenas, otherwise called Dryander, martyred at Rome, A.D. 1546. Persecuted by certain Popish Spaniards at Rome.

This Encenas, or Dryander, a Spaniard, born at Burgos, was brother to Franciscus Encenas, the learned man so oft before mentioned; and was also the teacher or instructor in knowledge of religion to Diazius,[2] the godly martyr above recorded. He was sent by his superstitious parents, being young, unto Rome; who there, after long continuance, growing up in age and knowledge,

(1) Ex quin. parte Mart. Gall. Impress. p. 474. [The same enumeration appears in the 6th Livre, folio 538, of the 'Histoire des vray Tesmoins:' edit. 1570; and in the same work under the title 'Histoire des Martyrs persecutez.'—Ed.

(2) See p. 387 of this vol.—Ed.

Italian History.

A. D. 1546 to 1560

but especially being instructed by the Lord in the truth of his word, after he was known to dislike the pope's doctrine, and the impure doings at Rome, was apprehended and taken by certain of his own countrymen, and some of his own household friends at Rome, at the same time when he was preparing to take his journey to his brother Francis Encenas, in Germany. Thus he, being betrayed and taken by his countrymen, was brought before the cardinals, and there committed strait to prison. Afterwards he was brought forth to give testimony of his doctrine, which, in the presence of the cardinals, and in the face of all the pope's retinue, he boldly and constantly defended; so that not only the cardinals, but especially the Spaniards being therewith offended, cried out upon him that he should be burned. The cardinals first, before the sentence of death should be given, came to him, offering, if he would take it (after the manner of the Spaniards), the badge of reconciliation, which hath the name of Sanbenit's cloth, made in form of a mantle, going both before him and behind him, with signs of the red cross. But Encenas, still constant in the profession of truth, denied to receive any other condition or badge, but only the badge of the Lord, which was to seal the doctrine of his religion with the testimony of his blood. At last the matter was brought to that issue, that the faithful servant and witness of Christ was judged and condemned to the fire; where he, in the sight of the cardinals, and in the face of the apostolic see pretensed, gave up his life for the testimony of the gospel.[1]

And forasmuch as mention hath been made both in this story, and many others before, of Franciscus Encenas his brother, here is not to be pretermitted, how the said Franciscus, being a man of notable learning as ever was any in Spain, being in the emperor's court at Brussels, offered unto the emperor Charles V. the New Testament of Christ translated into Spanish. For this he was cast into prison, where he remained in sorrowful captivity and calamity the space of fifteen months, looking for nothing more than present death. At last, through the marvellous providence of Almighty God, on the 1st of February, A.D. 1545, at eight o'clock, after supper, he found the doors of the prison standing open, and he secretly was moved in his mind to take the occasion offered, and to shift for himself; and so, issuing out of the prison, without any hasty pace, but going as leisurely as he could, he escaped from thence, and went straight to Germany.

The imprisonment and escape of Francis Encenas.

Faninus, martyred at Ferrara, A. D. 1550. Persecuted by Pope Julius III.

Faninus, born in Faventia, a town in Italy, through the reading of godly books translated into the Italian tongue (having no perfect skill in the Latin), was converted from great blindness, to the wholesome knowledge of Christ and of his word; wherein he took such a sweetness, and so grew up in the meditation of the same, that he was able in short time to instruct others. Neither was there any diligence lacking in him to communicate that abroad which he had received of the Lord: being so in his mind persuaded, that a man, receiving by the Spirit of God the knowledge and illumination of his verity, ought in no case to hide the same in silence, as a candle under a bushel. And therefore, being occupied diligently in that behalf, albeit he used not publicly to preach, but by private conference to teach, he was at length by the pope's clients espied, apprehended, and committed to prison. Albeit he remained not long in prison, for by the earnest persuasions and prayers of his wife, his children, and other friends, he was so overcome, that he gave over, and so was dismissed shortly out of prison. After this, it was not long but he fell into horrible perturbation of mind; insomuch that unless the great mercy of God had kept him up, he had fallen into utter desperation, for slipping from the truth, and preferring the love of his friends and kindred before the service of

Faninus overcome by his wife and brethren.

(1) Ex Pantal. lib. vi., ex Crisp. et aliis.

Italian History.

Jesus Christ, whom he so earnestly before had professed. This wound went so deep into his heart, that he could in no case be quieted, before he had fully fixed and determined in his mind, to adventure his life more faithfully in the service of the Lord.

A. D. 1546 to 1560.

Whereupon, being thus inflamed with zeal of spirit, he went about all the country of Romania, publicly preaching the pure doctrine of the gospel, not without great fruit and effect in places as he went. As he was thus labouring, it so fell out that he was apprehended again, A. D. 1547, in a place called Bagnacavallo, where also he was condemned to be burned: but he said his hour was not yet come, and the same to be but the beginning of his doctrine. And so it was; for shortly after he was removed unto Ferrara, where he was detained two years. At last the inquisitors of the pope's heresies condemned him to death, A. D. 1549; and yet his time being not come, he remained after that to the month of September, A. D. 1550. In the mean time many faithful and good men came to visit him, for which the pope commanded him to be inclosed in straiter custody; wherein he suffered great torments the space of eighteen months, and yet had suffered greater, if the Dominic friars might have got him into their house, as they went about. Thus Faninus, removed from prison to prison, many times changed his place, but never altered his constancy.

Again imprisoned.

At length he was brought into a prison, where were divers great lords, captains, and noble personages there committed, for stirring up commotions and factions (as the country of Italy is full of such), who at first, hearing him speak, began to set him at nought, and to deride him, supposing that it was but a melancholy humour that troubled his brain. Whereupon, such as seemed more sage amongst them, began to exhort him to leave his opinion, and to live with men as other men do, and not to vex his mind, but to suspend his judgment till the matter were decided in the general council. To whom Faninus again, first giving them thanks for their friendly good wills wherewith they seemed to respect his well-doing, modestly and quietly declared unto them, how the doctrine which he professed, was no humour or opinion of man's brain, but the pure verity of God, founded in his word, and revealed to men in the gospel of Jesus Christ, and especially now in these days restored: which verity he had fully determined in his mind never to deny, to believe the lying fantasies of men. And as in his soul, which was redeemed by the blood of the Son of God, he was free from all bondage; so likewise as touching councils, he looked for no other sentence or authority, he said, but that only which he knew to be declared to us by Christ Jesus in his gospel, which he both preached with his word, and confirmed with his blood, &c. With these and such other words, he so moved their minds, that they were clean altered unto a new kind of life, having him now in admiration, whom they had before in derision, and accounted him for a holy person: to whom he proceeded still to preach the word of grace, declaring and confessing himself to be a miserable sinner; but by the faith of the Lord Jesus, and through the grace only of him, he was fully persuaded and well assured his sins were forgiven: like as all their sins also should be remitted to them through their faith in Christ only, they believing his gospel.

The modest answer of Faninus to his fellow-prisoners.

Prisoners converted by Faninus.

There were others also besides these, who, having used before a more delicate kind of life, could not well away with the sharpness and the hardness of the prison. These also received such comfort by the said Faninus, that not only they were quietly contented, but also rejoiced in this their captivity, by the occasion whereof they had received and learned a better liberty than ever they knew before.

When the imprisonment of this Faninus was known to his parents and kinsfolk, his wife and sister came to him with weeping persuasions, to move him to consider and care for his poor family; to whom he answered again, that his Lord and Master had commanded him, not to deny Him for looking to his family; and that it was enough for them that he had once, for their sakes, fallen into that cowardliness which they knew. Wherefore he desired them to depart in peace, and solicit him no more therein, for his end (he said) he knew to draw near: and so he commended them unto the Lord.

Pope Julius III.

About the same time died pope Paul III., and after him succeeded Julius III., who then sent letters and commandment that Faninus should be executed; whereof when one of the magistrates' officers brought him word the next day, he rejoiced thereat, and gave the messenger thanks, and began to preach a long

sermon to them that were about him, of the felicity and beatitude of the life to come. Then the messenger exhorted him that, in case he would change his opinion, he should save both this life, and enjoy that to come. Another asked him in what case he should leave his little children and his wife, or what stay should they be at, he so leaving them: wherefore he desired him to have respect both to himself and to them. Faninus answered, that he had left them with an overseer, who would see unto them sufficiently; and being asked who he was? 'The Lord Jesus Christ,' said he, 'a faithful keeper, and a conserver of all that is committed to him.' After that the messenger was thus departed from Faninus, all full of tears and sorrow, the next day following he was removed into the common prison, and delivered to the secular magistrate. Faninus, in all ways, his words, his gestures, and his countenance, declared such constancy of faith, such modesty of manners and tranquillity of mind, that they that before were extreme against him, thinking him rather to have a devil, began now favourably to hearken to him, and to commend him. With such grace and sweetness he talked, ever speaking of the word of God, that divers of the magistrates' wives, in hearing him, could not abstain from weeping. The executioner also wept himself. One of the public scribes then came to him, and said, that if he would relent from his opinion, the pope's pleasure was, that he should be saved: but that he refused. This was marvellous, that he, having but small skill in the Latin, yet recited so many and sundry places of the Scripture without book, and that so truly and promptly, as though he had studied nothing else. One, seeing him so jocund and merry going to his death, asked, why he was so merry at his death, seeing Christ himself sweat blood and water before his passion? 'Christ,' said he, 'sustained in his body all the sorrows and conflicts, with hell and death, due unto us; by whose suffering we are delivered from sorrow and fear of them all.' Finally, early in the morning he was brought forth where he should suffer, who, after his prayers most earnestly made unto the Lord, meekly and patiently gave himself to the stake, where, with a cord drawn about his neck, he was secretly strangled of the hangman, in the city of Ferrara, three hours before day, to the intent the people should not see him, nor hear him speak: and after, about dinner-time, his body in the same place was burned. At the burning thereof such a fragrant and odoriferous scent came to all them there present, and so struck their senses, that the sweetness thereof seemed to refresh them no less than his words would have done, if they had heard him speak.

Christ preferred before wife and children.

Life refused.

How Christ feared death himself, and yet hath he taken away the fear of death from others.

The custom of that city is, that the bones and ashes which be left, should be carried out of the city; but neither the magistrate, nor the bishop, nor his great vicar or chancellor, nor any divine else, would take any charge thereof, every man transferring that burden from themselves, to him who was the cause of his death. Hereby it may appear, what secret judgment and estimation all they had of that good and blessed man. At last, people took his burned bones, with the cinders, and carried them out of the street of the city.[1]

Dominicus de Basana, martyred at Placentia, A. D. 1550.[2]

The same year that the aforesaid Faninus suffered in Ferrara, Dominicus also suffered in the city of Placentia. This Dominicus was a citizen in Basana, and followed the wars of Charles the emperor in Germany, where he received the first taste of Christ's gospel, wherein he increased more and more by conferring and reasoning with learned men, so that in a short time he was able to instruct many; and so he did, working and travelling in the church, till at length, in the year 1550, he, coming to the city of Naples, there preached the word, and from thence proceeding to Placentia, preached there likewise unto the people, of true confession, of purgatory, and of pardons. Furthermore, the next day he treated of true faith and good works, how far they are necessary to salvation, promising moreover the next day to speak of Antichrist, and to paint him out in his colours. When the hour came that he should begin his sermon, the magistrate of the city commanded him to come down from the chair in the market-

Antichrist cannot abide to be detected.

(1) Ex Hen. Pantal. lib. vii. [p. 200.] Ex [Acta Martyrum, qui hoc sæculo in Gallia, Germania, Anglia, Flandria, Italia, constans dederunt nomen Evangelio; Genevæ. Apud] Joh. Crispinum, [1556] p. 363.—Ed.

(2) The name of the persecutor in the story appeareth not.

Italian History. A. D. 1546 to 1560.

place, and deliver himself to the officers. Dominicus was willing and ready to obey the commandment, saying, that he did much marvel that the devil could suffer him so long in that kind of exercise. From thence he was led to the bishop's chancellor, and asked whether he was a priest, and how he was placed in that function? He answered, that he was no priest of the pope, but of Jesus Christ, by whom he was lawfully called to that office. Then was he demanded, whether he would renounce his doctrine? He answered, that he maintained no doctrine of his own, but only the doctrine of Christ, which also he was ready to seal with his blood, and also gave hearty thanks to God, who so accepted him, as worthy to glorify his name with his martyrdom. Upon this he was committed to a filthy and stinking prison, where after he had remained a few months, he was exhorted divers times to revoke, otherwise he should suffer; but still he remained constant in his doctrine: whereupon when the time came assigned for his punishment, he was brought to the market-place, where he had preached, and there was hanged; who, most heartily praying for his enemies, so finished his days in this miserable wretched world.[1]

The martyrdom of Dominicus de Basana.

Galeazius Trecius, at the City of Lodi, called Laus Pompeia, in Italy, A. D. 1551. Accused by the Bishop of St. Angelo and his Priests.

St. Angelo, is a certain fortress or castle in Italy, within Lombardy, not far from the city called Lodi, belonging also to the same diocese. In this fort of St. Angelo was a house of Augustine friars, unto whom used much to resort a certain friar of the same order, dwelling at Pavia, named Mainard, a man well expert in the study of Scripture, and of a godly conversation. By this Mainard, divers not only of the friars, but also of other townsmen, were reduced to the love and knowledge of God's word, and to the detestation of the pope's abuses. Among whom was also this Galeazius, a gentleman of good calling, and wealthy in worldly substance, and very beneficial to the poor, who, first by conference with the friars, and also with his brother-in-law, began to conceive some light in God's truth, and afterwards was confirmed more thoroughly by Cœlius Secundus Curio, who, then being driven by persecution, came from Pavia to the said place of St. Angelo. In process of time, as this Galeazius increased in judgment and zeal, in setting forward the wholesome word of God's grace, as a light shining in darkness he could not so lie hid, but at last, A. D. 1551, certain were sent from the beforenamed city of Lodi, to lay hands upon him, who brought him to the bishop's palace; where he was kept in bands, having under him only a pad of straw. Although his wife sent unto him a good feather-bed with sheets to lie in, yet the bishop's chaplains and officers kept it from him, dividing the prey among themselves.

Injurious and fraudulent dealing of the papists.

When the time came that he should be examined, he was thrice brought before the commissioners, where he rendered reasons and causes of his faith, answering to their interrogatories with such evidence of Scripture, and constancy of mind, that he was an admiration to them that heard him. Albeit not long after, through the importunate persuasions of his kinsfolk and friends, the other cold gospellers, laying many considerations before his eyes, he was brought at length to assent to certain points of the pope's doctrine. But yet the mercy of God, which began with him, so left him not, but brought him again to such repentance, and bewailing of his fact, that he became afterwards (according to the example of Peter, and St. Cyprian, and others) doublewise more valiant in defence of Christ's quarrel; neither did he ever desire any thing more than occasion to be offered to recover again by confession, that which he had lost before by denial; affirming, that he never felt more joy of heart, than at the time of his examinations, where he stood thrice to the constant confession of the truth; and contrary, that he never tasted more sorrow in all his life, than when he slipped afterwards from the same by dissimulation: declaring, moreover, to his brethren, that death was much more sweet unto him, with testimony of the verity, than life with the least denial of truth, and loss of a good conscience. Thus Galeazius, mourning for his fall in prison, after he heard of his friends that nothing was yet so far past, but that he might recover himself again, and that his infirmity was not prejudicial, but rather a furtherance to God's

Geleazius relenteth and repenteth.

A sentence of a martyr to be marked.

(1) Ex Pantal. lib. vii.

glory, and an admonition to himself to stand more strongly hereafter, took thereby exceeding comfort; and when they would have left with him a book of the New Testament for his comfort, he refused it, saying, that he had in his heart whatsoever Christ there spake to his disciples: also what happened both to Christ and himself, and to his apostles, for confessing the word of truth. *Italian History.* 1546 to 1560.

Furthermore, so comfortable was he after that, that they who talked with him, continued all the day without meat or drink, and would also have tarried all the night following, if they might have been suffered.

As Galeazius thus continued in the prison, looking for some occasion again to recover himself from his fall, it followed in short time that the inquisitors and priests repaired to him again in the prison, supposing that he would confirm now that which before he had granted to them; and required him so to do. Galeazius, denying all that he had granted to them before, returned again to the defence of his former doctrine, with much more boldness of spirit confessing Christ, as he did before, and detested images, affirming and proving that God only is to be worshipped, and that in spirit and verity: also that there be no more mediators but Christ alone, and that he only and sufficiently, by his suffering, hath taken away the sins of the whole world; and that all they that depart hence in this faith, are certain of everlasting life; they which do not, are under everlasting damnation, with such other like matter, which was repugnant utterly to the pope's proceedings. With this confession made, as his mind was greatly refreshed, so the adversaries went away as much appalled; who, at last, perceiving that he in no case could be revoked, caused him to be committed to the secular judge to be burned.

Galeazius returneth to his former confession of truth.

Committed to the secular power.

Thus Galeazius, being brought early in the morning out of prison to the market-place, there was left standing bound to the stake till noon, as a gazing stock for all men to look upon. In the mean time many came about him, exhorting him to recant, and not so to cast away his life, whereas with ten words speaking he might save it. If he passed not for his life, nor for his country where he should live, nor for his goods and possessions, which should be confiscated, yet he should somewhat respect his wife whom he loved so well, and his young children; at least he should consider his own soul. This counsel gave those, who more esteemed the commodities of this present life, than any true soul's health in the life to come. But to conclude, nothing could stir the settled mind of this valiant martyr: wherefore fire was commanded at last to be put to the dry wood about him, wherewith he was shortly consumed, without any noise or crying, saving only these words heard in the middle of the flame, 'Lord Jesu!' This was A. D. 1551, November 24.

His death.

Touching the story of this blessed martyr, this by the way is to be given for a memorandum, that a little before this Galeazius should be burned, there was a controversy between the mayor of the city, and the bishop's clergy, for the expenses of the wood that should go to his burning. He, hearing thereof, sent word to both the parties to agree, for he himself, of his own goods, would see the cost of that matter discharged.

Another note, moreover, here is to be added, that while Galeazius was in captivity, certain of the papists, perceiving that Galeazius had great goods and possessions, practised with his wife, under colour to release her husband, that she should lay out a sum of money to be sent to the wife of the chief lord of Milan, called Ferrarus Gonzaga, to the end that she should treat both with her husband, and with the senate, for Galeazius's life, which money when they had thus juggled unto their hands, Galeazius notwithstanding was burned; and so was the silly woman robbed and defeated, both of her husband, and also of her money.[1]

D. Johannes Mollius, a Grey Friar; also a certain Weaver of Perugia; martyred at Rome, A. D. 1553. Persecuted by the following parties: Cornelius, a Professor of Bologna; Cardinal Campeius, and Cardinal del Campo: also by Bonaventure, a General; six Cardinals, and Pope Julius III.

Johannes Mollius Montilcinus, being but twelve years old, with his brother Augustine, was set by his parents in the house of the Grey Friars, where he in

1) Ex Cœlio.

Italian History.

A. D. 1546 to 1560.

short time, having a fresh wit, far excelled his fellows in all tongues and liberal sciences. So growing up to the age of eighteen, he was ordained priest, and sang his first mass. After that he was sent to Ferrara to study, where he so profited in the space of six years, that he was assigned, by Vigerius, general of that order, to be doctor, and then reader in divinity; who then, with his sophistry, opposed himself as an utter enemy against the gospel. From thence he went to Breschia, and the next year following to Milan, where he read or professed openly. Again, from thence he was taken by Franciscus Sfortia, and brought to the university of Pavia, there openly to profess philosophy, where he remained four years. After that he was called to the university of Bologna, by Laurentius Spatha, general of the order, where he was occupied in reading the books of Aristotle 'De Anima.' In the mean time God wrought in his soul such light of his word, and of true religion, that he, waxing weary of professing philosophy, began secretly to expound the epistle of St. Paul to the Romans to a few; which being known, his auditors increased so fast, that he was compelled to read openly in the temple. As the number of his audience daily augmented, so the eager fervency of their minds so mightily increased withal, that every man almost came with his pen and ink to write, and great diligence was bestowed how to come betimes to take up the first places, where they might best hear; which was about A. D. 1538. There was the same time, at Bologna, one Cornelius, an arrogant babbler, who, envying the doings of Johannes, took upon him, at the request of cardinal Campeius, to expound the said epistle of St. Paul, confuting and disproving the explanation of the said Johannes, and extolling the pope with all his traditions. Contrary, Johannes extolled and commended only Christ and his merits to the people. But the purpose of Cornelius came to small effect. For the auditors who first came unto him, began by little to fall from him; and the concourse of the other man's auditors more and more increased.

Laurence Spatha, general of the Grey Friars.

When Cornelius perceived this, he persuaded Campeius, that unless he provided that man to be dispatched, the estimation of the church of Rome would thereby greatly decay. But when they could not openly bring their purpose about, secretly this way was devised, that Cornelius and Johannes should come to open disputation; which disputation endured till three o'clock after midnight. At length when neither part could agree, Johannes was bid to return home to his house, who, as he was come down to the lower steps where the place was straitest, so that his friends could not come to rescue him (although by drawing their swords they declared their good wills), was there taken and laid fast in prison. When the day came, such tumult and stir was in the whole city, that Cornelius was driven to hide himself; also Campeius the cardinal, and the bishop there, were both contemned by the students. The next day the bishop of Bologna sent his chancellor to Johannes in the prison, to signify unto him, that either he must recant, or else burn. But he, being of a bold and cheerful spirit, would in no wise be brought to recant. This one thing grieved him, that he should be condemned, his cause not being heard.

Mollius taken and imprisoned by cardinal Campeius.

In the mean season, Laurentius Spatha above-mentioned, being general of that order, in most speedy wise posted up to Rome, and there so practised with the cardinal St. Crucis, the proctor in the court of Rome for the Grey Friars, that the pope wrote down his letters to Campeius, that he should deliver the said John out of prison; so that he, notwithstanding, within three months after, should personally appear at Rome. Thus, on the thirtieth day of his imprisonment, he was delivered; who, but for the coming of the pope's letters, had been burned within three days after. Moreover, with the said Mollius, Cornelius was also cited to make his appearance likewise at Rome, and there was detained in prison by the cardinal St. Crucis, till his cause should be decided. The friends of Mollius gave him counsel not to go to Rome, and offered him money to go to Germany; but he would not, saying, that the gospel must also be preached at Rome. After he was come to Rome, and appeared before pope Paul III., humbly he desired, that the cause being so weighty, might come in public hearing; but that could not be obtained. Then was he commanded to write his mind in articles, and to bring his proofs; which he diligently performed, entreating of original sin, justification by faith, free-will, purgatory, and other such like; proving the said articles by the authority of the Scripture, and of ancient fathers; and so exhibited the same to the bishop of Rome. Upon

Delivered out of prison by means of Spatha.

Appeareth before the pope.

this, certain cardinals and bishops were assigned to have the cause in hearing; who disputed with him three days, and could not refel what he had proved. At last answer was made unto him thus: that it was truth which he affirmed, nevertheless the same was not meet for this present time; for that it could not be taught or published without the detriment of the apostolic see; wherefore he should abstain hereafter from the epistles of St. Paul,[1] and so return again safe to Bologna, and there profess philosophy. Thus as he was returned to Bologna, and all men there were desirous to know of his case, how he sped at Rome, openly in the pulpit he declared all things in order as they were done, and gave God thanks. *Italian History.* A. D. 1546 to 1560.

Herewith Campeius, being more offended than before, obtained of the pope, that the general of the order should remove the said John Mollius from Bologna, and place him somewhere else. So Mollius from thence was sent to Naples, and there was appointed reader and preacher in the monastery of St. Laurence. But Peter, the viceroy there, not abiding his doctrine, so nearly sought his death, that he had much ado to escape with life; and so departing from thence, he went wandering in Italy, from place to place, preaching Christ wheresoever he came. Not long after this, when cardinal Campeius was dead, he was called again unto Bologna, by a good abbot named De Grassis, A.D. 1543,[2] where he renewed again the reading of St. Paul's epistles after a secret sort, as he did before; but that could not be long undiscovered. Hereupon, by means of cardinal de Capo, and by Bonaventure the general, he was apprehended the second time, and brought to Faventia, and laid there in a filthy and stinking prison, where he continued four years, no man having leave once to come to him. During this time of his endurance, he wrote a commentary upon the books of Moses; but that labour, by the malignity of the adversaries, was suppressed. At length, through the intercession of the earl Petilianus, and of the aforesaid good abbot De Grassis, he was again delivered, and sent to Ravenna, where he made his abode a few months with the abbot of St. Vitalem, and there again taught the gospel of Christ as before: and whensoever he spake of the name of Jesu, his eyes dropped tears, for he was fraught with a mighty fervency of God's Holy Spirit.

Mollius in great danger at Naples.

Apprehended again for reading St. Paul's Epistles.

Again delivered.

His fervent zeal.

In process of time, when this abbot was dead, his sureties began to be weary of their bond, and so was he again now the third time reduced into prison by the pope's legates. There were then four men of great authority, who, being stirred up of God, had pity upon him, and bailed him out of prison; of whom, one of the said sureties took the said Mollius home, to instruct his children in the doctrine of religion and good letters. Furthermore, at the fame of this man, such a concourse of people came to see him, that the adversaries began to consult with themselves to kill him, lest his doctrine should disperse further abroad, to the detriment of the church of Rome: whereupon commandment was sent to the pope's legate to lay hands upon him, and to send him up fast bound to Rome, where again, now the fourth time, he was imprisoned in the castle of Rome, and there continued eighteen months, being greatly assaulted, sometimes with flattering promises, sometimes with terrible threats, to give over his opinion: but his building could not be shaken, for it was grounded upon a sure rock. Thus Dr. Mollius, being constant in the defence of Christ's gospel, was brought, with certain other men (who were also apprehended for religion), into the temple of St. Mary, called 'De Minerva,' on the fifth day of September, A.D. 1553; either there to revoke, or to be burned. There sat upon them six cardinals in high seats, besides the judge, before whom preached a Dominic friar, who, cruelly inveighing against the poor prisoners, incensed the cardinals, with all the vehemency he might, to their condemnation. The poor men stood holding a burning taper in their hands, of whom some for fear of death revolted: but this doctor Mollius, with a weaver of Perugia, remained constant. Then Mollius began an earnest sermon in the Italian tongue, wherein he confirmed the articles of the faith by the sacred Scriptures, declaring also that the pope was not the successor of Peter, but Antichrist, and that his sectaries do figure the whore of Babylon. Moreover, he cited them up to the tribunal seat of Christ, and threw away the burning taper from him: whereupon they, being replenished with anger, condemned him with the weaver to

Mollius the fourth time imprisoned.

Constancy of Mollius, and of the weaver.

Mollius citeth the pope to the tribunal seat of Christ.

(1) The pope's church cannot abide St. Paul's epistles. Paul's epistles must give place to philosophy.

(2) Pope Paul III. died A. D. 1549.—Ed.

Italian History. A. D. 1546 to 1560.

the fire, and commanded them to be had away. So were they carried incontinent to the camp or field, called Florianum, where they remained cheerful and constant. First, the weaver was hanged. Mollius then, willing the hangman to execute his office likewise upon him, began to exhort the people to beware of idolatry, and to have no other Saviours but Christ alone; for he only is the mediator between God and man. And so was he also hanged, commending his soul to God, and afterwards laid in the fire and burned. The people having divers judgments upon him, some said he died a heretic, some said he was a good man.[1]

Two Monks of the House of St. Austin in Rome, martyred, A.D. 1554; having been impeached by the Senate of Milan.

Furthermore, in the same city of Rome, and about the same time, in the monastery of St. Austin, were found two monks in their cells, with their tongues and their heads cut off, only for rebuking the immoderate and outrageous excess of the cardinals, as witnesseth Manlius. Such was the cruelty then, of the malignant adversaries.[2]

Francis Gamba, martyred at Como. Persecuted in the Diocese, and by the Senate of Milan, A.D. 1554.

Francis Gamba, born in the city of Breschia, in Lombardy, after he had received the knowledge of the gospel, went to Geneva, to confer about certain necessary affairs with them that were wise and learned in that church, which was about the time when the Lord's supper was administered there at Pentecost; who there also at the same time did communicate with them. Afterwards, on his return home, as he was passing over the lake of Como, he was taken and brought to Como, and there committed to ward. During the time of his imprisonment, divers and sundry, as well nobles as others, with doctors also, especially priests and monks, resorted unto him, labouring by all manner of means, and most fair promises, to reduce him from his opinions, which seemed to some but fantasies coming of some humour. To some they seemed uncatholic or heretical. But he, constantly disputing with them by the manifest Scriptures, declared the opinions which he defended, not to be any vain speculations or imaginary fantasies of man's doting brain, but the pure verity of God, and the evident doctrine of Jesus Christ, expressed in his word, necessary for all men to believe, and also to maintain unto death: and therefore for his part, rather than he would be found false to Christ and his word, he was there ready, not to deny, but to stand to Christ's gospel, to the effusion of his blood.

The blind judgment of the world, in God's matters.

Patience in persecution.

Thus when he could in no wise be reclaimed from the doctrine of truth, letters came from the senate of Milan, that he should be executed with death; which execution, as they of Como were about to prepare, in the meanwhile came other letters from Geneva, written by the emperor's ambassador, and other nobles of Milan, by which his death was delayed for a time, till at length other letters were sent again from the senate of Milan, requiring execution of the sentence. Nevertheless, through intercession of his friends, one week's respite more was granted him, to prove whether he might be won again to the pope's church; that is to say, lost from God. Thus he, being mightily and long, both assailed by friends, and by enemies terrified, yet by no persuasions would be expunged, but gave thanks to God, that he was made worthy to suffer the rebukes of this world, and cruel death, for the testimony of his Son; and so went he cheerfully unto his death. Then came certain Franciscan friars to him to hear his confession, which he refused. Also they brought in their hands a cross for him to behold, to keep him from desperation at the feeling of the fire; but his mind, he said, was so replenished with joy and comfort in Christ, that he needed neither their cross, nor them. After this, as he was declaring many comfortable things to the people, of the fruition of those heavenly joys above which God hath prepared for his, because he should speak no more to the people, his tongue was bored through; and so being immediately tied to the stake, there he was strangled till he was dead; every man there, who saw his constancy, giving testimony, that he died a good man.[3]

Gamba tongue bored through.

(1) Ex Pantal. lib. ix. [A.D. 1543, p. 263.—ED.]
(2) Ex Johan. Man. in dictis Phil. Melanct; [apud Pantal. 265.—ED.]
(3) Ex Epist. cujusd. nobilis Commensis apud Pant. lib. x. et Cœlium.

Pomponius Algerius, at Rome. Persecuted by Pope Paul IV., and the Magistrates of Venice, A. D. 1555.

Italian History.

A. D. 1546 to 1560.

Pomponius Algerius, born in Capua, a young man of great learning, was student in the university of Padua, where he, not being able to conceal and keep close the verity of Christ's gospel, which he learned by the heavenly teaching of God's grace, ceased not both by doctrine and example of life, to inform as many as he could in the same doctrine, and to bring them to Christ. For this he was accused of heresy to pope Paul IV., who, sending immediately to the magistrates of Venice, caused him to be apprehended at Padua, and carried to Venice, where he was long detained in prison and bonds, till at last the pope commanded the magistrates there to send him up bound unto Rome, which the Venetians soon accomplished. After he was brought to Rome, manifold persuasions and allurements were essayed to remove this virtuous and blessed young man from his sentence: but when no worldly persuasions could prevail against the operation of God's Spirit in him, then was he adjudged to be burned alive; which death most constantly he sustained, to the great admiration of all that beheld him.

Being in prison at Venice, he wrote an epistle to the afflicted saints; which for the notable sweetness and most wonderful consolation contained in the same, in showing forth the mighty operation of God's holy power working in his afflicted saints that suffer for his sake, I have thought good and expedient to communicate, as a principal monument amongst all other martyrs' letters, not only with the other letters which shall be inserted hereafter (the Lord willing) in the end of the book, but also in this present place to be read, to the intent that both they that be, or shall be hereafter, in affliction, may take consolation; and also they that yet follow the trade of this present world, in comparing the joys and commodities thereof with these joys here expressed, may learn and consider with themselves, what difference there is between them both, and thereby may learn to dispose themselves in such sort, as may be to their edification, and perpetual felicity of their souls. The copy of the letter, first written in Latin, we have translated into English, the tenor whereof here ensueth.

A Comfortable Letter of Pomponius Algerius, an Italian martyr.[1]

To his most dearly beloved brethren and fellow-servants in Christ, who are departed out of Babylon into Mount Sion; grace, peace, and health, from God our Father, by Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour!

To mitigate your sorrow which you take for me, I cannot but impart unto you some portion of my delectations and joys, which I feel and find, to the intent you with me may rejoice and sing before the Lord, giving thanks unto him. I shall utter that which no man will believe when I shall declare it. I have found a nest of honey and honey-comb in the entrails of a lion. Who will ever believe what I shall say? or what man will ever think in the deep dark dungeon to find a paradise of pleasure? in the place of sorrow and death, to dwell in tranquillity and hope of life? in a cave infernal, to be found joy of soul? and where other men do weep, there to be rejoicing? where others do shake and tremble, there strength and boldness to be plenty? Who will ever think, or who will believe this? in such a woeful state, such delectation? in a place so desolate, such society of good men? in strait bands and cold irons, such rest to be had? All these things the sweet hand of the Lord, my sweet brethren! doth minister unto me. Behold, he that was once far from me, now is present with me; whom once I could scarcely feel, now I see more apparently; whom once I saw afar off, now I behold near at hand; whom once I hungered for, the same now approacheth and reacheth his hand unto me. He doth comfort me, and heapeth me up with gladness; he driveth away all bitterness; he ministereth strength and courage; he healeth me, refresheth, advanceth, and comforteth me. O how

(1) For the original see Pantal. pp. 328—332.—Ed.

Italian History.

A. D. 1546 to 1560.

good is the Lord, who suffereth not his servants to be tempted above their strength! O how easy and sweet is his yoke! Is there any like unto the Highest, who receiveth the afflicted, healeth the wounded, and nourisheth them? Is there any like unto him? Learn, ye wellbeloved! how amiable the Lord is, how meek and merciful he is, who visiteth his servants in temptations, neither disdaineth he to keep company with us in such vile and stinking caves. Will the blind and incredulous world, think you, believe this? or rather will it not say thus: 'No, thou wilt never be able to abide long the burning heat, the cold snow, and the pinching hardness of that place, the manifold miseries, and other grievances innumerable; the rebukes and frowning faces of men, how wilt thou suffer? Dost thou not consider and revolve in thy mind thy pleasant country, the riches of the world, thy kinsfolk, the delicate pleasures and honours of this life? dost thou forget the solace of thy sciences, and fruit of all thy labours? Wilt thou thus lose all thy labours which thou hast hitherto sustained? so many nights watched? thy painful travails, and all thy laudable enterprises, wherein thou hast been exercised continually even from thy childhood? Finally, fearest thou not death, which hangeth over thee, and that for no crime committed? Oh what a fool art thou, who for one word speaking mayest salve all this, and wilt not! What a rude and unmannerly thing is this, not to be entreated at the instant petitions and desires of such, so many and so mighty, so just, so virtuous, such prudent and gracious senators, and such noble personages,' &c.

But now to answer: Let this blind world hearken to this again, What heat can there be more burning, than that fire which is prepared for thee hereafter? and likewise what snow can be more cold than thy heart which is in darkness, and hath no light? What thing is more hard, and sharp, or crooked, than this present life which here we lead? what thing more odious and hateful than this world here present? And let these worldly men here answer me, What country can we have more sweet than the heavenly country above? what treasures more rich or precious than everlasting life? And who be our kinsmen, but they that hear the word of God? Where be greater riches, or dignities more honourable, than in heaven? And as touching the sciences, let this foolish world consider, be they not ordained to learn to know God, whom unless we do know, all our labours, our night watchings, our studies, and all our enterprises serve to no use or purpose; all is but labour lost.

Furthermore, let the miserable worldly man answer me, What remedy or safe refuge can there be unto him, if he lack God, who is the life and medicine of all men? and how can he be said to fly from death, when he himself is already dead in sin? If Christ be the way, verity, and life, how can there be any life then without Christ? The sultry heat of the prison to me is coldness; the cold winter to me is a fresh spring-time in the Lord. He that feareth not to be burned in the fire, how will he fear the heat of weather? or what careth he for the pinching frost, who burneth with the love of the Lord? The place is sharp and tedious to them that be guilty, but to the innocent and guiltless it is mellifluous. Here droppeth the delectable dew; here floweth the pleasant nectar; here runneth the sweet milk; here is plenty of all good things. And although the place itself be desert and barren, yet to me it seemeth a large walk, and a valley of pleasure; here to me is the better and more noble part of the world. Let the miserable worldling say and confess, if there be any plot, pasture, or meadow so delightful to the mind of man, as here. Here I see kings, princes, cities, and people; here I see wars, where some be overthrown, some be victors; some thrust down, some lifted up. Here is the mount Sion; here I am already in heaven itself; here standeth first Christ Jesus in the front. About him stand the old fathers, prophets, and evangelists, and apostles, and all the servants of God: of whom some do embrace and cherish me, some exhort me, some open the sacraments unto me, some comfort me, others are singing about me. And how then shall I be thought to be alone, among so many, and such as these be? the beholding of whom to me is both solace and example: for here I see some crucified, some slain, some stoned, some cut asunder and quartered, some roasted, some broiled, some put in hot cauldrons, some having their eyes bored through, some their tongues cut out, some their skin plucked over their heads, some their hands and feet chopped off, some put in kilns and furnaces, some cast down headlong and given to the beasts and fowls of the air to feed upon: it would ask a long time if I should recite all.

To be short, divers I see with divers and sundry torments excruciate; yet notwithstanding, all living, and all safe. One plaster, one salve cureth all their wounds: which also gives to them strength and life, so that I sustain all these transitory anguishes and small afflictions with a quiet mind, having a greater hope laid up in heaven. Neither do I fear mine adversaries who here persecute me and oppress me: for He that dwelleth in the heaven shall laugh them to scorn, and the Lord shall deride them. I fear not thousands of people who compass me about. The Lord my God shall deliver me, my hope, my supporter, my comforter, who exalteth my head. He shall smite all them that stand up against me without cause, and shall dash the teeth and jaws of sinners asunder; for he only is all blessedness and majesty. The rebukes for Christ's cause make us jocund; for so it is written, 'If ye be rebuked and scorned for the name of Christ, happy be you; for the glory and Spirit of God resteth upon you' [1 Pet. iv.] Be you therefore certified, that our rebukes which are laid upon us, redound to the shame and harm of the rebukers. In this world there is no mansion firm to me; and therefore I travel up to the New Jerusalem which is in heaven, and which offereth itself unto me without paying any fine or income. Behold, I have entered already on my journey, where my house standeth for me prepared, and where I shall have riches, kinsfolks, delights, honours never failing. As for these earthly things here present, they are transitory shadows, vanishing vapours, and ruinous walls. Briefly, all is but very vanity of vanities, where hope and the substance of eternity to come are wanting; which the merciful goodness of the Lord hath given as companions to accompany me, and to comfort me: and now do the same begin to work and to bring forth fruits in me. I have travailed hitherto, laboured and sweat early and late, watching day and night, and now my travails begin to come to effect. Days and hours have I bestowed upon my studies. Behold, the true countenance of God is sealed upon me; the Lord hath given mirth in my heart; and therefore in the same will I lay me down in peace and rest [Psalm iv.] And who then shall dare to blame this our age consumed, or say that our years be cut off? What man can now cavil that these our labours are lost, who have followed and found out the Lord and Maker of this world, and who have changed death for life? My portion is the Lord, saith my soul, and therefore I will seek and wait for him. Now then, if to die in the Lord be not to die, but to live most joyfully, where is this wretched worldly rebel, who blameth us of folly, for giving away our lives to death? O how delectable is this death to me, to taste the Lord's cup, which is an assured pledge of true salvation! for so hath the Lord himself forewarned us, saying, 'The same that they have done to me, they will also do unto you.' Wherefore let the doltish world with its blind worldlings (who in the bright sunshine yet go stumbling in darkness, being as blind as beetles) cease thus unwisely to carp against us for our rash suffering, as they count it: to whom thus we answer again with the holy apostle, 'Neither tribulation, nor anguish, nor hunger, nor nakedness, nor jeopardy, nor persecution, nor sword, shall be able ever to separate us from the love of Christ. We are slain all the day long; we are made like sheep ordained to the shambles' [Rom. viii.] Thus do we resemble Christ our head, who said, that the disciple cannot be above his master, nor the servant above his Lord. The same Lord hath also commanded that every one shall take up his cross and follow him [Luke ix.] Rejoice, rejoice, my dear brethren and fellow-servants! and be of good comfort, when ye fall into sundry temptations. Let your patience be perfect on all parts; for so is it foreshowed us before, and is written, that they that shall kill you, shall think to do God good service. Therefore afflictions and death be as tokens and sacraments of our election and life to come. Let us then be glad and sing to the Lord, when we, being clear from all just accusation, are persecuted and given to death: for better it is, that we in doing well do suffer, if it so be the will of the Lord, than doing evil [1 Pet. iii.] We have for our example Christ and the prophets, who spake in the name of the Lord, whom the children of iniquity did quell and murder; and now we bless and magnify them that then suffered. Let us be glad and joyous in our innocency and uprightness. The Lord shall reward them that persecute us; let us refer all revengement to him.

I am accused of foolishness, for that I do not shrink from the true doctrine and knowledge of God, and do not rid myself out of these troubles, when with

Italian History.

A. D. 1546 to 1560.

one word I may. Oh the blindness of man! who seeth not the sun shining, neither remembereth the Lord's words. Consider therefore what he saith, 'You are the light of the world. A city builded on the hill cannot be hid; neither do men light a candle, and put it under a bushel, but upon a candlestick, that it may shine and give light to them in the house.' And in another place he saith, 'You shall be led before kings and rulers; fear ye not them that kill the body, but Him which killeth both body and soul.' 'Whosoever shall confess me before men, him will I also confess before my Father which is in heaven; and he that denieth me before men, him will I also deny before my heavenly Father.' Wherefore seeing the words of the Lord be so plain, how, or by what authority will this wise councillor then approve this his counsel which he doth give? God forbid that I should relinquish the commandments of God, and follow the counsels of men; for it is written, 'Blessed is the man that hath not gone in the ways of sinners, and hath not stood in the counsels of the ungodly, and hath not sat in the chair of pestilence' [Psalm i.] God forbid that I should deny Christ, where I ought to confess him. I will not set more by my life, than by my soul; neither will I exchange the life to come for this world here present. Oh how foolishly speaketh he who argueth me of foolishness!

Neither do I take it to be a thing so uncomely, or unseeming for me, not to obey in this matter the requests of those so honourable, just, prudent, virtuous, and noble senators, whose desires (he saith) were enough to command me: for so are we taught of the apostles, that we ought to obey God before men. After that we have served and done our duty first unto God, then are we bound next to obey the potestates of this world; whom I wish to be perfect before the Lord. They are honourable; but yet are they to be made more perfect in the Lord: they are just; but yet Christ, the seat of justice, is lacking in them: they are wise; but where is in them the beginning of wisdom, that is, the fear of the Lord? they are called virtuous; but yet I wish them more absolute in christian charity: they are good and gracious; but yet I miss in them the foundation of goodness, which is the Lord God, in whom dwelleth all goodness and grace: they are honourable; yet have they not received the Lord of glory, who is our Saviour, most honourable and glorious. 'Understand ye kings, and learn you that judge the earth. Serve the Lord in fear, and rejoice in him with trembling. Hearken to doctrine, and get knowledge, lest you fall into God's displeasure, and so perish out of the way of righteousness.' Why fret you, why fume you, O gentiles? O you people! why cast you in your brains the cogitations of vanity? You kings of the earth, and you princes, why conspire you so together against Christ, and against his Holy One [Psalm ii.]? How long will you seek after lies, and hate the truth? Turn you to the Lord, and harden not your hearts: for this you must needs confess, that they that persecute the Lord's servants, do persecute the Lord himself: for so he saith himself: 'Whatsoever men shall do to you, I will count it to be done not as unto you, but to myself.'

And now let this carnal politic councillor and disputer of this world tell, wherein have they to blame me, if in my examinations I have not answered so after their mind and affection as they required of me? seeing it is not ourselves that speak, but the Lord that speaketh in us, as he himself doth forewitness, saying, 'When ye shall be brought before rulers and magistrates, it is not you yourselves that speak, but the Spirit of my Father that shall be in you' [Matt. x.] Wherefore if the Lord be true and faithful of his word, as it is most certain, then there is no blame in me: for he gave the words that I did speak; and who was I, that could resist his will? If any shall reprehend the things that I said, let him then quarrel with the Lord, whom it pleased to work so in me. And if the Lord be not to be blamed, neither am I herein to be accused, who did that I purposed not, and that I forethought not of. The things which there I did utter and express, if they were otherwise than well, let them show it, and then will I say, that they were my words, and not the Lord's. But if they were good and approved, and such as cannot justly be accused, then must it needs be granted, spite of their teeth, that they proceeded of the Lord; and then who be they that shall accuse me? a people of prudence? or who shall condemn me? just judges? And though they so do, yet nevertheless the word shall not be frustrated, neither shall the gospel be foolish, or therefore decay; but rather the kingdom of God shall the more prosper and flourish unto the Israelites, and shall pass the sooner unto the elect of Christ Jesus: and they

who shall so do, shall prove the grievous judgment of God; neither shall they escape without punishment, that be persecutors and murderers of the just. My well-beloved! lift up your eyes, and consider the counsels of God. He showed unto us of late an image of his plague, which was to our correction: and if we shall not receive him, he will draw out his sword, and strike with sword, pestilence, and famine, the nation that shall rise against Christ.

These things have I written to your comfort. Dear brethren! pray for me. I kiss in my heart, with a holy kiss, my good masters, Sylvius, Pergula, Justus; also Fidel Rocke, and him that beareth the name of Lelia, whom I know, although being absent. Item, the governor of the university, Syndicus, and all others, whose names be written in the book of life. Farewell, all my fellow-servants of God! fare ye well in the Lord, and pray for me continually.

From the delectable orchard of Leonine prison, the 12th of the Calends of August, A. D. 1555.

It is written of one Thebrotus, that when he had read the book of Plato, 'De Immortalitate Animæ,' he was so moved and persuaded therewith, that he cast himself down headlong from a high wall, to be rid out of this present life. If those heathen philosophers, having no word of God, nor promise of any resurrection and life to come, could so soon be persuaded, by reading the works of Plato, to condemn this world and life here present; how much more is it to be required in Christians, instructed with so many evidences and promises of God's most perfect word, that they should learn to cast off the carnal desires and affections of this miserable peregrination; and that for a double respect, not only in seeing, reading, and understanding so many examples of the miseries of this wretched world; but also much more in considering and pondering the heavenly joys and consolations of the other world, remaining for us hereafter in the life to come; for a more full evidence whereof, I thought good to give out this present letter of Algerius above-prefixed, for the taste of the same, and a lively testimony for all true Christians to read and consider Now let us proceed further (the Lord willing) in our table of Italian martyrs.

Johannes Aloysius, martyred at Rome, and Jacobus Bovellus at Messina. Persecuted by Pope Pius IV., A. D. 1559.

Of Johannes Aloysius, we find mention made in a letter of Simon Florellus which Aloysius was sent down from Geneva to the parts of Calabria, there to be their minister; who afterwards was sent for up to Rome, and there suffered.

Jacobus Bovellus was likewise sent from Geneva to the said parts of Calabria, with Aloysius; who also, being sent for up to Rome, was sent down to the city of Messina, and there was martyred, A. D. 1559.[2]

Divers that suffered in the Kingdom of Naples, A.D. 1560.

After pope Julius III. came Marcellus II. After him succeeded pope Paul IV. This Paul being dead, followed pope Pius IV., who, being advanced to that room, began hot persecution in all the territories of the church of Rome, against them that were suspected for Lutherans; whereupon ensued great trouble and persecution in the kingdom of Naples, in such cruel sort, that many noble men, with their wives and others, are reported there to be slain.[3] Pope Pius IV.

(1) Ex Epist. D. Simonis Florelli. (2) Ibid.
(3) Vide Pantal. lib. xi

Italian History. **Eighty-eight Martyrs in one Day, with one butcherly Knife, slain like Sheep.**

A.D. 1530 to 1547.

SIXTEEN HUNDRED OTHERS ALSO, CONDEMNED AT CALABRIA, A.D. 1560.

In Calabria, likewise, at the same time, suffered a blessed number of Christ's well-beloved saints, both old and young, put together in one house, to the number of eighty-eight persons; all which, one after another, were taken out of the house, and so being laid upon the butcher's stall, like the sheep in the shambles, with one bloody knife were all killed in order: a spectacle most tragical for all posterity to remember, and almost incredible to believe. Wherefore, for the more credit of the matter, lest we should seem either light of credit, to believe what is not true, or rashly to commit to pen things without due proof and authority, we have here annexed a piece of an epistle written by Master Simon Florellus, preacher of God's word in the city of Clavenna, among the Rhetians, unto a certain friend of his named Gulielmus Gratalorus, an Italian, and doctor of physic in the university of Basil. This Gratalorus translated the same into the Latin tongue, and it is to be found in the 11th book of Pantaleon, p. 337, the English whereof is as followeth.

The end of a certain Letter of Simon Florellus, written in Italian, concerning a lamentable Slaughter of Eighty-eight Christian Saints in the parts of Calabria.

News out of Italy, A.D.1560.

As concerning news I have nothing to write, but only that I send you a copy of certain letters, imprinted either at Rome or at Venice, concerning the martyrdom or persecution in two several towns of Calabria, eight Italian miles from the borders of Cosenza, the one called St. Sixtus, within two miles of Montalto, under the seigniory of the duke of Montalto; the other called Guardia, situate upon the sea-coast, and twelve miles from St. Sixtus: which two towns are utterly destroyed, and eight hundred of the inhabitants there, or, as some write from the city of Rome, no less than a full thousand. He that wrote the letter, was servant to Ascanius Carracciolus. The country and people there, I well know to have taken the first original of their good doctrine and honest life from the Waldenses; for before my departure from Geneva, at their request, I sent them two schoolmasters, and two preachers. The last year the two preachers were martyred; the one at Rome, named Johannes Aloysius Pascalis, a citizen of Cunio; the other at Messina, named James Bovell; both of Piedmont. This year the residue of that godly fellowship were martyred in the same place. I trust this good seed sown in Italy, will bring forth good and plentiful fruit.

Pascalis and Bovell, preachers and martyrs.

Now followeth the copy of the letter sent from Montalto, a town in Calabria, eight miles distant from Cosenza, bearing date the 11th of June, 1560. The writer of this letter, as ye may perceive, was one of them that call themselves Catholics, and followers of the pope. The words of the letter be these, as here follow.

Here followeth the Copy of a Letter sent from Montalto in Calabria, by a Romanist, to a certain Friend of his in Rome, containing News of the Persecution of Christ's People in Calabria, by the new Pope Pius IV., A.D. 1560.

Hitherto, most noble lord! I have certified you, what here daily hath been done about these heretics. Now cometh next to signify unto your lordship the

horrible judgment begun this present day, being the eleventh of June, to be executed very early in the morning against the Lutherans; which when I think upon, I verily quake and tremble. And truly the manner of their putting to death, was to be compared to the slaughter of calves and sheep; for they, being all thrust up in one house together, as in a sheep-fold, the executioner cometh in, and amongst them taketh one, and blindfoldeth him with a muffler about his eyes, and so leadeth him forth to a larger place near adjoining, where he commandeth him to kneel down; which being so done, he cutteth his throat, and leaving him half dead, and taking his butcher's knife and muffler all of gore-blood (which the Italians call 'benda'), cometh again to the rest, and so leading one after another, he dispatched them all, who were to the number of eighty-eight. This spectacle to behold how doleful and horrible it was, I leave to your lordship's judgment; for to write of it, I myself cannot but weep: neither were there any of the beholders there present, who, seeing one to die, could abide to behold the death of another. But certes so humbly and patiently they went to death, as is almost incredible to believe. Some of them, as they were in dying, affirmed, that they believed even as we do: notwithstanding the most part of them died in the same their obstinate opinions. All the aged persons went to death more cheerfully; the younger were more timorous. I tremble and shake even to remember how the executioner held his bloody knife between his teeth, with the bloody muffler in his hand, and his arms all in gore-blood up to the elbows, going to the fold, and taking every one of them, one after another, by the hand, and so dispatching them all no otherwise than doth a butcher kill his calves and sheep.

Italian History.

A. D. 1530 to 1547.

Horrible persecution in Calabria.

Eighty-eight Christians killed like calves.

It is moreover appointed (and the carts be come already) that all those so put to death should be quartered, and so be conveyed in the carts to the hithermost parts of Calabria, where they will be hanged upon poles in the highways and other places, even to the confines of the same country. Unless the pope's holiness and the lord viceroy of Naples shall give in commandment to the lord marquis of Buccianus, governor of the said province, to stay his hand, and go no further, he will proceed with the rack and torture, examining all others, and so increase the number in such sort, that he will nigh dispatch them all.

This day it is also determined, that a hundred of the more ancient women should appear to be examined and racked, and after to be put to death, that the mixture may be perfect, for so many men so many women: and thus have you what I can say of this justice. Now is it about two o'clock in the afternoon: shortly, we shall hear what some of them said when they went to execution. There be certain of them so obstinate, that they will not look upon the crucifix, nor be confessed to the priest; and they will be burned alive.

The heretics that be apprehended and condemned, are to the number of sixteen hundred, but as yet no more but these aforesaid eighty-eight are already executed. This people have their original of the valley named Angrogne, near to Subaudia, and in Calabria are called Ultramontani. In the kingdom of Naples, there are four other places of the same people, of whom whether they live well or no, as yet we know not; for they are but simple people, ignorant, without learning, wood-gatherers, and husbandmen: but as I hear, very devout and religious, giving themselves to die for religion's sake.

From Montalto the 11th of June.

And thus much writeth this Romanist.

Here moreover is to be noted, that the aforesaid marquis Buccianus above specified, had a son or brother, unto whom the said new pope (Pius IV., belike) is reported to have promised a cardinalship at Rome, if all the Lutherans were extirpated and rooted out in that province. And like enough that the same was the cause of his butcherly persecution and effusion of christian blood, in the said country of Calabria, beyond Naples, in Italy.

Besides these godly Italian martyrs in this table above contained, many others also have suffered in the same country of Italy, of whom some before have been specified, some peradventure omitted. But

Provence A. D. 1530 to 1547.

many more there be, whose names we know not; whereof as soon as knowledge may be given unto us, we purpose, God willing, to impart the same, loving reader! unto thee.

Now in the mean time it followeth (according to my promise made before), next after this lamentable slaughter of Calabria, here to insert also the tragical persecution and horrible murder of the faithful flock of Christ, inhabiting in Merindol in France, and in the towns adjacent near unto the same, in the time of Francis I., the French king. The furious cruelty of this miserable persecution, although it cannot be set forth too much at large, yet because we will not weary too much the reader with the full length thereof, we have so contracted the same, especially the principal effect thereof we have comprehended in such sort, that as we on the one part have avoided prolixity, so on the other, we have omitted nothing which might seem unworthy to be forgotten. The story here followeth.

A notable History[1] of the Persecution and Destruction of the People of Merindol and Cabriers, in the Country of Provence:

WHERE NOT A FEW PERSONS, BUT WHOLE VILLAGES AND TOWNSHIPS, WITH THE MOST PART OF ALL THE AFORESAID COUNTRY, BOTH MEN, WOMEN, AND CHILDREN, WERE PUT TO ALL KINDS OF CRUELTY, AND SUFFERED MARTYRDOM FOR THE PROFESSION OF THE GOSPEL.

They that write of the beginning of this people[2] say, that about two hundred years ago, A.D. 1360, they came out of the country of Piedmont to inhabit in Provence, in certain villages destroyed by wars, and other desert places: wherein they used such labour and diligence, that they had abundance of corn, wine, oils, honey, almonds, with other fruits and commodities of the earth, and much cattle. Before they came thither, Merindol was a barren desert, and not inhabited: but these good people (in whom God always had reserved some little seed of piety), being dispersed and separated from the society of men, were compelled to dwell with beasts in that waste and wild desert, which notwithstanding, through the blessing of God, and their great labour and travail, became exceeding fruitful. Notwithstanding, the world in the mean time so detested and abhorred them, and with all shameful rebukes and contumelies railed against them in such despiteful manner, that it seemed they were not worthy that the earth should bear them: for they of a long continuance and custom had refused the bishop of Rome's authority, and observed ever a more perfect kind of doctrine than others, delivered unto them from the father to the son, ever since the year of our Lord 1200.

For this cause they were often accused and complained of to the king, as contemners and despisers of the magistrates, and as rebels: wherefore they were called by divers names, according to the countries and places where they dwelt. In the country about Lyons, they were

(1) 'A notable history,' &c. This appears to be taker from a small French volume, entitled 'Histoire memorable de la persecution et saccagement du peuple de Merindol et Cabrieres et autres circonoisins, appelez Vaudois; 8vo. (no place) L'an 1556;' or from 'Histoire des vrays Tesmoins de la verite de l'Evangile, qui de leur sang l'ont signee, depuis Jean Hus jusques au temps present,' &c. (folio l'ancre de Jean Crespin, 1570;) pp. 114—116. It occurs also in Latin, in 'Jo. Camerarii historica narratio de fratrum orthodoxorum ecclesiis in Bohemia, Moravia, et Polonia,' &c.; 8vo. Heidebbergæ, 1605; pp. 383, 384.—Ed.

(2) For the original of this people, see vol. ii. page 216

called the Poor People of Lyons; in the borders of Sarmatia, and Livonia, and other countries towards the north, they were called Lollards; in Flanders and Artois, Turrelupines, from a desert where wolves did haunt. In Dauphiné, with great despite, they were called Chagnards, because they lived in places open to the sun, and without house or harbour. But most commonly they were called Waldois, from Waldo, who first instructed them in the word of God; which name continued until the name of Lutherans came up, which above all others was most hated and abhorred. *Provence.* A.D. 1530 to 1547.

Notwithstanding, in all these most spiteful contumelies and slanders, the people dwelling at the foot of the Alps, and also in Merindol and Cabriers, and the quarters thereabouts, always lived so godly, so uprightly, and so justly, that in all their life and conversation, there appeared to be in them a great fear of God. That little light of true knowledge which God had given them, they laboured by all means to kindle and increase daily more and more, sparing no charges, whether it were to procure books of the holy Scriptures, or to instruct such as were of the best and most towardly wits in learning and godliness; or else to send them into other countries, yea even to the furthest parts of the earth, where they had heard that any light of the gospel began to shine.

For in the year 1530, understanding that the gospel was preached in certain towns of Germany and Switzerland, they sent thither two learned men, that is, Georgius Maurellus, born in Dauphiné, a godly preacher of their own, and whom they had of their own charges brought up in learning, and Petrus Latomus, a Burgundian, to confer with the wise and learned ministers of the churches there, in the doctrine of the gospel, and to know the whole form and manner which those churches used in the service and worshipping of God: and particularly to have their advice also upon certain points which they were not resolved in. These two, after great conference had with the chiefest in the church of God, namely with Œcolampadius at Basil; at Strasburg, with Bucer and Capito; and at Bern, with Bartholdus Hallerus, as they were returning through Burgundy homeward, Petrus Latomus was taken at Dijon, and cast into prison; Maurellus escaped, and returned alone to Merindol, with the books and letters which he brought with him from the churches of Germany; and declared to his brethren all the points of his commission, and opened unto them, how many and great errors they were in, into which their old ministers, whom they called Barbes[1] (that is to say, uncles), had brought them, leading them from the right way of true religion.

When the people heard this, they were moved with such a zeal to have their churches reformed, that they sent for the most ancient brethren, and the chiefest in knowledge and experience of all Calabria[2] and Apulia, to consult with them touching the reformation of the church. This matter was so handled, that it stirred up the bishops, priests, and monks, in all Provence, with great rage against them. Amongst others, there was one cruel wretch called John de

(1) 'Barbes;' these were their ministers for lack of better, until they came to more sincere knowledge: who instructed them most commonly by night abroad in caves and quarries, for fear of persecution.

(2) Of these Calabrians, vide infra.

Provence. A. D. 1530 to 1547.

Roma, a monk, who, obtaining a commission to examine those that were suspected to be of the Waldois or Lutheran profession, forthwith ceased not to afflict the faithful with all kinds of cruelty that he could devise or imagine. Amongst other most horrible torments, this was one which he most delighted in, and most commonly practised: he filled boots with boiling grease, and put them upon their legs, tying them backward to a form, with their legs hanging down over a small fire; and so he examined them. Thus he tormented very many, and in the end most cruelly put them to death.

Johannes de Roma, a wretched persecutor.

Michelottus Serra, W. Melius, martyrs.

The first whom he thus tormented, were Michelottus Serra and W. Melius, and a number more. Wherefore Francis the French king, being informed of the strange and outrageous cruelty of this hellish monk, sent letters to the high court of Parliament of Provence, that forthwith he should be apprehended, and by form of process, and order of law, he should be condemned, and advertisement sent unto him with all speed of his condemnation. The monk, being advertised hereof by his friends, conveyed himself to Avignon, where he thought to enjoy the spoilings, which he, like a notorious thief, had gotten by fraud and extortion from the poor Christians: but shortly after, he who had so shamefully spoiled others, was spoiled of all together, by his own household servants; whereupon shortly after he fell sick of a most horrible disease, strange and unknown to any physician. So extreme were the pains and torments wherewith he was continually vexed in all his body, that no ointment, no fomentation, nor any thing else, could ease him one minute of an hour: neither was there any man that could tarry near about him, nor yet would any one of his own friends come near to him, so great was the stench that came from him. For this cause he was carried from the Jacobins to a hospital, there to be kept; but the stench and infection so increased, that no man there durst come near him: no, nor he himself was able to abide the horrible stench that issued from his body, full of ulcers and sores, and swarming with vermin, and so rotten, that the flesh fell away from the bones by piecemeal.

Just judgment of God against a cruel persecutor.

While he was in these torments and anguish, he cried out oftentimes in great rage, "Oh who will deliver me? who will kill and rid me out of these intolerable pains, which I know I suffer for the evils and oppressions that I have done to the poor men?" And he himself went about divers times to destroy himself, but he had not the power. In these horrible torments and anguish, and fearful despair, this blasphemer and most cruel homicide most miserably ended his unhappy days and cursed life, as a spectacle to all persecutors, receiving a just reward of his cruelty by the just judgment of God. When he was dead, there was no man that would come near him to bury him; but a young novice, newly come to his order, instead of a more honourable sepulture, caught hold with a hook upon his stinking carrion, and drew him into a hole hard by, which was made for him.

A spectacle to all persecutors.

Perionet and Meiranus, cruel persecutors.

After the death of this cruel monster, the bishop of Aix, by his official Perionet, continued the persecution, and put a great multitude of them in prison, of whom some by force of torments revolted from the truth; the others who continued constant, after he had condemned them of heresy, were put into the hands of the judge ordinary, who at that time was one Meiranus, a notable cruel perse-

cutor, who, without any form of process or order of law, put such as the official had pronounced to be heretics, to death, with most cruel torments; but shortly after he received a just reward of his cruelty in like manner. *Provence.* A. D. 1530 to 1547.

After the death of the good president Cusinetus, the lord of Revest, being chief president of the parliament of Aix, put many of the faithful to death; who afterwards, being put out of his office, returned to his house of Revest, where he was stricken with such a horrible sickness, that, for the fury and madness which he was in, neither his wife, nor any that were about him, durst come near him; and so he, dying in his fury and rage, was justly plagued for his unmerciful and cruel dealing. Another example of God's terrible judgment.

After him succeeded Bartholomew Chassanee, likewise a pestilent persecutor, whom God at length struck with a fearful and sudden death. In the time of this tyrant, those of Merindol, in the persons of ten, were cited personally to appear before the king's attorney. But they, hearing that the court had determined to burn them without any further process or order of law, durst not appear at the day appointed. For this cause the court awarded a cruel sentence against Merindol, and condemned all the inhabitants to be burned, both men and women, sparing none, no not the little children and infants; the town to be rased, and their houses beaten down to the ground; also the trees to be cut down, as well olive-trees as all others, and nothing to be left, to the intent it should never be inhabited again, but remain as a desert or wilderness. Another example. A bloody decree against the Merindolians.

This bloody arrest or decree seemed so strange and wonderful, that in every place throughout all Provence there was great reasoning and disputation concerning the same, especially among the advocates, and men of learning and understanding: insomuch that many durst boldly and openly say, that they greatly marvelled how that court of parliament could be so mad, or so bewitched, to give out such an arrest, so manifestly injurious and unjust, and contrary to all right and reason, yea to all sense of humanity; also contrary to the solemn oath which all such as are received to office in courts of parliament, are accustomed to make; that is to say, to judge justly and uprightly, according to the law of God, and the just ordinances and laws of the realm, so that God thereby might be honoured, and every man's right regarded, without respect of persons.

Some of the advocates or lawyers, defending the said arrest to be just and right, said, that in the case of Lutheranism, the judges are not bound to observe either right or reason, law or ordinance; and that the judges cannot fail or do amiss, whatsoever judgment they do give, so that it tend to the ruin and extirpation of all such as are suspected to be Lutherans.

To this the other lawyers and learned men answered, that upon their sayings it would ensue, that the judges should now altogether follow the same manner and form, in proceeding against the Christians accused to be Lutherans, which the gospel witnesseth that the priests, scribes, and pharisees followed, in pursuing and persecuting, and finally condemning, our Lord Jesus Christ. Even so the pharisees proceeded against Christ the Son of God.

By these and such other talks, the said arrest was published throughout the country, and there was no assembly or banquet where it was

Provence. A.D. 1530 to 1547.

not disputed or talked of: and namely, within twelve days after the arrest was given out, there was a great banquet in the town of Aix; at which banquet were present M. Bartholomew Chassanee, president, and many other councillors and other noble personages and men of authority. There were also the archbishop of Arles, and the bishop of Aix, with divers ladies and gentlewomen, amongst whom was one who was commonly reported to be the bishop of Aix's concubine. They were scarce well sat at the table, but she began thus to talk: "My lord president! will you not execute the arrest which is given out of late against the Lutherans of Merindol?"[1] The president answered nothing, feigning that he heard her not. Then a certain gentleman asked of her, what arrest that was? She recited it in manner and form as it was given out, forgetting nothing, as if she had a long time studied to commit the same to memory: whereunto they that were at the banquet gave diligent ear, without any word speaking, until she had ended her tale.

The bishop's banquet.

The lord of Alenc a good man.

Then the lord of Alenc, a man fearing God, and of great understanding, said unto her, "Gentlewoman! you have learned this tale either of some who would have it so, or else it is given out by some parliament of women." Then the lord of Senas, an ancient councillor, said unto him; 'No, no, my lord of Alenc![2] it is no tale which you have heard this gentlewoman tell; for it is an arrest given out by a whole senate: and you ought not thus to speak, except you would call the court of Provence a parliament of women." Then the lord of Alenc began to excuse himself, with protestation that he would not speak any thing to blemish the authority of that sovereign court; notwithstanding he could not believe all that which the said gentlewoman had told, that is to say, that all the inhabitants of Merindol were condemned to die by the arrest of the said court of parliament of Provence, and especially the women, and little children and infants; and the town to be rased for the fault of ten or twelve persons, who did not appear before the said court at the day appointed. And the lord Beauvieu also answered, that he believed not the said court to have given out any such arrest; for that (said he) were a thing most unreasonable, and such as the very Turks, and the greatest tyrants in the world would judge to be a thing most detestable: and he said further, that he had known a long time many of Merindol, who seemed unto him to be men of great honesty: and my lord president (said he) can certify us well what is done in this matter, for we ought not to give credit unto women's tales. Then the gentlewoman who had rehearsed the arrest, stayed not to hear the president's answer, but suddenly looking upon the bishop of Aix, said, "I should greatly have marvelled, if there had been none in all this company who would defend these wicked men." And lifting up her eyes to heaven, in a great womanly chafe and fume, she said, "Would to God that all the Lutherans who are in Provence, yea, and in all France, had horns growing on their foreheads; then we should see a goodly many of horns!" To whom the lord Beauvieu suddenly answered, saying, "Would to God all priests' harlots should chatter like pies!" Then said the gentlewoman, "Ah, my lord Beauvieu! you ought not so to speak against our holy mother the church, for that there was never

The Lord Beauvieu.

A catholic wish of a priest's harlot.

(1) There is no cruelty too cruel for a harlot. (2) 'Alenc,' Alenconium, Alençon.—Ed.

dog that barked against the crucifix, but he waxed mad;" whereat the bishop of Aix laughed, and clapping the gentlewoman on the shoulder, said, "By my holy orders, my minion! well said; I con you thank. She hath talked well unto you, my lord Beauvieu! remember well the lesson which she hath given you." Here the lord Beauvieu, being wholly moved with anger, said, "I care neither for her school nor yours, for it would be long before a man should learn of either of you either any honesty or honour. For if I should say, that the most part of the bishops and priests are abominable adulterers, blind idolaters, deceivers, thieves, seducers, I should not speak against the holy church, but against a heap and flock of wolves, dogs, and filthy swine. In speaking these things I should think a man not to be mad at all, except he be mad for speaking of the truth." *Provence.* A. D. 1530 to 1547.

Then, the archbishop in a great fury answered, "My lord Beauvieu! you speak very evil, and you must give account, when time and place serve, of this your talk, which you have here uttered against the churchmen." "I would," said the lord Beauvieu, "that it were to do even this present day, and I would bind myself to prove more abuses and naughtiness in priests than I have yet spoken." Then said the president Chassanee, "My lord Beauvieu! let us leave off this talk, and live as our fathers have done, and maintain their honour." Then said he in great anger, "I am no priest's son, to maintain their wickedness and abuse:" and afterward he said, "I am well content to honour all true pastors of the church, and will not blame them that show good example in their doctrine and living; but I demand of you, my lord of Arles! and of you, my lord of Aix! when our Lord Christ Jesus called the priests, deceiving hypocrites, blind seducers, robbers, and thieves, did he them any outrage or wrong?" And they answered, "No; for the most part of them were such men." Then said the lord Beauvieu, "Even so it is with the bishops and priests whom I have spoken of, for they are such kind of men, or rather worse: and I so abhor their filthy and abominable life, that I dare not speak the one half of that which I know; and therefore in speaking the truth, to cool the babbling of a harlot, I do them no injury." The pope's churchmen worse than the old pharisees.

The Monsieur de Senas, an ancient councillor, said, "Let us leave off this contentious talk, for we are here assembled and come together to make good cheer."[1] And afterwards he said, "M. de Beauvieu! for the love and amity which I do bear unto you, I will advertise you of three things, which, if you will do, you shall find great ease therein. The first is, that you, neither by word nor deed, aid or assist those that you hear to be Lutherans. Secondly, that you do not intermeddle openly to reprove ladies and gentlewomen for their pastime and pleasures. Thirdly, that you do never speak against the life and living of priests, how wicked soever it be, according to this saying, 'Do not touch mine anointed.'"

To whom M. de Beauvieu answered, "As touching the first point. I know no Lutherans, neither what is meant by this word Lutheranism, except you do call those Lutherans, who profess the doctrine of the gospel; neither yet will I ever allow any arrest which shall be given out to death against men, whose cause hath not been heard, especially against women and young infants: and I am assured, that

(1) Churchmen, be they ever so evil, must not be spoken against. 1 Par. xvi.

Provence. A. D. 1530 to 1547.

there is no court of parliament in all France, which will approve or allow of any such arrest. And whereas you say, that I should not meddle to reprove ladies and gentlewomen, if I knew any kinswoman of mine, who would abandon herself unto a priest or clerk, yea, albeit he were a cardinal or bishop, I would not do her so much honour as to rebuke her there-for, but at least I would cut off her nose. And as touching priests, as I am contented not to meddle with their business, so likewise I will not that they meddle with mine hereafter, or come from henceforth within mine house; for as many as I shall find or take there, I will set their crowns so near their shoulders, that they shall need no more to wear any hoods about their necks." The like also said the president Chassanee.

How priests' harlots should be handled.

Then the bishop of Aix's sweetheart, who had begun the quarrel, said, "I shall not be in quiet, except I speak yet one word more unto M. de Beauvieu." "Do you think," said she unto him, "that all the cardinals, bishops, abbots, priests, and all those holy religious men, who go oftentimes to gentlemen's houses, and haunt the castles and palaces of princes and noblemen, go thither to commit wickedness? Also you must not think evil of all those ladies and gentlewomen that go to bishops' houses of devotion, and to reveal those whom they know to be Lutherans, as it was commanded in the pulpit upon pain of excommunication. If so be you will maintain those words, I will not cease to accuse you of crime, and also of treason both to God and man; for here be those in this company, who shall make you give an account thereof."[1] She had not so soon ended her talk, but M. Beauvieu said unto her, "Avaunt, O Herodias! thou filthy and impudent harlot! is it thy part to open thy mouth to talk in this company? Dost thou well understand and know what treason to God and man meaneth? Is it not sufficient for thee to be as thou art, but thou must solicit others to shed innocent blood?" With these words the gentlewoman was somewhat amazed. All men thought that this talk had been at an end, and every man began to invent some merry communication, that the former matter should be no more talked of.

Well spoken, and like a harlot.

Two well compared together.

At last the gentlewoman, advising herself, and thinking that she was too much injured, in that it was said that she went about to shed innocent blood, brake off all their talk, and with a loud voice said, "Monsieur Beauvieu! if I were a man, as I am a woman, I would offer you the combat, to prove that I am no such manner of woman as you say I am, that I desire to shed innocent blood. Do you call the blood of these wicked men of Merindol, innocent blood? True it is, that I desire and offer with my whole power, that these naughty packs of Merindol, and such as they are, should be slain and destroyed, from the greatest even unto the least. And to see the beginning of this work, I have employed all my credit, and all my friends, and do spare neither body nor goods to work the ruin and destruction of these people, and to rase out and to deface their memory from amongst men. Do you then, Monsieur Beauvieu! call the slaughter of these Lutherans, the effusion of innocent blood? And say you what you will, I will not refrain for any man living, to go either by day or by

God sendeth a shrewd cow short horns.

The cruel heart of a harlot.

(1) As Herodias wrought the death of John Baptist, so this woman seeks the death of the Merandolians.

night unto the houses of bishops, in all honesty[1] and honour, for the devotion which I bear unto our holy mother[2] the church, and also I will receive into my house all religious men, to consult and devise the means how to put these Lutherans to death." But as Monsieur Beauvieu took no more regard unto her talk, so likewise all that were at the table dispraised her, and were weary of her prating. *Proverbs.* A.D. 1530 to 1547.

Then there was a certain young gentleman, who, merrily jesting, said unto her, "Gentlewoman! it must needs be that these poor people, unto whom you do wish this cruel death, have done you some great displeasure." "Then," said she, "I may well take an oath, that I never knew one of these wretched people, neither (that I wot of) ever saw any of them; and I had rather to meet ten devils than one of those naughty knaves, for their opinions are so detestable, that happy and blessed are they that never heard tell of them.[3] And I was not then well advised at what time by curiosity, I, seeing the bishop of Aix so much troubled and angry that he could neither eat nor drink, did desire him and constrain him to tell me the cause thereof. Then he, perceiving that I would not be well contented if he should not tell me, declared unto me some part of the cause, that is to say, that there were certain heretics, who spake against our holy mother the church, and among other errors they maintained, yea, to death, that all bishops, priests, and pastors, ought to be married, or else they should be basely handled:[4] and hearing this I was marvellously offended, and ever since I did hate them to the death. And also it was enjoined unto me by penance, that I should endeavour with all my power to put these heretics to death." After these frivolous talks, there was great trouble and debate amongst them, and many threatenings, which were too long here to describe. The pope's clergy cannot abide honest marriage to die for it.

Then the president Chassanee, and the councillors parted on one side, and the gentlemen went on the other part. The archbishop of Arles, the bishop of Aix, and divers abbots, priors, and others, assembled themselves together,[5] to consult how this arrest might be executed with all speed, intending to raise a new persecution, greater than that of John, the Jacobin monk of Rome: "for otherwise," said they, "our state and honour is like to decay; we shall be reproved, contemned, and derided of all men. And if none should thus vaunt and set themselves against us but these peasants, and such like, it were but a small matter; but many doctors of divinity and men of the religious order, divers senators and advocates, many wise and well learned men, also a great part of the nobility (if we may so say), and that of great renown, yea, even of the chiefest peers in all Europe, begin to contemn and despise us, counting us to be no true pastors of the church; so that except we see to this mischief, and provide for remedy betimes, it is greatly to be feared, lest not only we shall be compelled to forsake our dignities, possessions, and livings, which we now wealthily enjoy; but also the church, being spoiled of her pastors and guides, shall hereafter come to miserable ruin, and

(1) The visor of honesty on a harlot's face. (2) Like mother, like daughter.
(3) Oderunt me gratis. John xv.
(4) 'Basely handled.' Genitalia amittant. Vid. orig.—Ed.
(5) 'Quærebant principes sacerdotum et scribæ, quomodo interficerunt Jesum,' Luke xxii.

Provence. A. D. 1530 to 1547.

utter desolation.[1] This matter therefore now requireth great diligence and circumspection, and that with all celerity."

Then the archbishop of Arles, not forgetting his Spanish subtleties and policies gave his advice as followeth:

Against the nobility we must take heed that we attempt nothing rashly, but rather we must seek all the means we can how to please them; for they are our shield, our fortress, and defence. And albeit we know that many of them do both speak and think evil of us, and that they are of these new gospellers, yet may we not reprove them, to exasperate them, in any case; but seeing they are too much bent against us already, we must rather seek how to win them, and to make them our friends again by *gifts* and presents: and by this policy we shall live in safety under their protection. But if we enterprise any thing against them, sure we are to gain nothing thereby, as we are by experience already sufficiently taught.

The bishop of Aix then answered,—

A most butcherly religion which worketh all by blood.

It is well said, but I can show you a good remedy for this disease: we must go about with all our endeavour, and power, and policy, and all the friends we can make, sparing no charges, but spending goods, wealth, and treasure, to make such a slaughter of the Merindolians and rustical peasants, that none shall be so bold hereafter, whatsoever they be, yea, although, they be of the blood royal, once to open their mouths against us, or the ecclesiastical state. And to bring this matter to pass, we have no better way than to withdraw ourselves to Avignon, in which city we shall find many bishops, abbots, and other famous men, who will with us employ their whole endeavour to maintain and uphold the majesty of our holy mother the church.[2]

This counsel was well liked of them all. Whereupon the said archbishop of Arles, and the bishop of Aix, went with all speed to Avignon, there to assemble out of hand the bishops and other men of authority and credit, to treat of this matter. In this pestilent conspiracy, the bishop of Aix, a stout champion, and a great defender of the traditions of men, taking upon him to be the chief orator, began in a manner as followeth:

An Oration of Cataline, that is, the Oration of the Bishop of Aix, seditious and bloody.

O ye fathers and brethren! ye are not ignorant that a great tempest is raised up against the little bark of Christ Jesus, now in great danger and ready to perish. The storm cometh from the north, wherefrom all these troubles proceed. The seas rage, the waters rush in on every side, the winds blow and beat upon our house, and we, without speedy remedy, are like to sustain shipwreck and loss of all together. For oblations[3] cease, pilgrimage[4] and devotion wax cold, charity[5] is clean gone, our estimation[6] and authority is debased, our jurisdiction[7] decayed, and the ordinances[8] of the church despised. And wherefore are we set and ordained over nations and kingdoms, but to root out and destroy, to subvert and overthrow, whatsoever is against our holy mother the church? Wherefore let us now awake, let us stand stoutly in the right of our own possession, that we may root out from the memory of men for ever, the whole rout of the wicked Lutherans: those foxes (I say) who destroy the vineyard of the Lord; those great whales which go about to drown the little

(1) Note, how the pope's church is led, not with any conscience of truth, but only with love of livings. (2) Cathedræ pestilentia.
(3) Your oblations be against the Scripture. (4) Your pilgrimage is idolatry.
(5) Your charity is gone indeed, when ye seek so the blood of your brethren.
(6) Your estimation is Pharisaical. (7) Your jurisdiction is tyrannical.
(8) Your ordinances serve not to Christ's glory, but your own.

bark of the Son of God. We have already well begun, and have procured a terrible arrest against these cursed heretics of Merindol: now then resteth no more, but only the same to be put in execution. Let us therefore employ our whole endeavour, that nothing happen which may let or hinder what we have so happily begun; and let us take good heed that our gold and silver do not witness against us at the day of judgment, if we refuse to bestow the same, that we may make so good a sacrifice unto God.[1] And for my part I offer to wage and furnish of mine own costs and charges, a hundred men well horsed, with all other furniture to them; belonging and that so long, until the utter destruction and subversion of these wretched and cursed caitiffs be fully performed and finished.' *Provence.* A.D. 1530 to 1547.

This oration pleased the whole multitude, saving one doctor of divinity, a friar Jacobin, named Bassinet, who then answered again with this oration.

An Oration of Bassinet, in reply to the Bishop of Aix.

This is a weighty matter and of great importance; we must therefore proceed wisely, and in the fear of God, and beware that we do nothing rashly. For if we seek the death and destruction of these poor and miserable people wrongfully, when the king and the nobility shall hear of such a horrible slaughter, we shall be in great danger lest they do to us, as we read in the Scriptures was done to the priests of Baal. For my part I must say, and unfeignedly confess, that I have too rashly and lightly signed many processes against those who have been accused of heretical doctrine: but now I do protest before God, who seeth and knoweth the hearts of men, that seeing the lamentable end and effect of mine assignments, I have had no quietness in my conscience, considering that the secular judges, at the report of the judgment and sentence given by me and other doctors my companions, have condemned all those unto most cruel death, whom we have adjudged to be heretics. And the cause why in conscience I am thus disquieted, is this; that now of late, since I have given myself more diligently to the reading and contemplation of the holy Scriptures, I have perceived that the most part of those articles, which they that are called Lutherans do maintain, are so conformable and agreeing to the Scriptures, that for my part I can no longer gainsay them, except I should even wilfully and maliciously resist and strive against the holy ordinances of God. Albeit hitherto, to maintain the honour of our holy mother the church, and of our holy father the pope, and of our orders, I have consented to the opinions and doings of other doctors, as well through ignorance, as also because I would not seem to attempt any thing against the will and pleasure of the prelates and vicars general: but now it seemeth unto me, that we ought not any more to proceed in this matter, as we have done in time past. It will be sufficient to punish them with fines, or to banish them that shall speak too intemperately and rashly against the constitutions of the church, and of the pope; and such as shall be manifestly convicted by the holy Scriptures to be blasphemous or obstinate heretics, to be condemned to death according to the enormity of their crimes or errors, or else to perpetual prison. And this my advice and counsel I desire you to take in good part.

The godly repentance of Bassinet.

The testimony of Bassinet, for Lutherans.

With this counsel of Bassinet all the company were offended, but especially the bishop of Aix, who, lifting up his voice above all the rest, said thus unto him; "O thou man of little faith! whereof art thou in doubt? dost thou repent thee of that thou hast well done? Thou hast told here a tale, that smelleth of faggots and brimstone. Is there any difference, thinkest thou, between heresies and blasphemies spoken and maintained against the holy Scriptures, and opinions holden against our holy mother the church, and contrary to our holy father the pope, a most undoubted and true God on earth?

God and the pope and the obedience of them two, compared together.

(1) 'The day shall come when men shall think they do a good service to God, in putting you to death.' John xvi.

Provence. A. D. 1530 to 1547.

'Art thou a master in Israel, and knowest not these things?'" Then said the bishop of Arles, "Could any man treat better of the little bark of Christ Jesus, than my lord of Aix hath done?"

Then stood up Bassinet again, and made this oration:

Another Oration of Bassinet.

It is true that my lord, the bishop of Aix, hath very well set out the manners and state of the clergy, and hath aptly reproved the vices and heresies of this present time: and therefore, as soon as mention was made of the ship of Christ Jesus, it came into my mind first of all, of the high bishop of Jerusalem, the priests, the doctors of the law, the scribes and pharisees, who sometime had the governance of this ship, being ordained pastors in the church of God: but when they forsook the law of God, and served him with men's inventions and traditions, he destroyed those hypocrites in his great indignation; and having compassion and pity upon the people that were like sheep without a shepherd, he sent diligent fishers to fish for men, faithful workmen into his harvest, and labourers into his vineyard, who shall all bring forth true fruits in their season. Secondly, considering the purpose and intent of the reverend lord bishop of Aix, I called to mind the saying of the apostle [1 Tim. iv.], that in the latter day some shall fall away from the faith, following after deceitful spirits, and the doctrine of devils. And the apostle giveth a mark whereby a man shall know them. Likewise our Lord Jesus Christ saith [Matt. vii.], that the false prophets shall come clothed in sheep-skins, but inwardly they are ravening wolves, and by their fruits they shall be known. By these two, and divers such other places, it is easy to understand, who are they that go about to drown this little bark of Christ. Are they not those who fill the same with filthy and unclean things, with mire and dirt, with puddle and stinking water? are they not those who have forsaken Jesus Christ, the fountain of living water, and have digged unto themselves pits or cisterns which will hold no water? Truly even those they are, who vaunt themselves to be the salt of earth, and yet have no savour at all; who call themselves pastors, and yet are much less than true pastors, for they minister not unto the sheep the true pasture and feeding, neither divide and distribute the true bread of the word of life. And (if I may be bold to speak it) would it not be at this present as great a wonder to hear a bishop preach, as to see an ass fly? Are not they accursed of God, who glory and vaunt themselves to have the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and neither enter in themselves, nor suffer them that would enter, to come in? They may be known right well by their fruits; for they have forsaken faith, judgment, and mercy; and there is no honest, clean, or undefiled thing in them but their habit, their rochet, and their surplice, and such things. Outwardly they are exceeding neat and trim, but within they are full of all abomination, rapine, gluttony, filthy lust, and all manner of uncleanness; they are like painted sepulchres, which outwardly appear beautiful and fair, but within they are full of filth and corruption. A man shall know (I say) these ravening wolves by their fruits, who devour the quick and the dead under the pretence of long prayer. And forasmuch as I am enforced to give place to the truth, and that you call me a master in Israel, I will not be afraid to prove by the holy Scriptures, that your great pilot and patron the pope, and the bishops the mariners, and such others, who impudently forsake the ship of Christ Jesus, to embark themselves in pinnaces and brigandines, are pirates and robbers of the sea, false prophets, deceivers, and not true pastors of the church of Jesus Christ.

False pastors in Christ's church described.

'Take heed of those that come to you in sheep-skins, but inwardly they are ravening wolves.' Matt. vii.

The pope's pilots in Christ's ship are become pirates.

When Dr. Bassinet had thus freely and boldly uttered his mind, the whole multitude began to gather about him, and spitefully railed at him; but the bishop of Aix, above others, raging and crying out as he had been mad, "Get thee out," said he, "from amongst us, thou wicked apostate! thou art not worthy to be in this company. We have burned daily a great many who have not so well deserved it, as thou hast. We may now perceive, that there is none more steadfast and fervent in the faith than the doctors of the canon law;

and therefore it were necessary to be decreed in the next general council, that none should have to do in matters of religion but they alone: for these knaves, and beggarly monks and friars, will bring all to nought." Then the other doctors of the same order boldly reproved the bishop of Aix for the injury he had done unto them. After this there arose a great dissension amongst them, insomuch that there was nothing at that time determined. After dinner all these reverend prelates assembled together again, but they suffered neither friar nor monk to be amongst them, except he were an abbot. In this assembly they made a general composition, confirmed with an oath, that every man should endeavour himself that the said arrest of Merindol should be executed with all expedition, every man offering to furnish out men of war, according to his ability. The charge thereof was given to the bishop of Aix, and to the president of the canons, to solicit the matter, and to persuade by all means possible the presidents and councillors of the said court of parliament, without fear or doubt, to execute the said arrest with drums, ensigns displayed, artillery, and all kind of furniture of war.

A commendation for doctors of the canon law.

The bishop of Aix, archcaptain of this persecution.

This conspiracy being concluded and determined, the bishop of Aix departed incontinent from Avignon, to go unto Aix, to perform the charge which was given to him. Notwithstanding they desired him to be, the next day after the council was holden, at a banquet which should be made at the house of the bishop of Rieux. To this banquet such as were known to be the fairest and most beautiful women in all Avignon, were called, to refresh and solace these good prelates, after the great pains and travail which they had taken for our holy mother the church. After they had dined, they fell to dancing, playing at dice, and such other pastimes as are commonly wont to be frequented at the banquets and feasts of these holy prelates. After this they walked abroad to solace themselves, and to pass the time till supper.

As they passed through the streets, every one leading his minion upon his arm, they saw a man who sold base images and pictures, with filthy rhymes and ballads annexed to the same, to move and stir up the people to whoredom and knavery. All these goodly pictures were bought up by the bishops, which were as many as a mule could well carry; [1] and if there were any obscure sentence, or hard to understand in those rhymes or ballads, the same these learned prelates did readily expound, and laughed plesantly thereat. In the same place, as they walked along, there was a bookseller, who had set out to sale certain Bibles in French and Latin, with divers other books; which when the prelates beheld, they were greatly moved thereat, and said unto him, "Darest thou be so hardy to set out such merchandise to sell here in this town? dost thou not know that such books are forbidden?" The bookseller answered, "Is not the holy Bible as good as these goodly pictures, which you have bought for these gentlewomen?" He had scarce spoken these words, but the bishop of Aix said, "I renounce my part of paradise, if this fellow be not a Lutheran!" "Let him be taken," said he, "and examined what he is." And incontinently the bookseller was taken and carried unto prison, and spitefully handled; for a company of knaves and

Bad pictures received, God's book rejected.

1) 'Ex fructibus eorum cognoscetis eos.'

Provence. A. D 1530 to 1547.

ruffians, who waited upon the prelates, began to cry out, "A Lutheran! a Lutheran!" "To the fire with him! to the fire with him!" And one gave him a blow with his fist, another pulled him by the hair, and others by the beard, in such sort that the poor man was all imbrued with blood before he came to prison.

Christian constancy in a good bookseller.

The morrow after he was brought before the judges in the presence of the bishops, where he was examined in this form as followeth: "Hast thou not set forth to sale the Bible and the New Testament in French?" The prisoner answered, that he had so done. And being demanded, whether he understood or knew not, that it was forbidden throughout all Christendom to print or sell the Bible in any other language than in Latin? he answered, that he knew the contrary, and that he had sold many Bibles in the French tongue, with the emperor's privilege, and many others printed at Lyons; also New Testaments imprinted by the king's privilege. Furthermore, he said, that he knew no nation throughout all Christendom, which had not the holy Scriptures in their vulgar tongue: and afterwards, with a bold courage, thus he spake unto them:

† O you inhabitants of Avignon! are you alone in all Christendom those men who do despise and abhor the Testament of the heavenly Father? Will ye forbid and hide that which Jesus Christ hath commanded to be revealed and published? Do you not know that our Lord Jesus Christ gave power unto his apostles to speak all manner of tongues, to this end, that his holy gospel should be taught unto all creatures in every language? And why do you not forbid those books and pictures, which are full of filthiness and abomination to move and stir up the people to crimes and to uncleanness, and to provoke God's vengeance and great indignation upon you all? What greater blasphemy can there be, than to forbid God's most holy books, which he ordained to instruct the ignorant, and to reduce and bring again into the way such as are gone astray? What cruelty is this, to take away from the poor silly souls their nourishment and sustenance? But, my lords! you shall give a heavy account, who call sweet sour, and sour sweet, who maintain abominable and detestable books and pictures, and reject that which is holy.

Then the bishop of Aix and the other bishops began to rage, and gnash their teeth against this poor prisoner. "What need you," said they, "any more examination? let him be sent straight unto the fire, without any more words." But the judge Laberius and certain others were not of that mind, neither found they sufficient cause why to put him to death; but went about to have him put to his fine, and to make him confess and acknowledge the bishop of Aix, and others his companions, to be the true pastors of the church. But the bookseller answered, that he could not do it with a good conscience, forasmuch as he did see before his eyes, that these bishops maintained filthy books, and abominable pictures, rejecting and refusing the holy books of God; and therefore he judged them rather to be the priests of Bacchus and Venus, than the true pastors of the church of Christ. Hereupon he was immediately condemned to be burned, and the sentence was executed the very same day; and for a sign or token of the cause of his condemnation, he carried two Bibles hanging about his neck, the one before, and the other behind him: but this poor man had also the word of God in his heart, and in his mouth, and ceased not continually by the way, until he came to the place of execution, to exhort and admonish the people to read the holy Scrip-

A godly bookseller with two Bibles about his neck, burnt in Avignon.

tures; insomuch that divers were thereby moved to seek after the truth. The prelates, seeing a great dissension among the people of Avignon, and that many murmured and grudged against them for the death of this good man, and also for the dishonour which they had done unto the holy Testament of God, minding to put the people in fear, proceeded the next day to make a proclamation by the sound of a trumpet throughout the whole town and country of Venice, that all such as had any books in the French tongue, treating upon the holy Scriptures, should bring them forth, and deliver them into the hands of the commissioners appointed for that purpose: contrariwise they who had any such books found about them, should be put to death.

Provence. A. D. 1530 to 1547.

Proclamation against French Bibles.

Then, after these prelates had taken advice to raise great persecution in Venice, the bishop of Aix returned to prosecute the execution of the arrest against Merindol, travailing earnestly with the president Chassanee to that effect; declaring unto him the good-will of the prelates of Avignon and Provence, and the great affection they bare both to him and his, with many fair promises if he would put the arrest in execution. The president answered him, that it was no small matter to put the arrest of Merindol in execution; also that the said arrest was given out more to keep the Lutherans in fear, who were in great numbers in Provence, than to execute it in effect, as it was contained in the said arrest. Moreover, he said, that the arrest of Merindol was not definitive, and that the laws and statutes of the realm did not permit the execution thereof without further process. Then said the bishop, "If there be either law or statute which do hinder or let you, we carry in our sleeves to dispense therewithal." The president answered, "It were a great sin to shed the innocent blood." Then said the bishop, "The blood of them of Merindol be upon us, and upon our successors."[1] Then said the president, "I am very well assured that if the arrest of Merindol be put in execution, the king will not be well pleased to have such destruction made of his subjects." Then said the bishop, "Although the king at first do think it evil done, we will so bring it to pass, that within a short space he shall think it well done; for we have the cardinals on our side, and especially the most reverend cardinal of Tournon, who will take upon him the defence of our cause; and we can do him no greater pleasure, than utterly to root out these Lutherans: so that if we have any need of his counsel or aid, we shall be well assured of him. And is not he the principal, the most excellent and prudent adversary of these Lutherans, that is in all Christendom?"

The bishop of Aix stirreth up Chassanee the president to persecution.

The answer of Chassanee to the bishop of Merindol.

The cardinal of Tournon, the organ of Antichrist.

By this and such other like talk the bishop of Aix persuaded the president and councillors of the court of parliament, to put the said arrest in execution, and by this means, through the authority of the said court, the drum was sounded through all Provence, the captains were prepared with their ensigns displayed, and a great number of footmen and horsemen began to set forward, and marched out of the town of Aix in order of battle, well horsed and furnished, against Merindol, to execute the arrest. The inhabitants of Merindol, being advertised hereof, and seeing nothing but present death to be at hand, with great lamentation commended themselves and their cause unto

The pope's army setteth forward toward Merindol.

(1) Matt. xxvii. 25.

Provence. God by prayer, making themselves ready to be murdered and slain, as sheep led unto the butchery.

A. D. 1530 to 1547.

Whilst they were in this grievous distress, piteously mourning and lamenting together, the father with the son, the daughter with the mother, the wife with the husband, suddenly there was news brought unto them, that the army was retired, and no man knew at that time how, or by what means; yet notwithstanding afterwards it was known, that the lord of Alenc, a wise man, and learned in the Scriptures, and in the civil law, being moved with great zeal and love of justice, declared unto the president Chassanee, that he ought not so to proceed against the inhabitants of Merindol by way of force of arms, contrary to all form and order of justice, without judgment or condemnation, or without making any difference between the guilty and the not guilty. And furthermore he said:

The army again retired by means of the lord of Alenc.

I desire you, my lord president! call to remembrance the counsel which you have written in your book entitled Catalogus Gloriæ Mundi, in which book you have treated of and brought forth the processes which were holden against the rats, by the officers of the court and jurisdiction of the bishop of Autun. For as it happened, there was almost throughout all the bailiwick of Laussois such a great number of rats, that they destroyed and devoured all the corn of the country: whereupon they took counsel to send unto the bishop of Autun's official, to have the rats excommunicated. Whereupon it was ordained and decreed by the said official, after he had heard the plaintiff of the procurator-fiscal, that before he would proceed to excommunication, they should have admonition and warning according to the order of justice. For this cause it was ordained, that by the sound of a trumpet, and open proclamation made throughout all the streets of the town of Autun, the rats should be cited to appear within three days; and if they did not appear, then to proceed against them. The three days were passed, and the procurator came into the court against the rats, and for lack of appearance obtained default, by virtue whereof he required that they would proceed to the excommunication; whereupon it was judicially acknowledged that the said rats, being absent, should have their advocate appointed them to hear their defence, forasmuch as the question was for the whole destruction and banishing of the said rats. And you, my lord president! being at that time the king's advocate at Autun, were then chosen to be the advocate to defend the rats; and having taken the charge upon you in pleading the matter, it was by you there declared, that the citation was of no effect, for certain causes and reasons by you there alleged. Then it was decreed, that the said rats should be once again cited throughout the parishes where they were. Then after the citations were duly served, the procurator came again into the court as before; and there it was alleged by you, my lord president! how that the term of appearance given unto the rats was too short, and that there were so many cats in every town and village which they should pass through, that they had just cause to be absent.

A story of excommunicating the rats for eating up the corn.

The president Chassanee chosen advocate for the rats.

Wherefore, my lord president! you ought not so lightly to proceed against these poor men, but you ought to look upon the holy Scriptures, and there you shall find how you ought to proceed in this matter. And you, my lord! have alleged many places of the Scripture concerning the same, as appeareth more at large in your said book; and by this plea of a matter which seemeth to be but of small importance, you have obtained great fame and honour, for the upright declaration of the manner and form how judges ought gravely to proceed in criminal causes. Then, my lord president! you who have taught others, will you not also learn by your own books? which will manifestly condemn you, if you proceed any further to the destruction of these poor men of Merindol: for are they not christian men, and ought you not as well to minister right and justice unto them, as you have done to the rats?

Persuasion of the lord of Alenc to Chassanee, to return his army from Merindol.

By these and such like demonstrations the president was persuaded, and immediately called back his commission which he had given

out, and caused the army to retire, which was already come near unto Merindol, even within a mile and a half. *Provence.*

A. D. 1530 to 1547.

Then the Merindolians, understanding that the army was retired, gave thanks unto God, comforting one another, with admonition and exhortation always to have the fear of God before their eyes, to be obedient unto his holy commandments, subject to his most holy will, and every man to submit himself unto his providence; patiently attending and looking for the hope of the blessed, that is to say, the true life, and the everlasting riches, having always before their eyes, for example, our Lord Jesus Christ, the very Son of God, who hath entered into his glory by many tribulations. Thus the Merindolians prepared themselves to endure and abide all the afflictions that it should please God to lay upon them; and such was their answer to all those that either pitied them, or else sought their destruction: whereupon the bruit and noise was so great, as well of the arrest, as of the enterprise of the execution, and also of the patience and constancy of the Merindolians, that it was not hidden or kept secret from king Francis I., a king of noble courage and great judgment; who gave commandment unto the noble and virtuous lord, M. de Langeay, who then was his lieutenant in Turin, a city in Piedmont, that he should diligently inquire and search out the truth of all this matter. Whereupon the said M. de Langeay sent unto Provence two men of fame and estimation, giving them in charge to bring unto him the copy of the arrest, and diligently to inquire out all that followed and ensued thereupon; and likewise to make diligent inquisition of the life and manners of the said Merindolians and others, who were persecuted in the country of Provence.

The Lord's providence for the Merindolians.

Francis, the French king, sendeth M. Langeay to inquire better of the Merindolians.

These deputies brought the copy of the arrest, and of all that happened thereupon, unto the said M. de Langeay, declaring unto him the great injuries, pollings, extortions, exactions, tyrannies, and cruelties, which the judges, as well secular as ecclesiastical, used against them of Merindol, and others. As touching the behaviour and disposition of those who were persecuted, they reported, that the most part of the men of Provence affirmed them to be men given to great labour and travail; and that about two hundred years past (as it is reported) they came out of the country of Piedmont to dwell in Provence, and took to tillage, and to inhabit many hamlets and villages destroyed by the wars, and other desert and waste places; these they had so well occupied, that now there was great store of wines, oils, honey, and cattle, wherewith strangers were greatly relieved and holpen. Besides that, before they came into the country to dwell, the place of Merindol was taxed but at four crowns, which before the last destruction paid yearly unto the lord, for taxes and tallages, above three hundred and fifty crowns, beside other charges.

A testimony in commendation of the Merindolians.

The like was also reported of Lormarin, and divers other places of Provence; whereas there was nothing but robbery before they came to inhabit there, so that none could pass that way but in great danger. Moreover, they of the country of Provence affirmed, that the inhabitants of Merindol, and the others that were persecuted, were peaceable and quiet people, beloved of all their neighbours, men of good behaviour, constant in keeping their promise, and paying their debts without traversing or pleading of the law: that they were also chari-

The godly conversation of the Merindolians.

Provence. A.D. 1530 to 1547.

table men, giving alms, relieving the poor, and that they suffered none amongst them to lack, or be in necessity. Also they gave alms to strangers, and to the poor passengers, harbouring, nourishing and helping them in all their necessities, according to their power. Moreover, that they were known by this, throughout all the country of Provence, that they would not swear, nor name the devil, nor easily be brought to take an oath, except it were in judgment, nor making some solemn covenant. They were also known by this, that they could never be moved nor provoked to talk of any dishonest matters; but in what company soever they came, where they heard any wanton talk, swearing, or blasphemy, to the dishonour of God, they straightway departed out of that company. Also they said, that they never saw them go to their business, but first they made their prayers. The said people of Provence furthermore affirmed, that when they came to any fairs or markets, or came to their cities by any occasion, they never in a manner were seen in their churches; and if they were, when they prayed they turned away their faces from the images, and neither offered candles to them, nor kissed their feet; neither would they worship the relics of saints, nor once look upon them. And moreover, if they passed by any cross or image of the crucifix, or any other saint by the way, as they went, they would do no reverence unto them. Also the priests did testify, that they never caused them to say any masses, neither dirges, neither yet 'De profundis,' neither would they take any holy water; and if it were carried home unto their houses, they would not say once, "God a' mercy!" yea they seemed utterly to abhor it. To go on pilgrimage, to make any vows to saints, to buy pardons or remission of sins with money, yea, though it might be gotten for a halfpenny, they thought it not lawful. Likewise when it thundered or lightened, they would not cross themselves, but casting up their eyes unto heaven, fetched deep sighs. Some of them would kneel down and pray, without blessing themselves with the sign of the cross, or taking of holy water. Also they were never seen to offer, or cast into the bason any thing for the maintenance of lights, brotherhoods, churches, or to give any offering either for the quick or the dead. But if any were in affliction or poverty, those they relieved gladly, and thought nothing too much.

Crimes laid against the Merindolians.

This was the whole tenor of the report made unto Monsieur de Langeay, touching the life and behaviour of the inhabitants of Merindol, and the others who were persecuted; also as touching the arrest, and that which ensued thereupon. Of all those things the said Monsieur de Langeay, according to the charge that was given him, advertised the king, who, understanding these things, as a good prince moved with mercy and pity, sent letters of grace and pardon, not only for those who were condemned for lack of appearance, but also for all the rest of the country of Provence, who were accused and suspected in like case; expressly charging and commanding the said parliament, that they should not hereafter proceed so rigorously as they had done before, against this people; but if there were any one that could be found or proved, by sufficient information, to have swerved from the christian religion, that then he should have good demonstration made unto him by the word of God, both out of the Old and New Testament: and so, as well by the gentleness, as by the rigour of the same, he

The king's pardon procured and sent down for the Merindolians.

should be reduced again unto the church of Christ. Declaring also, that the king's pleasure was, that all such as should be convicted of heresy in manner aforesaid, should abjure; forbidding also all manner of persons, of what estate or condition soever they were, to attempt any thing against them of Merindol, or others that were persecuted, by any other manner of means, or to molest or trouble them in person or goods: revoking and disannulling all manner of sentences and condemnations of what judges soever they were, and commanding to set at liberty all prisoners who either were accused or suspected of Lutheranism. *Provence.* A. D. 1530 to 1547.

By virtue of these letters they were now permitted to declare their cause, and to say what they could in defence thereof; whereupon they made a confession of their faith, the effect whereof you shall see in the end of the story. This confession was presented first to the court of parliament; and afterwards being declared more at large, with articles also annexed thereunto, it was delivered to the bishop of Cavaillon, who required the same. Also to cardinal Sadolet, bishop of Carpentras, with the like articles, and also a supplication to this effect:

Supplication of the Inhabitants of Cabriers.

The inhabitants of Cabriers, in the country of Venice, most humbly desired the cardinal, that he would vouchsafe to receive and read the confession and declaration of their faith and doctrine,[1] in the which they, and also their fathers before them, had been of a long time instructed and taught, which they were persuaded to be agreeable to the doctrine contained in the Old and New Testament. And because he was learned in the holy Scriptures, they desired him that he would mark such articles as he thought to be against the Scriptures; and if he should make it to appear unto them, that there was any thing contrary to the same, they would not only submit themselves to abjuration, but also to suffer such punishment as should be adjudged unto them, even to the loss, not only of all that they had, but also of their lives. And moreover, if there were any judge in all the country of Venice, who, by good and sufficient information, should be able to charge them that they had holden any erroneous doctrine, or maintained any other religion than was contained in the articles of their Confession, they desired him that he would communicate the same unto them; and with all obedience they offered themselves to whatsoever should be thought just and reasonable.

The people of Cabriers require the judgment of cardinal Sadolet, touching their articles.

Upon this request cardinal Sadolet answered by his letters written by his secretary, and signed with his own hand, the tenor whereof here ensueth.

The Answer of Cardinal Sadolet.

I have seen your request, and have read the articles of your Confession, wherein there is much matter contained; and do not understand that you are accused for any other doctrine, but for the very same which you have confessed. It is most true, that many have reported divers things of you worthy of reproof, which, after diligent inquiry made, we have found to be nothing else but false reports and slanders. As touching the rest of your articles, it seemeth unto me, that there are many words therein which might well be changed without prejudice unto your Confession: and likewise it seemeth to me, that it is not necessary that you should speak so manifestly against the pastors of the church. For my part, I desire your welfare, and would be sorry that you should be so

(1) This most godly and christian Confession you shall find more largely set out in Henry Pantaleon, and also in the French story, treating of the destruction of Merindol and Cabriers; also touching their faith and confession you shall partly see hereafter.

Provence. spoiled or destroyed, as they do intend. And to the end you shall the better understand my amity and friendship towards you, shortly I will be at my house by Cabriers, whither ye may resort unto me either in greater or smaller numbers, as you will, and return safely without any hurt or damage; and there I will advertise you of all things that I think meet for your profit and health.

A. D. 1530 to 1547.

The bishop of Cavaillon seeketh the destruction of Cabriers.

About this time, which was A.D. 1542, the vice-legate of Avignon assembled a great number of men of war, at the suit of the bishop of Cavaillon, to destroy Cabriers. When the army was come within a mile of Cabriers, the cardinal Sadolet went with speed to the vice-legate, and showed him the request of the inhabitants of Cabriers, with the articles of their Confession, and the offers that they made; so that for that present the army retired, without any hurt or damage done unto the inhabitants of Cabriers. After this, the cardinal Sadolet went unto Rome; but before his departure he sent for divers of Cabriers, and certain farmers of his own, whom he knew to be of the number of those who were called Lutherans, and told them that he would have them in remembrance as soon as he came to Rome, and communicate their articles and confession unto the cardinals, trusting to find a mean to have some good reformation, that God should be thereby glorified, and all Christendom brought to unity and concord; at least, nothing at all doubting but that the foulest abuses should be corrected and amended: advertising them in the mean time to be wise and circumspect, to watch and pray, for that they had many enemies. With this oration of cardinal Sadolet, they of Cabriers were greatly comforted, trusting that at the suit of cardinal Sadolet they should have answer of their confession: but at his return, they understood that he found all things so corrupt at Rome, that there was no hope of any reformation there to be had, but rather mortal war against all such as would not live according to the ordinances of the church of Rome. Likewise said the treasurer of Carpentras, who albeit he payed out money to furnish soldiers that were hired for the destruction of Cabriers, notwithstanding he did aid them secretly all that he might. Howbeit he could not do it so secretly, but that it came to the knowledge of the legate; whereupon he was constrained to withdraw himself.

Sadolet stays the army coming against Cabriers. His promise to his tenants of Cabriers.

The treasurer of Carpentras a privy friend to them of Cabriers.

On the other part, the bishops of Aix and Cavaillon pursued still the execution of the arrest of Merindol. Then it was ordained by the court of parliament, that, according to the king's letters, John Durand, councillor of the court of parliament, with a secretary, and the bishop of Cavaillon, with a doctor of divinity, should go unto Merindol, and there declare unto the inhabitants the errors and heresies which they knew to be contained in their confession, and make them apparent by good and sufficient information; and having so convicted them by the word of God, they should make them to renounce and abjure the said heresies: and if the Merindolians did refuse to abjure, then they should make relation thereof, that the court might appoint how they should further proceed. After this decree was made, the bishop of Cavaillon would not tarry until the time which was appointed by the court for the execution of this matter; but he himself, with a doctor of divinity, came to Merindol, to make them to abjure. Unto whom the Merindolians answered, that he enterprised against the authority of the parliament, and that

The bishop of Cavaillon cometh again to Merindol.

it was against his commission so to do. Notwithstanding he was very earnest with them that they should abjure, and promised them, if they would so do, to take them under his wings and protection, even as the hen doth her chickens, and that they should be no more robbed or spoiled. Then they required that he would declare unto them what they should abjure. The bishop answered, that the matter needed no disputation, and that he required but only a general abjuration of all errors, which would be no damage or prejudice to them; for he himself would not stick to make the like abjuration. The Merindolians answered him again, that they would do nothing contrary to the decree and ordinance of the court, or the king's letters, wherein he commanded that first the errors should be declared unto them, whereof they were accused: wherefore they were resolved to understand what those errors and heresies were, that being informed thereof by the word of God, they might satisfy the king's letters; otherwise it were but hypocrisy and dissimulation to do as he required them. And if he could make it to appear unto them by good and sufficient information, that they had holden any errors and heresies,[1] or should be convicted thereupon by the word of God, they would willingly abjure; or if in their Confession there were any word contrary to the Scriptures, they would revoke the same. Contrariwise, if it were not made manifest unto them, that they had holden any heresies, but that they had always lived according to the doctrine of the gospel, and that their Confession was grounded upon the same, then they ought by no means to move or constrain them to abjure any errors which they held not; and that it were plainly against all equity and justice so to do.

The pope's bishops will come to no reasoning.

Then the bishop of Cavaillon was marvellously angry, and would hear no word spoken of any demonstration to be made by the word of God, but, in a fury, cursed, and gave to the devil, him that first invented that means. Then the doctor of divinity, whom the bishop brought thither, demanded what articles they were, that were presented by the inhabitants of Merindol, for the bishop of Cavaillon had not yet showed them unto him. Then the bishop of Cavaillon delivered the doctor the Confession, which, after he had read, the bishop said, "What! will you any more witness or declaration? this is full of heresy." Then they of Merindol demanded, "In what point?" whereupon the bishop knew not what to answer. Then the doctor demanded to have time to look upon the articles of the Confession, and to consider whether they were against the Scriptures or no. Thus the bishop departed, being very sorely grieved that he could not bring his purpose to pass.

The bishop sore grieved to have heresy tried by the word of God.

After eight days the bishop sent for this doctor, to understand how he might order himself to make their heresies appear which were in the said Confession: whereunto the doctor answered, that he was never so much abashed: for when he had beholden the articles of the Confession, and the authorities of the Scriptures that were there alleged for the confirmation thereof, he had found that those articles were wholly agreeable and according to the holy Scriptures; and that he had not learned so much in the Scriptures all the days of his life, as

Articles of the Merindolians, approved by the doctor.

(1) The bishops condemn the Merindolians for heresy, and yet can show no heresies in them by the word of God.

Provence. A.D. 1530 to 1547.

he had in those eight days, in looking upon those articles, and the authorities therein alleged.

Shortly after the bishop of Cavaillon came unto Merindol, and calling before him the children both great and small, gave them money, and commanded them with fair words to learn the Pater Noster and the Creed in Latin. The most part of them answered, that they knew the Pater Noster and the Creed already in Latin, but they could give no reason of that which they spake, but only in the vulgar tongue. The bishop answered, that it was not necessary they should be so cunning, but that it was sufficient that they knew it in Latin; and that it was not requisite for their salvation, to understand or to expound the articles of their faith; for there were many bishops, curates, yea, and doctors of divinity, whom it would trouble to expound the Pater Noster and the Creed. Here the bailiff of Merindol, named Andrew Maynard, asked, to what purpose it would serve to say the Pater Noster and the Creed, and not to understand the same? for in so doing they should but mock and deride God. Then said the bishop unto him, "Do you understand what is signified by these words, 'I believe in God?'" The bailiff answered, "I should think myself very miserable, if I did not understand it:" and then he began orderly to give an account of his faith. Then said the bishop, "I would not have thought there had been such great doctors in Merindol." The bailiff answered, "The least of the inhabitants of Merindol can do it yet more readily than I; but I pray you, question with one or two of these young children, that you may understand whether they be well taught or no." But the bishop either knew not how to question with them, or at least he would not.

The answer of the children of Merindol to the bishop.

The answer of the bailiff of Merindol.

The children of Merindol too good for the bishop.

Then one, named Pieron Roy, said, "Sir! one of these children may question with another, if you think it so good;" and the bishop was contented. Then one of the children began to question with his fellows with such grace and gravity, as if he had been a schoolmaster; and the children one after another answered so unto the purpose, that it was marvellous to hear: for it was done in the presence of many, among whom there were four religious men, who came lately out of Paris, of whom one said unto the bishop, I must needs confess that I have often been at the common schools of Sarbonne in Paris, where I have heard the disputations of the divines; but yet I never learned so much as I have done by hearing these young children." Then said William Armant, "Did you never read that which is written in Matthew xi., where it is said, 'O Father! Lord of heaven and earth! I render thanks unto thee, that thou hast hidden these things from the sage and wise men of the world, and hast revealed them unto young infants: but behold, O Father! such was thy good will and pleasure.'" Then every man marvelled at the ready and witty answers of the children of Merindol.

The youth of Merindol well brought up.

When the bishop saw he could not thus prevail, he tried another way, and went about, by fair and flattering words, to bring his purpose to pass. Wherefore, causing the strangers to go apart, he said that he now perceived they were not so evil as many thought them to be: notwithstanding, for the contentation of them that were their persecutors, it was necessary that they should make some small abjuration,

which only the bailiff, with two officers, might make generally in his presence, in the name of all the rest, without any notary to record the same in writing; and in so doing they should be loved and favoured of all men, and even of those who now persecuted them: and that they should sustain no infamy thereby, for there should be no report thereof made, but only to the pope, and to the high court of parliament of Provence: and also if any man, at any time to come, would turn the same to their reproach, or allege it against them to their hurt or damage, they might utterly deny it, and say they made no abjuration at all, because there were no records made thereof, or witnesses to prove the same. For this purpose he desired them to talk together, to the end there might be an end made in this matter without any further business.

The Merindolians are moved to abjure.

The bailiff, and the two officers, with divers other ancients of the town, answered, that they were fully resolved not to consent to any abjuration, howsoever it were to be done; except (which was always their exception) they could make it appear unto them by the word of God, that they had holden or maintained any heresy; marvelling much that he would go about to persuade them to lie to God and to the world. And albeit that all men by nature are liars, yet they had learned by the word of God, that they ought diligently to take heed of lying in any matter, were it ever so small. Also, that they ought diligently to take heed that their children did not accustom or use themselves to lie, and therefore punished them sharply, when they took them with any lie, even as if they had committed any robbery; for "the devil is a liar, and the father of lies." Here the bishop rose up in great anger and indignation, and so departed.

In matters of faith and religion there ought to be no dissimulation.

Within a while after the bishop of Aix solicited Master John Durand, councillor of the court of the parliament of Provence, to execute the commission which was given him; that is, to go unto the place of Merindol, together with the secretary of the said court, and there, in the presence of the bishop of Cavaillon, accompanied with a doctor of divinity, to declare the errors and heresies which the bishops pretended the inhabitants of Merindol to be infected and entangled withal; and, according to their duty, to make it appear by the word of God; and so they being convicted, to make them abjure and renounce the said heresies. Whereupon the said councillor Durand certified the day that he would be present at Merindol, to the end and purpose that none of the inhabitants should be absent.

Durand stirred up by the bishop to execute the commission against the Merindolians.

At the day appointed, the said councillor Durand, the bishop of Cavaillon, a doctor of divinity, and a secretary, came unto Merindol, where were also present divers gentlemen, and men of understanding of all sorts, to see this commission executed. Then they of Merindol were advertised that they should not appear all at once, but that they should keep themselves apart, and appear as they should be called, in such order and number as should be appointed unto them. After that, Durand, the bishop of Cavaillon, the doctor of divinity, and the secretary, were set in place where justice was accustomed to be kept, there were called forth Andrew Maynard, the bailiff of Merindol; Jehon Romaine, and Micheline Maynard, syndics;[1] John Cabrie, and

He cometh to Merindol.

(1) Syndicus is a Greek word, and signifieth an advocate or patron, or deputy sent to plead our cause.

Provence. John Palenc, ancients of Merindol; and John Bruneral, under-bailiff. After they had presented themselves with all due reverence, the councillor Durand spake thus unto them:

A. D. 1530 to 1547.

The Words of Durand to the Merindolians.

You are not ignorant, that by the arrest given out by the high court of Provence, you were all condemned to be burned, both men, women, and children; your houses also to be beaten down, and your town to be rased and made desolate, &c., as is more largely contained in the said arrest. Notwithstanding, it hath pleased the king, our most gracious prince, to send his letters unto the said court, commanding that the said arrest should not so vigorously proceed against you: but that if it could by sufficient information be proved, that you, or any of you, had swerved from the true religion, demonstration should be made thereof unto you by the word of God, whereby you might be reduced again to the flock of Christ. Wherefore it was determined in the said court of parliament that the bishop of Cavaillon, with a doctor of divinity, should in my presence declare unto you the errors and heresies wherewith they say you are infected; and after good demonstration made by the word of God, you should publicly and solemnly renounce and abjure the said heresies; and in so doing, should obtain the grace and pardon contained in the king's letters: wherefore show yourselves this day, that you be obedient unto God, the king, and the magistrates.

When he had thus spoken, "What answer you," said he, "to that which I have propounded?"

Then Andrew Maynard, the bailiff, desired that they would grant them an advocate to answer according to the instructions which they would give him, forasmuch as they were men unlearned, and knew not how to answer as in such a case was requisite. The councillor answered, that he would hear their answer neither by advocate nor by writing, but would hear them answer in their own persons: notwithstanding he would give them leave to go apart, and talk together, but not to ask any counsel, but only among themselves; and then to answer one after another. Upon this determination, the bailiff and the two syndics, with other two ancient men, talked together awhile, and determined that the two syndics should speak first, and after them the bailiff, then the two ancient men; every man according as God should give him grace: and by and by they presented themselves; whereat the councillor Durand was greatly abashed, to see that they had decreed and determined so speedily. Then Michelin Maynard began to answer, desiring the councillor and the bishop, with the other assistants, to pardon him, if he answered over rudely, having regard that they were poor, rude, and ignorant men. His answer here followeth.

The Answer of one of the Merindolians to Durand.

We are greatly bound to give God thanks, that besides his other benefits bestowed upon us, he hath now delivered us from these great assaults, and that it hath pleased him to touch the heart of our noble king, that our cause might be treated with justice, and not with violence. In like manner are we also bound to pray for our noble king, who, following the example of Samuel and Daniel, hath not disdained to look upon the cause of his poor subjects. Also we render thanks unto the lords of the parliament, in that it hath pleased them to minister justice according to the king's commandment. Finally, we thank you, my lord Durand, commissioner in this present cause, that it hath pleased you, in so few words, to declare unto us the manner and order how we ought to proceed. And for my part, I greatly desire to understand and know the heresies and

errors whereof I am accused; and where they shall make it appear unto me that I have holden any errors or heresies, I am contented to amend the same, as it shall be ordained and provided by you. *Provence.* A.D. 1530 to 1547.

After him answered Jenon Romaine, the other syndic, a very ancient father, approving all that which his fellow before had said, giving God thanks that in his time, even in his latter days, he had seen and heard such good news, that the cause of religion should be decided and debated by the holy Scriptures, and that he had often heard ancient men say, that they could never obtain of the judges, in all their persecution, to have their cause debated in such sort.

The bailiff of Merindol answereth.

Then Andrew Maynard the bailiff answered, saying, that God had given to these two syndics the grace to answer so well, that it was not necessary for him to say or add any more thereunto: notwithstanding it seemed good that their answers were put in writing, which was not done by the secretary, who had done nothing else but mock and jeer at all that had been said: wherefore he required the commissioner to look unto the matter.

Then the commissioner was very angry, and sharply rebuked his secretary, commanding him to sit nearer and to write their answers word for word; and he himself, with a singular memory, repeated their answers, and oftentimes asked if it were not so. The said answers being thus put in writing, the commissioner asked the bailiff if he had any more to answer, saying, that he had done him great pleasure to show him his secretary's fault, willing him to speak boldly, what he thought good for the defence of their cause. Then the bailiff said, "Forasmuch as it hath pleased you to give me audience and liberty to speak my mind freely, I say moreover, that it seemeth unto me, that there is no due form of process in this judgment; for there is no party here that doth accuse us. If we had an accuser present, who, according to the rule of the Scripture, either should prove by good demonstration out of the Old and New Testament that whereof we are accused, or, if he were not able, should suffer punishment due unto such as are heretics, I think he would be as greatly troubled to maintain his accusations, as we to answer unto the same."

The proceeding with the Merindolians not after the form of law.

John Palenc answereth.

After the bailiff had made this answer, John Palenc, one of the ancients of Merindol, said, that he approved all that had been said by the syndics, and that he was able to say no more than what had been said by them before. The commissioner said unto him: "You are, I see, a very ancient man, and you have not lived so long, but that you have something to answer for your part in defence of your cause." And the said Palenc answered, "Seeing it is your pleasure that I should say something, it seemeth unto me impossible that (say what we can) we should have either victory or advantage; for our judges be our enemies."

Then John Bruneral, under-bailiff of Merindol, answered thus:

The under-bailiff of Merindol answereth.

That he would very fain know the authority of the councillor Durand, the commissioner in this cause, forasmuch as the said councillor had given them to understand, that he had authority of the high court to make them abjure their errors, which should be found by good and sufficient information, and to give them (so doing) the pardon contained in the king's letters, and quit them of all punishment and condemnation. But the said commissioner did not give them to understand, that if it could not be found, by good and sufficient in-

Provence. formation, that they were in error, he had any power or authority to quit and absolve them of the said sentence and condemnation: wherefore it seemed that it should be more advantage for the said Merindolians, if it should appear that they were heretics, than to be found to live according to the doctrine of the gospel. For this cause he required, that it would please the said commissioner to make declaration thereof; concluding, that if it did not appear, by good and sufficient information against them, that they had swerved from the faith, or if there were no accuser that would come forth against them, they ought to be fully absolved, without being any more troubled, either in body or goods.

A. D. 1530 to 1547.

Durand required to show his commission.

These things were thus in debating from seven of the clock in the morning until eleven. Then the commissioner dismissed them till after dinner. At one o'clock in the afternoon, they were called for again, and demanded whether they would say any thing else touching that which was propounded in the morning by the said commissioner. They answered, "No." Then said the commissioner, "What do you conclude for your defence?" the two syndics answered, "We conclude, that it would please you to declare unto us the errors and heresies whereof we are accused." Then the commissioner asked the bishop of Cavaillon, what informations he had against them. The bishop spake unto him in his ear, and would not answer aloud. This talk in the ear continued almost half an hour, that the commissioner and all others that stood thereby, were weary thereof. In the end, the commissioner said unto them, that the bishop of Cavaillon had told him, that it was not needful to make it apparent by information, for such was the common report. Hereunto they answered, that they required that the causes and reasons alleged by the bishop of Cavaillon against them, should be put in writing. The bishop was earnest to the contrary, and would have nothing that either he said or alleged, to be put in writing. Then John Bruneral required the commissioner that at least he would put in writing, that the bishop would speak nothing against them that they could understand; and that he would not speak before the commissioner but only in his ear. The bishop, on the contrary part, insisted that he would not be named in the process. There was great disputation upon this matter, and it continued long.

The bailiff and syndics of Merindol appear the second time.

They that do the works of darkness, hate the light.

Then the commissioner asked the Merindolians if they had the articles of their Confession,[1] which they had presented to the high court of parliament. Then they required that their confession might be read, that by the reading thereof, they might understand whether it were the doctrine which they held, and the Confession which they had presented, or no. Then the Confession was read publicly before them, which they did allow and acknowledge to be theirs. This done, the commissioner asked the doctor, if he did find in the said confession any heretical opinions, whereof he could make demonstration by the word of God, either out of the Old or New Testament. Then spake the doctor in Latin a good while. After he had made an end, Andrew Maynard, the bailiff, desired the commissioner, according as he had propounded, to make the errors and heresies that they were accused of, apparent unto them by good information, or at least to mark those articles of their confession, which the bishop and the doctor pretended to be heretical; requiring him also to put in register the refusal as well of the bishop as of the doctor, of whom the one spake in his ear, and the other in Latin, so that they of

(1) What were the articles and doctrine of their Confession, read Sleid. lib. x.

Merindol could not understand one word. Then the commissioner promised them to put in writing all that should make for their cause. And moreover he said, that it was not needful to call the rest of the Merindolians, if there were no more to be said to them, than had been said to those who were already called. And this is the sum of all that was done in the afternoon. *Provence.* A.D. 1530 to 1547.

Many who came thither to hear these disputations, supposing they should have heard some goodly demonstrations, were greatly abashed to see the bishop and the doctor so confounded; which thing afterwards turned to the great benefit of many, for hereby they were moved to require copies of the confession of their faith, by means whereof they were converted and embraced the truth; and especially three doctors, who went about divers times to dissuade the Merindolians from their faith, whose ministry God afterwards used in the preaching of his gospel. One of them was Dr. Combaudi, prior of St. Maximin, afterwards a preacher in the territory of the lords of Bern: another was Dr. Somati, who was also a preacher in the Bailiwick of Tournon: the other was Dr. Heraudi, pastor and minister in the county of Neufchatel. The doctors converted by the Confession of the Merindolians.

After this, the inhabitants of Merindol were in rest and quietness for a space, insomuch that every man feared to go about to trouble them, seeing those who persecuted them did receive nothing but shame and confusion; as it did manifestly appear, not only by the sudden death of the president Chassanee, but also of many others of the chiefest councillors of the parliament of Provence; whose horrible end terrified many, but especially the strange and fearful example of that bloody tyrant John de Roma, set out as a spectacle to all persecutors; whereof we have spoken before. Sudden death of a persecutor.

Thus the Lord, repressing the rage of the adversaries for a time, stayed the violence and execution of that cruel sentence or arrest given out by the parliament of Provence against the Merindolians, until John Minerius, an exceeding bloody tyrant, began a new persecution. This Minerius, being lord of Opede near to Merindol, first began to vex the poor Christians by pilling and polling, by oppression and extortion, getting from them what he could to enlarge his seigniory or lordship, which before was very base. For this cause he put five or six of his own tenants into a cistern under ground, and closing it up, there he kept them till they died for hunger, pretending that they were Lutherans and Waldois, to have their goods and possessions. By this and such other practices, this wretch was advanced in short space to great wealth and dignity; and so at length became not only the chief president of the high court of parliament, but also the king's lieutenant-general in the country of Provence, in the absence of the lord Grignan, then being at the Council of Worms in Germany. Now therefore, seeing no opportunity to be lacking to accomplish his devilish enterprise, he employed all his power, riches, and authority, not only to confirm and to revive that cruel arrest given out before by the court of parliament, but also, as a right minister of Satan, he exceedingly increased the cruelty thereof, which was already so great, that it seemed there could nothing more be added thereunto. And to bring this mischief to pass, he forged a most impudent lie, giving the king to understand, that they of Merindol and all the Minerius a pestilent persecutor without all reason and measure. Six martyrs of Opede. Minerius made the king's lieutenant of Provence.

Provence. A. D. 1530 to 1547.

country near about, to the number of twelve or fifteen thousand, were in the field in armour, with their ensigns displayed, intending to take the town of Marseilles, and make it one of the cantons of the Switzers. And to stay this enterprise, he said it was necessary to execute the arrest 'manu militari:' and by this means he obtained the king's letters patent, through the help of the cardinal of Tournon, commanding the sentence to be executed against the Merindolians, notwithstanding the king had before revoked the said sentence, and given strait commandment that it should in no wise be executed; as is before-mentioned.

False accusations and crimes forged upon the innocent Christians.

The king abused by wicked counsel.

After this he gathered all the king's army, which was then in Provence ready to go against the Englishmen, and took up all besides, that were able to bear armour, in the chiefest towns of Provence, and joined them with the army which the pope's legate had levied for that purpose in Avignon, and all the country of Venice, and employed the same to the destruction of Merindol, Cabriers, and other towns and villages to the number of two and twenty, giving commission to his soldiers to spoil, ransack, burn, and to destroy all together, and to kill man, woman, and child without all mercy, sparing none: no otherwise than the infidels and cruel Turks have dealt with the Christians, as before in the story of the Turks you may read. For as the papists and Turks are alike in their religion; so are the said papists like, or rather exceed them in all kinds of cruelty that can be devised. But this arch-tyrant, before he came to Merindol, ransacked and burnt certain towns, namely La Roche, St. Stephens, Ville Laure, Lormarin, La Motte, Cabriers, St. Martin, Pipin, and other places besides, notwithstanding that the arrest extended only to Merindol, where most of the poor inhabitants were slain and murdered without any resistance; women and maidens ravished; women with child, and little infants born and to be born, were also most cruelly murdered; the paps of many women cut off, who gave suck to their children, who, looking for suck at their mother's breast, being dead before, died also for hunger. There was never such cruelty and tyranny seen before.

Eight towns with the most part of the people destroyed for true religion; with horrible cruelty.

The Merindolians, seeing all on a flaming fire round about them, left their houses, and fled into the woods, and remained all that night at the village Sanfales, and thereabouts, in wonderful fear and perplexity; for the bishop of Cavaillon, deputy to the bishop of Rome's legate, had appointed certain captains to go and slay them. The next day they went a little further, hiding themselves in woods, for there was danger on every side; and Minerius had commanded, under pain of death, that no man should aid them by any means, but that they should be slain without pity or mercy, wheresoever they were found. The same proclamation was of force also in the bishop of Rome's dominions thereby; and it was said, that the bishops of that country did find a great part of the army. Wherefore they went a tedious and painful journey, carrying their children upon their shoulders, and in their arms, and in their swaddling-clothes; and many of them also being great with child, were constrained so to do. And when they were come to the place appointed, thither were already resorted a great number who had lost their goods, and saved themselves by flight.

Not long after it was showed them how that Minerius was coming with all his power to give the charge upon them. This was in the evening, and because they should go through rough and cumbersome places, and hard to pass by, they all thought it most expedient for their safeguard, to leave behind them all the women and children, with a few others, and among them also certain ministers of the church: the residue were appointed to go to the town of Muzi. And this did they, upon hope that the enemy would show mercy to the multitude of women and children being destitute of all succour. No tongue can express what sorrow, what tears, what sighing, what lamentation there was at that woeful departing, when they were compelled to be thus separated asunder, the husband from his dear wife, the father from his sweet babes and tender infants, the one never like to see the other again alive. Notwithstanding, after the ministers had ended their ordinary sermons, with evening-prayers and exhortations, the men departed that night, to avoid a greater inconvenience.

Provence. A.D. 1530 to 1547.

Lamentable separation of the Merindolians from their wives and children.

When they had gone all the night long, and had passed over the great hill of Libron, they might see many villages and farms set on fire. Minerius, in the mean time, had divided his army into two parts, marching himself with the one towards the town of Merindol; and having knowledge by espial whither the Merindolians were fled, he sendeth the other part to set upon them, and to show their accustomed cruelty upon them. Yet before they came to the place where they were, some of Minerius' army, either of good will, or moved with pity, privily conveyed themselves away, and came unto them, to give them warning that their enemies were coming: and one of them, from the top of a high rock, where he thought that the Merindolians were underneath, cast down two stones, and afterwards, although he could not see them, he called unto them that they should immediately fly from thence. But the enemies suddenly came upon them, and finding them all assembled together at prayers, spoiled them of all that they had, pulling off their garments from their backs: some they abused, some they whipped and scourged, and some they sold away like cattle, practising what cruelty and villany soever they could devise against them. The women were in number about five hundred.

The Merindolians overtaken.

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In the mean time Minerius came to Merindol, where he found none but a young man named Maurice Blanc, who had yielded himself unto a soldier, promising him for his ransom two French crowns. Minerius would have had him away by force, but it was answered that the soldier ought not to lose his prisoner. Minerius therefore, paying the two crowns himself, took the young man, and caused him to be tied unto an olive-tree, and shot through with harquebusses, and most cruelly martyred. Many gentlemen who accompanied Minerius against their wills, seeing this cruel spectacle, were moved with great compassion, and could not forbear tears; for albeit this young man was not yet very well instructed, neither had before dwelt at Merindol, yet in all his torments, having always his eyes lifted up to heaven, with a loud voice he ceased not still to call upon God; and the last words that he spake were these: "Lord God! these men take away my life full of misery, but thou wilt give unto me life

Vile cruelty showed upon a young Merindolian.

Provence. A.D. 1530 to 1547.

everlasting by thy Son Jesus Christ, to whom be glory." So was Merindol, without any resistance, valiantly taken, ransacked, burned, rased, and laid even with the ground. And albeit there was no man to resist, yet this valiant captain of Opede, armed from top to toe, trembled for fear, and was seen to change his colour very much.

Merindol destroyed by the papists.

When he had destroyed Merindol, he laid siege to Cabriers, and battered it with his ordnance; but when he could not win it by force, he, with the lord of the town, and Poulin his chief captain,

Cabriers falsely taken.

persuaded the inhabitants to open their gates, solemnly promising, that if they would so do, they would lay down their armour, and also that their cause should be heard in judgment with all equity and justice, and no violence or injury should be showed against them. Upon this they opened their gates, and let in Minerius, with his captains, and all his army. But the tyrant, when he was once entered, falsified his promise, and raged like a beast.[1] For first of

Thirty men martyrs.

all he picked out about thirty men, causing them to be bound, and carried into a meadow near to the town, and there to be miserably cut and hewn in pieces by his soldiers.

Then, because he would leave no kind of cruelty unattempted, he also exercised his fury and outrage upon poor silly women, and

Forty women martyrs.

caused forty of them to be taken, of whom divers were great with child, and put them into a barn full of straw and hay, and caused it to be set on fire at four corners; and when the silly women, running to the great window where the hay is wont to be cast into the barn, would have leaped out, they were kept in with pikes and halberds. Then there was a soldier, who moved with pity at the crying out and lamentation of the women, opened a door to let them

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Cruelty Neronical, or rather fury diabolical.

out; but as they were coming out, the tyrant caused them to be slain and cut in pieces, and the children yet unborn they trod under their feet. Many were fled into the wine-cellar of the castle, and many hid themselves in caves, whereof some were carried into the meadow, and there, stripped naked, were slain: others were bound two and two together, and carried into the hall of the castle, where they were slain by the captains, rejoicing in their bloody butchery and horrible slaughter.

That done, this tyrant, more cruel than ever was Herod, commanded Captain John de Gay, with a band of ruffians, to go into the church (where was a great number of women, children, and young infants) to kill all that he found there; which the captain refused at first to do, saying, that were a cruelty unused among men of war: whereat Minerius being displeased, charged him, upon pain of rebellion and disobedience to the king, to do as he commanded him. The captain, fearing what might ensue, entered with his men, and destroyed them all, sparing neither young nor old.

In the meanwhile certain soldiers went to ransack the houses for the spoil, where they found many poor men that had there hidden themselves in cellars, and other privy places, flying upon them, and crying out, "Kill! kill!" The other soldiers that were without the town, killed all that they could meet with. The number of those that were so unmercifully murdered, was about a thousand persons, men,

(1) Oaths and promises are broken by the papists.

women, and children. The infants that escaped their fury, were baptized again by their enemies. *Provence.*

A. D. 1530 to 1547.

In token of this jolly victory, the pope's officers caused a pillar to be erected in the said place of Cabriers, on the which was engraven the year and the day of the taking and sacking of this town, by John Minerius, lord of Opede, and chief president of the parliament of Provence; for a memorial for ever of that barbarous cruelty, the like whereof was never yet heard of. Hereupon we, with all our posterity, have to understand what be the reasons and arguments wherewith the Antichrist of Rome is wont to uphold the impious seat of his abomination; who now is come to such excess and profundity of all kinds of iniquity, that all justice, equity, and verity being set aside, he seeketh the defence of his cause by no other thing but only by force and violence, terror and oppression, and shedding of blood.

Above a thousand martyrs of Cabriers.

The arguments whereupon the doctrine of the pope's church standeth.

In the meanwhile the inhabitants of Merindol, and other places thereabout, were among the mountains and rocks, in great necessity of victuals, and much affliction; who had procured certain men who were in some favour and authority with Minerius, to make request for them unto him, that they might depart safely whither it should please God to lead them, with their wives and children, although they had no more but their shirts to cover them. Whereunto Minerius made this answer: "I know what I have to do; not one of them shall escape my hands; I will send them to dwell in hell among the devils." [1]

After this there was a power sent unto Costua, which likewise they overcame, and committed there great slaughter. Many of the inhabitants fled away, and ran into an orchard, where the soldiers vilely ill-used the women and maidens; and when they had kept them there inclosed a day and a night, they handled them so cruelly, that some of the women with child, and maidens, died shortly after. It were impossible to comprehend all the lamentable and sorrowful examples of this cruel persecution against the Merindolians, and their fellows, insomuch that no kind of cruel tyranny was unpractised; for they that escaped by woods, and went wandering by mountains, were taken and set in galleys, or else were slain outright.

The town of Costua destroyed

Martyrs of Costua.

Many who did hide themselves in rocks and dark caves, some were famished with hunger, some were smothered with fire and smoke put unto them: all which may more fully be understood by the records of the court, and by the pleas between them and their adversaries in the high consistory of the court of Paris, where all the doors being set open, and in the public hearing of the people, the cause of this trouble and persecution was shortly after solemnly debated between two great lawyers; the one called Aubrius, who accused Minerius the president committed to prison; and the other called Robert, the defendant who was against him. The cause why this matter of Merindol was brought in plea and judgment to be decided by the law was this:

When the Merindolians were slain, their cause was pleaded.

Henry II., French king, who newly succeeded Francis his father above-mentioned, considering how this cruel and infamous persecution against his own subjects and people was greatly misliked of other princes, and also objected both against him and his father as a note of shameful tyranny, by the emperor himself, Charles V., and that in the public council of all the states in Germany, for so murdering

The French king's noted tyranny by the emperor Charles V.

(1) Antichrist, here playeth the devil.

Provence. and spoiling his own natural subjects, without all reason and mercy; he therefore, to the intent to purge and clear himself thereof, caused the said matter to be brought into the court, and there to be decided by order of justice. A. D. 1547.

A. D. 1530 to 1547.

This cause, after it was pleaded to and fro in public audience, no less than fifty times, and yet in the end could not be determined, so brake off and was passed over; and at length Minerius, being loosed out of prison, was restored to his liberty and possessions again, upon this condition and promise made unto the cardinal Charles of Lorraine, that he should banish and expel these new Christians (terming so the true professors of the gospel) out of all Provence.

The cause of the Merindolians after their death pleaded fifty times.

Thus Minerius being restored, returned again into Provence, where he began again to attempt greater tyranny than before. Neither did his raging fury cease to proceed, before the just judgment of God, lighting upon him, brought him by a horrible disease unto the torments of death, which he most justly had deserved. For he, being struck with a strange kind of bleeding in manner of a bloody flux, and not being able to obtain other relief, thus by little and little his entrails within him rotted: and when no remedy could be found for this terrible disease, and his entrails now began to be eaten of worms, a certain famous surgeon, named La Motte, who dwelt at Arles, a man no less godly than expert in his science, was called for, who, after he had cured him of this difficulty of relieving himself, and therefore was in great estimation with him; before he would proceed further to search the other parts of his putrefied body, and to search out the inward cause of his malady, he desired that they that were present in the chamber with Minerius, would depart a little aside. This being done, he began to exhort Minerius with earnest words, saying, how the time now required that he should ask forgiveness of God by Christ, for his enormous crimes and cruelty, in shedding so much innocent blood; and declared the same to be the cause of this so strange profusion of blood coming from him.

Just stroke of God upon cruel Minerius.

Good counsel given to Minerius his surgeon.

These words being heard, so pierced the impure conscience of this miserable wretch, that he was therewith more troubled than with the agony of his disease; insomuch that he cried out to lay hand upon the surgeon as a heretic. La Motte hearing this, eftsoons conveyed himself out of sight, and returned again to Arles. Notwithstanding it was not long but he was sent for again, being entreated by his friends, and promised most firmly, that his coming should be without any peril or danger: and so with much ado, he returned again to Minerius, what time all now was past remedy. And so Minerius, raging and casting out most horrible and blaspheming words, and feeling a fire which burnt him from the navel upwards, with extreme stench of the lower parts, finished his wretched life. Whereby we have notoriously to understand, that God, through his mighty arm, at length confoundeth such persecutors of his innocent and faithful servants, and bringeth them to nought; to whom be praise and glory for ever!

He seeketh the blood of his surgeon.

The wretched end of wretched Minerius.

Moreover, besides this justice of God showed upon Minerius, here also is not to be forgotten that which followed likewise upon certain of the others who were the chief doers in this persecution under Minerius aforesaid; namely, Louis de Vaine, brother-in-law to the said

president, and also the brother and the son-in-law to Peter Durant, master-butcher in the town of Aix; which three did slay one another, upon a certain strife that fell among them. And upon the same day the judge of Aix, who accompanied Minerius in the same persecution, as he returned homeward, going over the river Durance, was drowned.[1] *Provence.* A. D. 1530 to 1547.

NOTES UPON THE HISTORY OF MERINDOL, ABOVE RECITED.

Just plague of God upon three persecutors.

Thus hast thou heard, loving reader! the terrible troubles and slaughters committed by the bishops and cardinals, against these faithful men of Merindol, which, for the heinous tyranny, and for example of the fact most unmerciful, may be comparable with many of the first persecutions in the primitive church, done either by Decius, or Diocletian.

The gospellers of Merandola came first of the Waldenses.

Now, touching the said story and people of Merindol, briefly by the way is to be noted, that this was not the first time that these men of this country were vexed; neither was it of late years that the doctrine and profession of them began. For (as by the course of time, and by ancient records it may appear) these inhabitants of Provence, and other coasts bordering about the confines of France and Piedmont, had their continuance of ancient time, and received their doctrine first from the Waldenses, or Albigenses, who were (as some say) about A. D. 1170; or (as others do reckon) about A.D. 1216, whereof thou hast, gentle reader! sufficiently to understand, reading before.[2]

Waldenses, how and of whom they first began.

These Waldenses, otherwise called Pauperes de Lugduno, beginning of one Peter Waldo, citizen of Lyons, as is before showed, by violence of persecution being driven out of Lyons, were dispersed abroad in divers countries, of whom some fled to Marseilles, some to Germany, some to Sarmatia, Livonia, Bohemia, Calabria, and Apulia. Divers strayed to the countries of France, especially about Provence and Piedmont, of whom came these Merindolians above-mentioned, and the Angrognians, with others, of whom now it followeth likewise (God willing) to discourse. They that were in the country of Toulouse, of the place where they frequented, were called Albii, or Albigenses. Against these Albigenses, friar Dominic was a great doer, labouring and preaching against them ten years together; and caused many of them to be burned, for which he was highly accepted and rewarded in the apostolical court, and at length, by pope Honorius III., was made patriarch of the black guard of the Dominic Friars.[3]

Dominic patriarch of the Black Friars, an enemy to the Waldenses.

These Albigenses, against the pope of Rome, had set up to themselves a bishop of their own, named Bartholomæus, remaining about the coasts of Croatia and Dalmatia, as appeareth by a letter of one of the pope's cardinals above specified.[4] For this cause the see of Rome took great indignation against the said Albigenses, and caused all their faithful catholics, and the obedientiaries to their church, to rise up in armour, and to take the sign of the holy cross upon them, to fight against them, A. D. 1206; by reason whereof great multitudes of them were pitifully murdered, not only of them about Toulouse and Avignon in France (as is afore to be seen), but also in all quarters, miserable slaughters and burnings of them long continued,

(1) Ex Hist. Gallica. Pantal. et aliis.
(2) See vol. ii. p. 64.—Ed.
(3) Ex Antonino, part iii. titul. 19. capitulo 1.
(4) See vol. ii. p. 356 in the note.—Ed.

Provence. from the reign of Frederic II., emperor, almost to this present time, through the instigation of the Roman popes.

A. D 1530 to 1547.

Paulus Æmilius, the French chronicler, in his sixth book, writing of these Pauperes de Lugduno, and Humiliati, and dividing these two orders from the Albigenses, reporteth that the two former orders were rejected by the pope Lucius III., and in their place two other orders were approved, to wit, the order of the Dominic Friars, and that of the Franciscans: which seemeth not to be true, forasmuch as this pope Lucius was twenty years before Innocent III.; and yet not in the time of pope Innocent was the order of the Dominic Friars approved, but in the time of pope Honorius III., who was forty years after pope Lucius. Again, Bernard of Lutzenberg, in his Catalogus Hæreticorum, affirmeth, that these Pauperes de Lugduno, or Waldenses, began first A.D. 1218; which if it be true, then must the other report of Æmilius be false, writing that the sect of Pauperes de Lugduno, was refused by pope Lucius III., who was long before this, A.D. 1181.

Amongst other authors who write of those Waldenses, John Sleidan,[1] treating of their continuance and doctrine, thus writeth of them. "There be," saith he, "in the French province, a people called Waldois. These, of an ancient trade and custom among them, do not acknowledge the bishop of Rome, and ever have used a manner of doctrine somewhat more pure than the rest; but especially since the coming of Luther, they have increased in more knowledge and perfection of judgment: wherefore they have been oftentimes complained of to the king, as though they contemned the magistrate, and would move rebellion, with other such matter falsely surmised against them, more of despite and malice, than of any just cause of truth. There be of them certain towns and villages, among which Merindol is one. Against these Merindolians sentence was given five years past, at Aix, being the high tribunal-seat or judgment-place of Provence, that all should be destroyed without respect of age or person, in such sort as that the houses being plucked down, the village should be made plain, even with the ground; the trees also should be cut down, and the place altogether made desolate and desert. Albeit, though it were thus pronounced, yet was it not then put in execution, by means of certain that persuaded the king to the contrary, namely, one William Belay, who was at the same time the king's lieutenant in Piedmont. But at last, on the 12th of April, A.D. 1545, John Minerius, president of the council of Aix, calling the senate, read the king's letters, commanding them to execute the sentence given, &c.[2]

Moreover, concerning the confession and the doctrine of the said Merindolians, received of ancient time from their forefathers the Waldenses, thus it followeth in the said book and place of John Sleidan.

At last, saith Sledian (after he had described what great cruelty was showed against them) when the report thereof was bruited in Germany, it offended the minds of many; and indeed the Switzers, who were then of a contrary religion

(1) See the story of Sleidan, lib. xvi.

(2) This Confession, worthy of perpetual memory, you shall see more largely set out in Henry Pantaleon, writing of the destruction of Cabriers and Merindol, and also in the French story of Johan. Sleid. lib. xvi.

to the pope, entreated the king, that he would show mercy to such as were fled. *Piedmont.*

A.D. 1555 to 1561.

Whereunto the said king Francis made answer in this wise; pretending that he had just cause to do as he did: inferring moreover, that they ought not to be careful what he did within his dominions, or how he punished his offenders, more than he was about their affairs, &c. Thus hard was the king against them, notwithstanding (saith Sleidan), that he, the year before, had received from the said his subjects of Merindol, a confession of their faith and doctrine.

The confession and faith of the Waldenses in Merindol.

The articles thereof were, that they, according to the christian faith, confessed first, God the Father, creator of all things: the Son, the only mediator and advocate of mankind: the Holy Spirit, the comforter and instructor of all truth.

They confessed also the church, which they acknowledged to be the fellowship of God's elect, whereof Jesus Christ is head. The ministers also of the church they did allow, wishing that such as did not their duty should be removed.

And as touching magistrates, they granted likewise the same to be ordained of God to defend the good, and to punish the transgressors. And how they owe to him, not love only, but also tribute and custom, and no man herein to be excepted, even by the example of Christ, who paid tribute himself, &c.

Likewise of baptism, they confessed the same to be a visible and an outward sign, that representeth to us the renewing of the spirit, and mortification of the members.

Furthermore, as touching the Lord's supper, they said and confessed the same to be a thanksgiving, and a memorial of the benefit received through Christ.

Matrimony they affirmed to be holy; and instituted of God, and to be inhibited to no man.

That good works are to be observed and exercised of all men, as holy Scripture teacheth.

That false doctrine, which leadeth men away from the true worship of God, ought to be eschewed.

Briefly and finally, the order and rule of their faith they confessed to be the Old and New Testament; protesting that they believed all such things as are contained in the apostolic creed: desiring moreover the king to give credit to this their declaration of their faith; so that whatsoever was informed to him to the contrary, was not true, and that they would well prove, if they might be heard.

And thus much concerning the doctrine and confession of the Merindolians out of Sleidan, and also concerning their descent and offspring from the Waldenses.

The History of the Persecutions and Wars against the People called Waldenses or Waldois,

IN THE VALLEYS OF ANGROGNE, LUCERNE, ST. MARTIN, PEROUSE AND OTHERS, IN THE COUNTRY OF PIEDMONT, FROM A.D. 1555, to A.D. 1561.

The Martyrs of the Valley of Angrogne, the Martyrs of the Valley of Lucerne, the Martyrs of St. Martin, the Martyrs of Perouse and others. Persecuted by the Parliament of Turin; the President of St. Julian; Jacomel, a Monk and Inquisitor; Monsieur de la Trinity; the Gentlemen of the Valleys; Charles Truchet, Boniface Truchet; the Collateral of Corbis; the Collateral de Ecclesia; the Duke of Savoy; Monks of Pignerol; and by many others more, Enemies of God, and Ministers of Satan.

To proceed now further in the persecution of these Waldois, or Waldenses, you have heard hitherto, first how they, dividing themselves into divers countries, some fled to Provence and to Toulouse,

Piedmont. of whom sufficient hath been said. Some went to Piedmont, and the valley of Angrogne, of whom it followeth now to treat, God willing.

A. D. 1555 to 1561.

Thus these good men, by long persecution, being driven from place to place, were grievously in all places afflicted, but yet could never be utterly destroyed, nor yet compelled to yield to the superstitious and false religion of the church of Rome: but ever abstained from their corruption and idolatry, as much as was possible, and gave themselves to the word of God, as a rule both truly to serve him, and to direct their lives accordingly.

They had many books of the Old and New Testament translated into their language. Their ministers instructed them secretly, to avoid the fury of their enemies who could not abide the light; albeit they did not instruct them with such purity as was requisite. They lived in great simplicity, and with the sweat of their brows. They were quiet and peaceable among their neighbours, abstaining from blasphemy, and from profaning of the name of God by oaths, and such other impiety; also from lewd games, dancing, filthy songs, and other vices and dissolute life, and conformed their life wholly to the rule of God's word. Their principal care was always, that God might be rightly served, and his word truly preached; insomuch that in our time, when it pleased God to set forth the light of his gospel more clearly, they never spared any thing to establish the true and pure ministry of the word of God and his sacraments. This was the cause that Satan with his ministers did so persecute them of late more cruelly than ever he did before, as manifestly appeareth by the bloody and horrible persecutions which have been, not only in Provence, against those of Merindol and Cabriers; also against them of Prague and Calabria (as the histories afore written do sufficiently declare), but also against them in the country of Piedmont, remaining in the valley of Angrogne, and of Lucerne, and also in the valley of St. Martin and Perouse, in the said country of Piedmont. This people of a long time were persecuted by the papists, and especially within these few years they have been vexed in such sort, and so diversely, that it seemeth almost incredible: and yet hath God always miraculously delivered them, as hereafter shall ensue.

Albeit the people of Angrogne had before this time certain to preach the word of God, and minister the sacraments unto them privately; yet in the year of our Lord 1555, in the beginning of the month of August, the gospel was openly preached in Angrogne. The ministers and the people intended at first, to keep themselves still as secret as they might; but there was such concourse of people from all parts, that they were compelled to preach openly abroad. For this cause they built them a church in the midst of Angrogne, where assemblies were made, and sermons preached. It happened about that time, that one John Martin, of Briqueras, a mile from Angrogne, who vaunted every where, that he would slit the minister's nose of Angrogne, was assaulted by a wolf which bit off his nose, so that he died thereof mad. This was commonly known to all the towns thereabout.

The just hand of God upon John Martin, a persecutor.

At this season the French king held these aforesaid valleys, and they were under the jurisdiction of the parliament of Turin. At

the end of the December following, news was brought, that it was ordained by the said parliament, that certain horsemen and footmen should be sent to spoil and destroy Angrogne. Hereupon some who pretended great friendship to this people, counselled them not to go forward with their enterprise, but to forbear for a while, and to wait for better opportunity. But they, notwithstanding, calling upon God, determined with one accord constantly to persist in their religion, and in hope and silence to abide the good pleasure of God: so that this enterprise against Angrogne was soon dashed. The same time they began also openly to preach in Lucerne. *Piedmont.* A. D. 1555 to 1561.

In the month of March, A.D. 1556, the ministers of the valley of St. Martin preached openly. At that time certain gentlemen of the valley of St. Martin took a good man named Bartholomew, a bookbinder, prisoner, as he passed by the said valley, who was sent by and by to Turin; and there, with a marvellous constancy, after he had made a good confession of his faith, he suffered death; insomuch that divers of the parliament were astonished and appalled at his constancy. Yet they of the said parliament, being sore incensed against the Waldois, sent one, named the president of St. Julian, associating unto him one called De Ecclesia and others, to hinder their enterprise. These coming first to the valley of Perouse, where as yet no preachers were, but they were accustomed to resort to the sermons of Angrogne, very much troubled and feared the poor people there. Bartholomew, a bookbinder, martyr. The president of St. Julian and others, sent to the Angrognians.

From thence they went to the valley of St. Martin, and remained there a good while, tormenting the poor people, and threatening their utter ruin and destruction. After that they came to Lucerne, troubling and vexing the people there in like manner. From thence they went to Angrogne, accompanied by many gentlemen, and a great rabble of priests of the said country: but by the way, the president inquired for one dwelling at St. Jean, near to Angrogne, and examined him, whether he had not baptized his child at Angrogne, and wherefore he had so done? The poor simple man answered, that he had baptized his child at Angrogne, because baptism was there administered according to the institution of Christ. Then the president, in a great rage, commanded him in the king's name to baptize his child again, or else he should be burnt.[1] The poor man desired the president that he might be suffered to make his prayer to God, before he should make answer thereunto: which after he had done in the hall, before all the company there present, he required the president that he would write, and sign the same with his own hand, that he would discharge him before God, of the danger of that offence, if he should baptize his child again, and that he would take the peril upon him and his. The president, hearing this, was so confounded, that he spake not one word a good while after. Then said he, in a great fury, "Away, thou villain! out of my sight:" and after that he was never called again any more. Example of good prayer. The president confounded at the poor man's answer.

After they were come to Angrogne, the president, having visited the two temples, caused a monk to preach in the one, the people being there assembled; who pretended nothing else, but only to exhort them to return to the obedience of the see of Rome. The monk, with the president, and all his whole retinue, kneeled down

(1) Note here how the papists play the Anabaptists.

Piedmont. A.D. 1555 to 1561.

twice, and called upon the Virgin Mary; but the ministers and all the people stood still, and would not kneel, making no sign or token of reverence. As soon as the monk had ended his sermon, the people requested instantly, that their minister might also be suffered to preach, affirming that the said monk had spoken many things which were not according to the word of God: but the president would not grant their request. After that, the said president admonished them, in the name of the king and the parliament of Turin, that they should return to the obedience of the pope, upon pain of loss of goods and life, and utter destruction of their town. And withal he recited unto them the piteous discomfiture of their brethren and friends, which had been done before in Merindol and Cabriers, and other places in the country of Provence. The ministers and the people answered, that they were determined to live according to the word of God, and that they would obey the king and all their superiors in all things, so that God thereby were not displeased: and furthermore, if it were showed unto them by the word of God, that they erred in any point of religion, they were ready to receive correction, and to be reformed. This talk endured about six hours together, even until night. In the end, the president said there should be a disputation appointed for those matters, whereunto the people gladly agreed; but, after that, there was no more mention made thereof.

The people would not kneel to pray to our Lady.

The people of Angrogne threatened with destruction.

They desire to be tried by the word of God.

Here he remained fourteen days, daily practising new devices to vex and torment them with new proclamations, now calling to him the syndics and head officers,[1] now severally, and now altogether, that so, for fear, he might make them relent: causing also assemblies to be made in every parish by such as he appointed, thinking thereby to divide the people. Notwithstanding he nothing prevailed with all that he could do; but still they continued constant: insomuch that, with one accord, they presented a brief confession of their faith, with an answer to certain interrogatories made by the president, in which they confessed as followeth:

Substance of the Articles and Confession of the Angrognians, exhibited to the President.

That the religion wherein both they and their elders had been long instructed and brought up, was the same which is contained both in the Old and New Testament, which is also briefly comprised in the twelve articles of the christian belief.

Also, that they acknowledged the sacraments instituted by Christ, whereby he distributeth abundantly his graces and great benefits, his heavenly riches and treasures to all those who receive the same with a true and lively faith.

Furthermore, that they received the creeds of the four general councils; that is to say, of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon, and also the creed of Athanasius, wherein the mystery of the christian faith and religion is plainly and largely set out.

Item, The ten commandments expressed in Exodus xx., and Deuteronomy v., in which the rule of a godly and holy life, and also the true service which God requireth of us, are briefly comprised: and therefore, following this article, they suffered not by any means (said they) any gross iniquities to reign among them; as unlawful swearing, perjury, blasphemy, cursing, slandering, dissension, deceit, wrong dealing, usury, gluttony, drunkenness, whoredom, theft, murder,

(1) The 'syndics' were as sheriffs, councillors, or advocates.

sorcery, witchcraft, or such like; but wholly endeavoured themselves to live in the fear of God, and according to his holy will. *Piedmont.*

Moreover they acknowledged the superior powers, as princes and magistrates, to be ordained of God; and that whosoever resisteth the same, resisteth the ordinance of God; and therefore humbly submitted themselves to their superiors with all obedience, so that they commanded nothing against God. A. D. 1555 to 1561.

Finally, they protested, that they would in no point be stubborn, but if that their forefathers or they had erred in any one jot concerning true religion, the same being proved by the word of God, they would willingly yield and be reformed.

Their Interrogatories.

Their interrogatories were concerning the mass, auricular confession, baptism, marriage, and burials, according to the institution of the church of Rome.

Their Answers to the Interrogatories.

To the first they answered, that they received the Lord's supper, as it was by him instituted, and celebrated by his apostles; but as touching the mass, except the same might be proved by the word of God, they would not receive it. Mass.

To the second, touching auricular confession, they said, that for their part they confessed themselves daily unto God, acknowledging themselves before him to be miserable sinners, desiring of him pardon and forgiveness of their sins, as Christ instructed his, in the prayer which he taught them; 'Lord! forgive us our sins.' And as St. John saith; 'If we confess our sins to God, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness.'[1] And according to that which God himself saith by his prophet; 'O Israel! if thou return, return unto me.'[2] And again, 'O Israel! it is I, it is I which forgiveth thee thy sins.'[3] So that, seeing they ought to return to God alone, and it is he only who forgiveth sins, therefore they were bound to confess themselves to God only, and to no other. Also it appeareth, that David, in his Psalms, and the prophets, and other faithful servants of God, have confessed themselves both generally and particularly unto God alone: yet if the contrary might be proved by the word of God, they would (said they) with all humbleness receive the same. Auricular confession.

Thirdly, As touching baptism, they acknowledged and received that holy institution of Christ, and administered the same with all simplicity, as he ordained it in his holy gospel, without any changing, adding, or diminishing in any point; and that all this they did in their mother-tongue, according to the rule of St. Paul, who willeth that in the church every thing be done in the mother-tongue, for the edification of our neighbour:[4] but as for their conjurations, oiling, and salting, except the same might be proved by the sacred Scripture, they would not receive them. Baptism.

Fourthly, As touching burials they answered, that they knew there was a difference between the bodies of the true Christians and the infidels, forasmuch as the first are the members of Jesus Christ, temples of the Holy Ghost, and partakers of the glorious resurrection of the dead; and therefore they were accustomed to follow their dead to the grave reverently, with a sufficient company, and exhortation out of the word of God; as well to comfort the parents and friends of the dead, as also to admonish all men diligently to prepare themselves to die. But as for the using of candles or lights, prayers for the dead, and ringing of bells, except the same might be proved to be necessary by the word of God, and that God is not offended therewith, they would not receive them. The manner of burials.

Fifthly, As touching obedience to men's traditions, they received and allowed all those ordinances which (as St. Paul saith) serve for order, decency, and reverence of the ministry. But as for other ceremonies which have been brought into the church of God, either as a part of his divine service, or to merit remission of sins, or else to bind men's consciences, because they are repugnant to the word of God, they could by no means receive them. Obedience to men's traditions.

And whereas the commissioners affirmed the said traditions to have been ordained by councils: first they answered, that the greatest part of them were not ordained by councils: secondly, that councils were not to be preferred above the word of God, which saith, 'If any man, yea or angel from heaven, Councils not to be preferred before God's word.

(1) 1 John i. (2) Jer. i. (3) Isa. xliii. (4) 1 Cor. xiv.

Piedmont. A. D. 1555 to 1561.

should preach unto you otherwise than that which hath been received of the Lord Jesus, let him be accursed.'[1] And therefore (said they) if councils have ordained any thing dissenting from the word of God, they would not receive it.

Finally they said, that the councils had made divers notable decrees concerning the election of bishops and ministers of the church; concerning ecclesiastical discipline, as well of the clergy as of the people; also concerning the distribution of the goods and possessions of the church; and further that all pastors who were either whoremongers, drunkards, or offensive in any case, should be put from their office. Moreover, that whosoever should be present at the mass of a priest who was a whoremonger, should be excommunicated: and many other such things, which were not in any point observed. And that they omitted to speak of many other things which were ordained by divers councils, very superstitious, and contrary to the holy commandments of God, as they would be ready to prove (said they) if they should have occasion and opportunity thereunto.

Councils not kept by the papists in many points.

Wherefore they required the commissioners, that a disputation might be had (as by the said president was pretended) publicly, and in their presence; and then, if it might be proved by the word of God, that they erred either in doctrine, or in conversation and manner of living, they were content with all humbleness to be corrected and reformed, as they had before said: beseeching them to consider also that their religion had been observed and kept from their ancestors, until their time, many hundred years together: and yet, for their parts, being convicted by the infallible word of God, they would not obstinately stand to the defence thereof: saying moreover, that they, together with the said lords deputies, all confessed one God, one Saviour, one Holy Ghost, one law, one baptism, one hope in heaven; and in sum, they affirmed that their faith and religion were firmly founded and grounded upon the pure word of God: wherefore it is said, that blessed are they which hear the same, and keep it.

Disputation required.

For the antiquity of these Waldois, see before.

To be short, seeing it is permitted to the Turks, Saracens, and Jews (who are mortal enemies to our Saviour Christ), to dwell peaceably in the fairest cities of Christendom; by good reason they should be suffered to live in the desolate mountains and valleys, having their whole religion founded upon the holy gospel, and worshipping the Lord Jesus; and therefore they most humbly besought them to have pity and compassion upon them, and to suffer them to live quietly in their deserts; protesting that they and theirs would live in all fear and reverence of God, with all due subjection and obedience to their lord and prince, and to his lieutenants and officers.

Turks and Jews find more favour with the papists than true Christians.

The president, and the rest of the commissioners, perceiving that they laboured in vain, returned to Turin with the notes of their proceedings; which immediately were sent unto the king's court, and there the matter remained one year before there was any answer made thereunto. During that time the Waldois lived in great quietness, as God of his infinite goodness is wont to give some comfort and refreshing to his poor servants, after long troubles and afflictions. The number of the faithful so augmented, that throughout the valleys God's word was purely preached, and his sacraments duly administered, and no mass was sung in Angrogne, nor in divers other places. The year after, the president of St. Julian, with his associates, returned to Pignerol, and sent for thither the chief rulers of Angrogne, and of the valley of Lucerne, that is, for six of Angrogne, and for two of every parish besides, and showed unto them, how that the last year they had presented their Confession, which, by a decree made by the parliament of Turin, was sent to the king's court, and there diligently examined by learned men, and condemned as heretical. Therefore the king willed and commanded them to return to the obedience of the church of Rome, upon pain

Breathing time given of God to the Angrognians.

Again persecuted.

(1) Gal. i.

of loss both of goods and life: enjoining them, moreover, to give him a direct answer within three days. From thence he went to Lucerne, and caused the householders, with great threatenings, to assemble themselves before certain by him appointed: but they, with one assent, persisted in their former confession; and lest they should seem stubborn in the defence of any erroneous doctrine, they desired that their confession might be sent to all the universities of Christendom, and if the same in any part by the word of God were disproved, it should immediately be amended: but contrariwise, if that were not done, that then they should no more be disquieted. *Piedmont.* A.D. 1555 to 1561. The Lucernians require trial by God's word.

The president, not contented with this, the next morning sent for six of Angrogne, by him named, and for two out of every other parish, whom he and the gentlemen of the country threatened very sore, and warned twelve of the chief of Angrogne, and certain of the other parishes, to appear personally at the parliament of Turin, and to bring before the judges of the said parliament their ministers and schoolmasters, thinking, if they were once banished the country, that then their enterprise might soon be brought to an end. To this it was answered, that they could not, nor ought to obey such a commandment.

A little while after proclamation was made in every place, that no man should receive any preacher coming from Geneva, but only such as were appointed by the archbishop of Turin, and others his officers, upon pain of confiscation of their goods, and loss of their lives; and that every one should observe the ceremonies, rites, and religion, used in the church of Rome. Furthermore, that if any of the aforesaid preachers of Geneva came into those quarters, they should immediately be apprehended, and by no means their abode there by any one should be concealed, upon the pain aforesaid. And furthermore, the names of those who should disclose any one of them should be kept secret; and also, for their accusation, they should have the third part of the goods confiscated, with a full pardon, if that the said accusers were any of those who privily did keep or maintain the said ministers; and that they, and all others who would return to their mother the church, might freely and safely come and recant before the said commissioners.

At the same season the princes of Germany, and certain of the Switzers, sent unto the French king, desiring him to have pity on the aforesaid churches; and from that time, until three years after, the people of the said valleys were not molested by any of the king's officers, but yet they were sore vexed by the monks of Pignerol, and the gentlemen of the valley of St. Martin. The Germans supplicate for the Angrognians.

About that time a minister of Angrogne, named Geffrey Varialla, born in Piedmont, a virtuous and learned man, and fearing God, went to visit certain churches in those quarters where he was born, and coming homeward, was taken at Berga, and from thence led to Turin, where, after he had made a good confession of his faith, to the confirmation of many, and to the terror of his adversaries, he most constantly suffered. Geffrey Varialla, a martyr.

A few days after, a minister of the valley of Lucerne, returning to Geneva, was taken prisoner at Susa, and soon after sent to Turin, and with an invincible constancy made his confession before those of the

Piedmont. parliament, and in the end was condemned to be burnt. The hangman, at the time of execution, feigned himself to be sick, and so conveyed himself away; and so likewise another served them, being appointed by the aforesaid court to execute the poor minister. It is credibly reported that the hangman who executed certain Germans a little before, would by no means do this execution: whereupon the minister was sent to prison again, where after long and painful endurance, seeing the prison door open, he escaped, and returned to his cure.

A. D. 1555 to 1561.

Notable example of a good hangman.

A.D.1559. Now four years being past, in such manner as we have hitherto touched in this story, in the year following, which was A. D. 1559, there was a peace concluded between the French king and the king of Spain; whereupon the country of Piedmont (certain towns excepted) was restored to the duke of Savoy, under whose regiment the aforesaid churches, and all other faithful people in Piedmont, continued in great quietness, and were not molested; and the duke himself was content to suffer them to live in their religion, knowing that he had no subjects more faithful and obedient than they were. But Satan, hating all quietness, by his ministers stirred the duke against the said churches of Piedmont, his own natural subjects. For the pope and the cardinals, seeing the good inclination of the duke towards this people, incensed him to do that, which otherwise he would not. The pope's legate also, who then followed the court, and others that favoured the church of Rome, laboured by all means to persuade the duke, that he ought to banish the said Waldois, who maintained not the pope's religion; alleging, that he could not suffer such a people to dwell within his dominion, without prejudice and dishonour to the apostolic see; also that they were a rebellious people against the holy ordinances and decrees of their holy mother the church; and briefly, that he might no longer suffer the said people, being so disobedient and stubborn against the holy father, if he would indeed show himself a loving and obedient son.

The pope stirreth up the duke of Savoy against the Angrognians.

Such devilish instigations were the cause of these horrible and furious persecutions, wherewith these poor people of the valleys, and the country of Piedmont, were so long vexed. And because they foresaw the great calamities which they were like to suffer, to find some remedy for the same (if it were possible), all the said churches of Piedmont, with one common consent wrote to the duke, declaring in effect, that the only cause why they were so hated, and for which he was by their enemies so sorely incensed against them, was their religion, which was no new, or light opinion, but that wherein they and their ancestors had long continued, being wholly grounded upon the infallible word of God, contained in the Old and New Testament. Notwithstanding, if it might be proved, by the same word, that they held any false or erroneous doctrine, they would submit themselves to be reformed with all obedience.

But it is not certain whether this advertisement was delivered unto the duke or no; for it was said that he would not hear of that religion. But, howsoever it was, in the month of March following, there was a great persecution raised against the poor Christians who were at Carignano; amongst whom there were certain godly persons taken, and burnt within four days after; that is to say, one named Mathurine,

and his wife, and John de Carignano, dwelling in the valley of Lucerne, taken prisoner as he went to the market at Pignerol. The woman died with great constancy. The good man, John de Carignano, had been in prison divers times before for religion, and was always delivered by God's singular grace and providence. But seeing himself taken this last time, incontinent he said, he knew that God had now called him. Both by the way as he went, and in prison, and also at his death, he showed an invincible constancy and marvellous virtue, as well by the pure confession which he made touching the doctrine of salvation, as also in suffering with patience the horrible torments which he endured, both in prison, and also at his death. Many at that time fled away: others being afraid of that great cruelty, and fearing also man more than God, looking rather to the earth than to heaven, consented to return to the obedience of the church of Rome.

Piedmont. A. D. 1555 to 1561.

Mathurine and his wife, and John de Carignano, martyrs.

Within a few days after, these churches of the said Waldois, that is to say, Le Laughi, Meronne, Meane, and Susa, were wonderfully assaulted. To recite all the outrage, cruelty, and villany that was there committed, it were too long: for brevity's sake we will recite only certain of the principal and best known. The churches of Meane and Susa suffered great affliction. Their minister was taken amongst others. Many fled away, and their houses and goods were ransacked and spoiled. The minister was a good and faithful servant of God, and endued with excellent gifts and graces, who, in the end, was put to most shameful and cruel death. The great patience which he showed in the midst of the fire, greatly astonished the adversaries. Likewise the churches of Laughi and Meronne were marvellously tormented and afflicted; for some were taken and sent to the galleys, others consented and yielded to the adversaries, and a great number of them fled away. It is certainly known, that those who yielded to the adversaries, were more cruelly handled than the others who continued constant in the truth; whereby God declareth how greatly he detesteth all such as play the apostate, and shrink from the truth.

Persecution beginneth in the valleys.

The minister of Meane, a martyr.

God's secret judgment upon them that shrink from his truth.

But for the better understanding of the beginning of this horrible persecution against the Waldois, here note, that first of all the proclamations were made in every place, that none should resort to the sermons of the Lutherans, but should live after the custom of the church of Rome; upon pain of forfeiture of their goods, and to be condemned to the galleys for ever, or lose their lives. Three of the most cruel persons that could be found, were appointed to execute this commission. The first was one Thomas Jacomel, a monk, and inquisitor of the Romish faith; a man worthy of such an office, for he was an apostate, and had renounced the known truth, and persecuted mortally and maliciously the poor Christians, against his own conscience, and of set purpose, as his books do sufficiently witness. He was also a whoremonger, and given over to all other villanies and filthy living: in the grossest vices he surpassed all his fellows. Briefly, he was nothing else but a mis-shapened monster both against God and nature. Moreover, he so afflicted and tormented the poor captives of the said Waldois, by spoiling, robbery, and extortion, that he deserved not only to be hanged, but to be broken upon the wheel a

Jocomel a cruel apostate.

†

Rigorous handling of the Waldois.

Piedmont. hundred times, and to suffer as many cruel deaths, if it were possible; so great, so many, and so horrible, were the crimes that he had committed.

A. D. 1555 to 1561.

The second was the collateral Corbis, who, in the examination of the prisoners, was very rigorous and cruel; for he only demanded of them whether they would go to the mass, or be burnt within three days? and in very deed executed his sayings. But it is certainly reported that seeing the constancy, and hearing the confession of the poor martyrs, and feeling a remorse, and being tormented in conscience, he protested that he would never meddle any more.

The third was the provost de la Justice, a cruel and crafty wretch, accustomed to apprehend the poor Christians either by night, or early in the morning, or in the highway going to the market, and was commonly lodged in the valley of Lucerne, or thereabouts. Thus the poor people were always as the silly sheep in the wolf's jaws, or as the sheep which are led unto the slaughter-house.

Cruel monks of Pignerol.

At that season one named Charles de Comptes, of the valley of Lucerne, and one of the lords of Angrogne, wrote to the said commissioners, to use some lenity towards them of the valley of Lucerne; by reason whereof they were a while more gently treated than the rest. At that season the monks of Pignerol, and their associates, tormented grievously the churches near about them. They took the poor Christians as they passed by the way, and kept them prisoners within their abbey; and having assembled a company of ruffians, they sent them to spoil those of the said churches, and to take prisoners men, women, and children; and some they so tormented, that they were compelled to swear to return to the mass; some also they sent to the galleys, and others they burnt cruelly. They that escaped were afterwards so sick, that they seemed to have been poisoned. The same year there were two great earthquakes in Piedmont, and also many great tempests and horrible thunders.

Martyrs.

The gentlemen of the valley of St. Martin treated their tenants very cruelly, threatening them, and commanding them to return unto the mass; also spoiling them of their goods, imprisoning them, and vexing them by all the means they could. But above all the others there were two especially, that is to say, Charles Truchet, and Boniface his brother, who, on the 2d of April, before day, with a company of ruffians, spoiled a village of their own subjects, named Riuclaret; which as soon as the inhabitants of the said village perceived, they fled into the mountain covered with snow, naked and without victuals, and there remained until the third night after. In the morning, certain of his retinue took a minister of the said valley prisoner, who was come out of Calabria, and was going to visit the poor people of Renclaret, and led him prisoner to the abbey, where, soon after, he was burnt, with one other of the valley of St. Martin.

Truchet and Boniface, two cruel persecutors.

A minister of Calabria burned.

God's people rescued.

The third night after, they of Pragela, having pity upon the poor people of Riuclaret, sent about four hundred to discomfit the company of the Truchets, and to restore those who were fled to their houses. They were furiously assaulted by the shot of their enemies, who, notwithstanding, in the end were put to flight, and but one of the four hundred hurt.

About the year before, the said Truchet, being accompanied by

a company of ruffians, arrested prisoner the minister of Riuclaret as he was at his sermon. But the people were so moved by his outrageous dealing, and especially the women, that they had almost strangled the said Truchet; and the rest of them were so canvassed that they had no list to come there again any more. By reason of this he so vexed them by processes, that they were compelled to agree with him, and to pay him sixteen hundred crowns. *Piedmont.* A. D. 1555 to 1561.

Soon after, the lords of the said valley took another minister of the same valley, as he was going to preach in a parish a mile from his house; but the people perceiving that, speedily pursued him and took him. The enemies, seeing that they were not able to lead him away, wounded him so sore, that they left him for dead; whereupon, they so persecuted the poor people, that they were almost destroyed. A minister of Renclaret taken and wounded.

Here is not to be forgotten, that the same night, in which the company of Truchet was discomfited, was so stormy and terrible, and the gentlemen of that country were so terrified, that they thought they should have been all destroyed; wherefore they used more gentleness towards the people than before, except Charles Truchet and his brother, who went to the duke, and made grievous complaints against the Waldois, not only for that which was done and past, but also they persuaded the duke, that they went about to build three fortresses in the mountains, and also intended to maintain certain garrisons of strangers, charging them further with divers other crimes, of which they were in no point guilty. The duke, being moved by these false surmises, gave in charge to the said accusers, that the fortress of the valley of St. Martin, which about twenty years before was rased by the Frenchmen, should be built again, and that therein should be placed a perpetual garrison, and that the people should make so plain and wide the rugged ways, that horsemen might easily pass; with divers such other things. And all this to be done at the costs and charges of those that would not submit themselves to the obedience of the Roman church. False complaints brought to the duke against the Waldois.

This commission being sealed, the gentlemen caused the fortress to be built again, and put there in a garrison, and proclaimed the commission. The poor people being thereat amazed, withstood the commissioners, and sent certain to the duke; and immediately after the commissioners returned to the duke's court, being at Nice, to inflame his anger more against them. But God soon prevented this mischief; for the Truchets, being at Nice, went to sea with divers noblemen, and immediately were taken prisoners by the Turks, put into the galleys, sore beaten with ropes, and so cruelly handled, that it was commonly reported that they were dead: and long time after, denying their nobility, they were sent home, having paid four hundred crowns for their ransom. Some say, that the duke himself was almost taken; but it is sure that he fell sick soon after. In the month of April next following, the lord of Ranconis was present at a sermon, in a place near unto Angrogne. The sermon being ended, he talked with the ministers; and having discoursed as well of the duke's sickness, as also of his clemency and gentleness, he declared to them, that the persecution proceeded not from him, and that he meant not that the commission should have been so rigorously executed. After that he demanded of them, what way they thought best to appease the The just judgment of God upon the Truchets.

Piedmont. A. D. 1555 to 1561.

duke's wrath. They answered, that the people ought not to be moved to seek how to please and appease the duke by any means which might displease God; but the best way they knew, was the same wherewith the ancient servants of God used to appease the pagan princes and emperors, in the time of the great persecutions of the church; that is to say, to give out and present unto them in writing the confession of their faith, and defence of the religion which they professed; trusting that, forasmuch as the fury of divers profane and ethnic emperors and princes hath been heretofore appeased by such means, the duke, being endued with such singular virtues as they said he was, would also be pacified by the like means. And for that cause the poor people had before sent a supplication, with a confession of their faith unto the duke, but they were not certain whether he had received it or no; wherefore they desired him to present the same unto the said duke himself: whereunto he agreed, and promised so to do. Hereupon they sent three supplications, one to the duke, the second to the duchess, and the third to the duke's council; wherein they briefly declared what their religion was, and the points thereof, which they and their ancestors had of a long time observed, being wholly grounded upon the pure word of God; and if by the same word it should be proved that they were in error, they would not be obstinate, but gladly be reformed, and embrace the truth. After this the persecution seemed to be somewhat assuaged for a little while.

How the Christians in times past have appeased the fury of pagan princes.

The Angrognians send forth three supplications.

In the end of June next following, the lord of Ranconis and the lord of Trinity, came to Angrogne, there to qualify (as they said) the sore persecution, and caused the chief rulers and ministers to assemble together, propounding divers points of religion concerning doctrine, the calling of ministers, the mass, and obedience towards princes and rulers: and, furthermore, they declared unto them, that their confession was sent unto Rome by the duke, and daily they looked for an answer. To all these points the ministers answered. After this they demanded of the chief rulers, whether if the duke would cause mass to be sung in their parishes, they would withstand the same or no? They answered simply, that they would not. Then they demanded of them, whether if the duke would appoint them preachers, they would receive them? They answered, that if they preached the word of God purely, they would hear them. Thirdly, Whether they were content that in the mean time their ministers should cease? and if they that should be sent, preached not the word of God sincerely, then their ministers to preach again: if they would agree to this, they were promised that the persecution should cease, and that the prisoners should be restored again. To this question, after they had conferred with the people, they answered, that they could by no means suffer that their ministers should forbear preaching.

Their confession sent to the pope.

The two lords, not contented with this answer, commanded in the duke's name, that all the ministers who were strangers, should, out of hand, be banished the country; saying, that the duke would not suffer them to dwell within his dominion, for that they were his enemies: demanding also, whether they would foster and maintain the prince's enemies within his own land, against his own decree and

express commandment? To this, answer was made by the chief rulers, that they could by no means banish them, unless they were before convicted of some heresy or other crime: for their part they had always found them to be men of pure and sound doctrine, and also of godly life and conversation. *Piedmont.* A.D. 1555 to 1561.

This done, immediately proclamations were made, and the persecution began on every side to be more furious than it was before. Amongst others, the monks of Pignerol at that time were most cruel; for they sent out a company of hired ruffians, who daily spoiled and ransacked houses, and all that they could lay hands on; and took men, women, and children, and led them captives to the abbey, where they were most spitefully afflicted and tormented. At the same time they sent also a band of the said ruffians by night to the house of the minister of St. Germain, in the valley of Perouse; being led thither by a traitor that knew the house, and had used to haunt thither secretly, who knocking at the door, the minister, knowing his voice, came forth immediately, and perceiving himself to be betrayed, fled: but he was soon taken and sore wounded, and yet notwithstanding they pricked him behind with their halberds to make him hasten his pace. At that time also many they slew, many they hurt, and many also they brought to the abbey, and there kept them in prison, and cruelly handled them. The good minister endured sore imprisonment, and after that a most terrible kind of death, with a wonderful constancy; for they roasted him by a small fire; and when half his body was burnt, he confessed and called upon the Lord Jesus with a loud voice.

The monks of Pignerol against the Angrognians.

The minister of St. Germain betrayed and taken.

Barbarous cruelty against him.

The inquisitor Jacomel, with his monks, and the collateral Corbis amongst others, showed one practice of most barbarous cruelty against this poor man; who, when he should be burnt, caused two poor women of St. Germain (whom they kept in prison), to carry faggots to the fire, and to speak these words unto their pastor: "Take this, thou wicked heretic! in recompense of thy naughty doctrine, which thou hast taught us." To whom the good minister answered; "Ah, good women! I have taught you well, but you have learned ill." To be brief, they so afflicted and tormented those poor people of St. Germain, and the places thereabout, that after they were spoiled of their goods and driven from their houses, they were compelled to flee into the mountain to save their lives. So great was the spoil of these poor people, that many who before had been men of much wealth, and with their riches had ministered great succour and comfort to others, were now brought to such misery, that they were compelled to crave succour and relief of others.

Two women compelled to carry faggots, to burn their pastor.

Now, forasmuch as the said monks, with their troops of ruffians (who were counted to be in number about three hundred), made such spoil and havoc in all the country, that no man could there live in safety, it was demanded of the ministers, whether it was lawful to defend themselves against the insolence and furious rage of the said ruffians? The ministers answered, that it was lawful, warning them in any case, to take heed of bloodshed. This question being once solved, they of the valley of Lucerne and of Angrogne, sent certain men to those of St. Germain to aid them against the supporters of these monks.

Whether it be lawful for the persecuted people of Christ to stand to their own defence.

Piedmont. A.D. 1555 to 1561.

In the month of June, the harvest being then in Piedmont, divers of the Waldois were gone into the country to reap and to make provision for corn, for very little groweth upon their mountains, who were all taken prisoners at sundry times and places, not one knowing of another; but yet God so wrought, that they all escaped out of prison, as it were by a miracle: whereat the adversaries were marvellously astonished. At the same time there were certain others also, who had sustained long imprisonment, looking for nothing else but death; and yet they, after a wonderful sort, by God's merciful providence, were likewise delivered.

In the month of July, they of Angrogne, being in a morning at harvest upon the hill side of St. Germain, perceived a company of soldiers spoiling them of St. Germain; and doubting lest they should go to Angrogne, they made an outcry. Then the people of Angrogne assembled together upon the mountain, and some ran to St. Germain over the hill, and some by the valley. They that went by the valley, met with the spoilers coming from St. Germain, loaden with spoil which they had gotten, and being but fifty, set upon the others, amounting to the number of one hundred and twenty men well appointed, and gave them soon the overthrow. The passage over the bridge being stopped, the enemies were fain to take the river Cluson, where divers were sore hurt, many were drowned, and some escaped very hardly; and such a slaughter was made of them, that the river was died with the blood of them that were wounded and slain: but none of the Angrognians were once hurt. If the said river had been as great as it was wont commonly to be, there had not one man escaped alive. The noise of the harquebusses was great, and within less than one hour's space, there were three or four hundred of the Waldois gathered together upon the river; and at the same time they had purposed to fetch away their prisoners who were in the abbey, but they would not do it without the counsel of their ministers, and so deferred the matter until the next day: but their ministers counselled them not to enterprise any such thing, but to refrain themselves, and so they did. Albeit they doubted not, but if they had gone incontinent after that discomfiture unto the abbey, they might have found all open and easily have entered; for the monks were so sore afraid, that they fled suddenly to Pignerol, to save their relics and images, which they carried thither. The rest of the country about were wonderfully afraid, and rang the bells everywhere. The greater part of them fled, doubting lest the poor Waldois would have revenged the wrongs and outrages done to them.

Victory of the Angrognians over their enemies.

The commander of St. Anthony sent to Angrogne.

The next day following, the commander of St. Anthony de Fossan came to Angrogne, accompanied with divers gentlemen, saying, that he was sent by the duke: and having assembled the chief rulers and ministers of Angrogne, and of the valley of Lucerne, after he had declared unto them the cause of his coming, he read their supplication directed to the duke, which contained their confession, demanding of them, if it were the same which they had sent to the duke? They answered, Yea. Then he began to dispute, being sent, as he said, to inform them of their errors, not doubting but they would amend according to their promise. Then he entered into a disputation of the mass, in a great heat, deriving the same from the

Missa falsely derived out of the Hebrew.

Hebrew word 'Massa,' which signified (as he supposed) consecration, and showed that this word 'Missa,' might be found in ancient writers. The ministers answered, that he ill applied the Hebrew word; and further, that they disputed not of the word 'Missa,' but of that which is signified by the same, which he ought first to prove by the word of God. Briefly, that he could not prove, either by the word of God, or the ancient fathers, their private mass, their sacrifice expiatory or propitiatory, their transubstantiation, their adoration, their application of the same for the quick and the dead, and such other matters which are principal parts of the said mass. The commander, having here nothing to reply, fell into a marvellous choler, railing and raging as if he had been stark mad, and told them that he was not come to dispute, but to banish their ministers, and to place others in their rooms, by the duke's commandment; which he could not, unless their ministers were first driven out of the country.

Piedmont. A.D. 1555 to 1561. Disputation about the mass.

From thence he went to the abbey of Pignerol, where he and Jacomel caused a number of the poor inhabitants of Campiglon, and of Fenil, who be of the valley of Lucerne, to be taken prisoners, spoiling them of their goods, driving away their cattle, and forcing them to swear and forswear; and in the end ransomed them for great sums of money. About that time a gentleman of Campiglon agreed with those who were fled, for thirty crowns to be paid unto him out of hand, that he would warrant them from any further vexation or trouble, so that they remained quiet at home. But when he had received the money, he caused the commander of Fossan with his men to come by night to his house, and then sent for the poor men, thinking traiterously to have delivered them into the hands of their mortal enemy, following therein the decree of the Council of Constance, which is, that no promise is to be kept with heretics. But God, knowing how to succour his in their necessity, prevented this danger; for one of them had intelligence of the commander's coming, and so they all fled. Thereupon they wrote to the lord of Ranconis, declaring unto him the proceedings of the commander, and that he neither would nor could, show or prove any thing by the word of God, as he had promised, but threatened them with great wrongs and injuries, and would not suffer their ministers to reply, or say any thing for the defence of their cause: and therefore they desired him to signify the same to the duke's grace, to the end that he should not be offended, if they persisted still in their religion, seeing it was not proved unto them, by any reason taken out of the Scripture, that they erred.

The poor inhabitants of Lucerne taken prisoners.

Nothing proved by the word of God against the Waldois.

After this, there were many commandments and injunctions given out through all the country, to banish these poor Waldois, with the doctrine of the gospel, if it were possible, out of the mountains and valleys of Piedmont: but the poor people still desired, that, according to that which they had so often before protested by word and writing, they might be suffered to serve God purely, according to the rule prescribed in his word; simply obeying their Lord and prince always, and in all things. Notwithstanding they were still vexed and tormented with all the cruelty that could be devised, as partly it is already declared; but much more you shall perceive by that which followeth.

Piedmont. A.D. 1555 to 1561. In the end of the October next following, the rumour went that an army was levying to destroy them; and in very deed there were certain bands levied, ready to march at an hour's warning. Furthermore, those malefactors who heretofore were fled or banished for any offence or crime committed, were called home again, and pardoned of all together, so that they would take them to their weapons, and go to destroy the Waldois. The ministers and chief rulers of the valleys of Lucerne and Angrogne thereupon assembled together oftentimes, to take advice what, in such an extremity, were best to do. In the end they determined, that for certain days following there should be kept a general fast, and the Sunday after, a communion. Also that they should not defend themselves by force of arms, but that every one should withdraw himself into the high mountains, and every one to carry away such goods as he was able to bear; and if their enemies pursued them thither, then to take such advice and counsel as it pleased God to give them. This article of not defending themselves, seemed very strange to the people, being driven to such an extremity, and the cause being so just: but yet every one began to carry their goods and victuals into the mountains; and for the space of eight days all the ways were filled with comers and goers to the mountains, like unto ants in summer which provide for winter. All this did they in this great perplexity and danger, with a wonderful courage and cheerfulness, praising God, and singing psalms, and every one comforting another. Briefly, they went with such joy and alacrity, that you should not have seen any who grudged to leave their houses, and fair possessions, but were wholly determined patiently to abide the good pleasure of God, and also to die if he had so appointed.

Barabbas delivered, Christ pursued.

Deliberation among the Waldois.

Whether subjects for religion may stand in their own defence.

A few days after, certain other ministers, hearing what they of Angrogne and Lucerne had concluded, wrote unto them, that this resolution seemed very strange to some, that they ought not to defend themselves against the violence of their enemies, alleging many reasons, that in such extremity and necessity it was lawful for them so to do, especially the quarrel being so just; that is, for the defence of true religion, and for the preservation of their own lives, and the lives of their wives and children; knowing that it was the pope and his ministers who were the cause of all these troubles and cruel wars, and not the duke, who was stirred up thereunto only by their instigations: wherefore they might well and with good conscience withstand such furious and outrageous violence. For the proof hereof they also alleged certain examples.

During this season the lord of Angrogne, named Charles de Comptes, of Lucerne, laboured earnestly, by all means possible, to cause them of Angrogne to consent to the duke's pleasure, and solicited them to send away their ministers, promising that he would cause a mass to be sung at Angrogne, and that the people should not be compelled to be present thereat; hoping that by that means the duke's wrath would be appeased. The chief of Angrogne thereupon were assembled and made this answer: that if the duke would permit them to choose other ministers, they were content to send away their foreign ministers and strangers; but as touching the mass, his highness might well cause it to be sung in their parishes, but they, for

The Angrognians refuse to hear mass.

their part, could not with safe consciences be present at the same, nor yet give their consent unto it. *Piedmont.* A.D. 1555 to 1561.

On the 22d of October the said lord of Angrogne went from Lucerne to Mondovi, where he was then governor for the duke, and sent for the chief rulers of Angrogne at several times, declaring unto them the great perils and dangers wherewith they were environed, the army being already at hand; yet promising them, if they would submit themselves unto him, he would send immediately to stay the army. They of Angrogne answered, that they all determined to stand to that which they, two days before in their assembly, had put in writing. With this answer he seemed at that time to be content. The next day the rumour was, that they of Angrogne had submitted themselves to the duke. On the morrow, which was Sunday, you should have seen nothing but weeping and mourning in Angrogne. The sermon being ended, the rulers were called before the ministers and the people, who affirmed, that they wholly cleaved unto their former writing; and they sent secretly to the notary for the copy of that which was passed in the council-house at their last assembly before the lord de Comptes, in which was comprised, that Angrogne had wholly submitted herself to the good pleasure of the duke. The people, hearing that, were sore astonished, and protested rather to die than obey the same. And thereupon it was agreed, that at that very instant (albeit it were very late), certain should be sent to the lord of Angrogne to signify unto him, that the determination of the council was falsified, and that it might please him the next morning to come to Angrogne, to hear the voices of the people; not only of the men, but also of the women and children. But he himself went not thither, having intelligence of the uproar, but sent thither the judge of that place. Then that which had been falsified was duly corrected; the judge laying all the blame upon the notary. *The determination of the council falsified.*

During this time the adversaries cried out through all the country of Piedmont, "To the fire with them!" "To the fire with them!" The Thursday after, Angrogne, by proclamations and writings set up in every place, was exposed to fire and sword. On Friday after, being the 2d of November, the army approached to the borders of the valley of Lucerne, and certain horsemen came to a place called St. Jean, a little beneath Angrogne. Then the people retired into the mountains. Certain of St. Jean, perceiving that the horsemen not only spoiled their goods, but also took their fellows prisoners, set upon them. It is not certain what number of the enemies were there slain; but suddenly they retired to Bubbiana, where their camp then was, and not one of them of St. Jean were slain or hurt. It happened at the same time, that two of the aforesaid horsemen, being sore amazed, galloped before the rest towards the army, being ready to march towards Angrogne, crying, "They come!" "They come!" at whose cry the whole army were so astonished, that every man fled his way, and they were all so scattered, that the captains that day were not able to bring them in order again, and yet no creature followed them.[1] *Proclamation against them.*

On the Saturday, in the morning, the army mustered in the meadow-ground of St. Jean, near to Angrogne. They of Angrogne had

(1) Sennacherib flieth from the face of Israel!

Piedmont. A.D. 1555 to 1561.

sent certain to keep the passages, and stop the army that they should not enter, if it were possible. In the mean season the people retired to the meadow of Tour, and little thought of the coming of the army so soon, or that they would have made such a sudden assault: for they were yet carrying of victuals and other stuff, so that few of them kept the passages. Now those who kept the straits, perceiving that their enemies prepared themselves to fight, fell down upon their knees, and made their prayers unto God, that it would please him to take pity upon them, and not to look upon their sins, but to the cause which they maintained; to turn the hearts of their enemies, and so to work, that there might be no effusion of blood; and if it were his will to take them, with their wives and infants, out of this world, that he would then mercifully receive them into his kingdom. In this sort most fervent prayers were made by all those that kept the passages, with exhortation that they should all together cry unto God, and crave his succour and assistance in this great distress. All this the lord of Trinity and the army did well perceive.

Prayer of the Angrognians.

Their prayers thus ended, suddenly they perceived their enemies coming towards them through the vines, to win the top of the mountain of Angrogne. In the mean time the prior of St. Jean, and Jacomel, were within the temple of Angrogne, and communed with the rulers touching an agreement. These were sent thither by the lord of Trinity to keep the people occupied. To be short, the combat began in divers places, and endured for a long space in the passages of Angrogne. The poor Waldois, being but few in number, and some of them having but slings and cross-bows, were sore pressed with the multitude of their enemies. At length they retired to the top of the mountain, where they defended themselves until night.

A combat between the lord of Trinity, and the Waldois.

When they had found a place where they might withstand their enemies still pursuing them, they turned themselves, and slew divers of them, and hurt many. When the evening came, the enemies rested, and were about to encamp themselves, there to sup and lodge all night; which thing when the Angrognians perceived, they fell to prayer, desiring God to assist and succour them, but the enemies flouted them and laughed them to scorn. Then the poor people devised to send a drum into a little valley hard by;[1] and as they were making their prayers unto God, and the drum sounded in the valley, the lord of Trinity caused his soldiers, who were about to encamp themselves, to remove thence; which was a great advantage unto the poor people, who now were sore wearied with travail, all wet with sweating, and very thirsty: and in great peril, if God had not given them some little breathing time. Many of the enemies that day were slain, and many hurt, of whom very few escaped; insomuch that they reported that the shot was poisoned, which this poor simple people never used to do in all these wars. Of the Angrognians that day there were but three slain, and one hurt, who afterwards was well healed again. This combat gave great courage to the Waldois, and sore astonished the adversaries. The same time the army retiring, burnt many houses, and made great spoil as they went, destroying also the wines which were in the presses.

God's holy help in time of need.

The said lord of Trinity with his army encamped in a village beyond

(1) Behold the policy of this poor people!

Tour, in the valley of Lucerne, at the foot of the hill, between Angrogne and the other towns of the valley of Lucerne, that professed the gospel. They of the said village were always sore against the Waldois, and haters of true religion, and were glad of this outrage and violence done against the professors thereof: but they had their just plague; for they were all destroyed. After this the said lord of Trinity caused the fortress to be built again, which the Frenchmen had rased, and placed there a garrison, and after sent another to the fort of Villars, which is in the valley of Lucerne; and another he sent to the fortress of Perouse, and a fourth garrison he placed in the castle of St. Martin. They of Angrogne (seeing themselves to be now, as it were, in a sea of troubles), after they had recommended themselves unto God by prayer, and committed their cause unto him, sent to them of Perouse, St. Martin, and of Pragela, for aid and succour; who sent them all the help they were able.

Piedmont. A.D. 1555 to 1561.

God helpeth his, and punishes his enemies.

The next day following there came letters to Angrogne from the lord of Trinity, the effect whereof was this:

Crafty Message of the Lord of Trinity to the Angrognians.

That he was sorry for that which was done the day before, and that he came not thither to make war against them, but only to view if it were a place convenient to build a fort therein to serve the duke. Furthermore, that his soldiers, seeing the people assembled, as it were, to defy them, upon that occasion only were stirred up to give assault, and to set upon them. Also that he was sorry that such spoil was made of their goods, and such hurt done by fire. But if they would show themselves obedient to the duke, he had good hope that all should be well, and trusted some good agreement should be made.

The Answer of the Angrognians.

The Angrognians answered thus:

That they were marvellously aggrieved to be so assaulted, spoiled and tormented, by the subjects of their liege and natural prince; and as they had oftentimes before offered themselves to be more faithful and obedient to their sovereign prince the duke, than any of all his subjects besides, so yet they still offered the same obedience. Also they most humbly besought him, not to think it strange if they, being constrained by such extreme necessity, defended themselves. Finally, as touching their religion, they affirmed, that it was the pure word of God, even as it was preached by the prophets and apostles, and the same which their predecessors had observed for certain hundred years past. Moreover, that the cause was not concerning the goods of the world, but the honour and glory of God, the salvation or destruction of the souls both of them and theirs: and therefore it were much better for them to die all together, than to forsake their religion. And yet, if it might be proved unto them by good demonstration out of the word of God (not by force of arms, by blood and fire), that they were in error, they would then yield themselves with all obedience; most humbly beseeching him, and all other the lords of the country of Piedmont, to be their intercessors and advocates to the duke in his behalf.

On Monday, being the 4th of November, the lord of Trinity sent his army to Villars and Tailleret. The lesser company ascended towards Villars. The people, seeing their enemies approaching, after they had called upon God with fervent prayer, strongly defended themselves, and slew many: many also were hurt, and the rest fled. The other company ascended towards Tailleret. And although they of that place were but few in number, and that part of the army was the greater, yet, making their prayers unto God, and

The towns of Villars and Tailleret assaulted

Piedmont. commending their cause unto him, they defended themselves likewise valiantly.

A. D. 1555 to 1561.

In the mean season they of Villars, being emboldened by their late victory, came to assist their neighbours, and being assembled together, they courageously pursued their enemies, and put them to flight. In this pursuit it chanced (which here is not to be forgotten) that this poor people, by an ambush of their enemies which came another way, were suddenly inclosed on every side, and like to be destroyed; but yet they all escaped, and not one of them was slain, only three were hurt, who were soon cured again. On the enemy's side there were so many slain, that they were laid together by whole cart-loads. This was the reward of those who were so desirous to shed innocent blood. The same day the inhabitants of Sanson, near to Roccapiata, assembled in great numbers together, and went to a rich man's house of Roccapiata, and spoiled all that he had. Certain of Roccapiata, in number not exceeding seventeen, understanding this, set upon them, and soon put them to flight, took away their drum, and forced them to leave their booty behind them.

God giveth victory to his servants.

Just reward upon the Lord's enemies.

Gastaut, a false brother. Deep dissimulation in a crafty papist.

After the lord of Trinity had received the letters of the Angrognians, he sent unto them his secretary, named Christopher Gastaut (who said himself, that he favoured the verity of the gospel), accompanied with a gentleman of the said valley, whose charge was to cause the chief rulers to send certain to commune with the said lord of Trinity, saying, that he had good tidings to declare unto them; and moreover, that he would deliver them a safe-conduct to come and go. Whereupon they sent four unto him, whom he treated very courteously, and rehearsed unto them, how the duke, at his departure from the court, told him, that although the pope, the princes, and the cities of Italy, yea, his own council, were fully resolved, that of necessity they of the said religion should be destroyed, yet notwithstanding, God otherwise put it in his mind, and that he had taken counsel of God what he should do in this matter; that is, that he would use them gently. Furthermore, he declared unto them, that the duchess did bear them good affection, and favoured them very much, and that she had commended their cause unto the duke, persuading with him to have regard to that poor people; and that their religion was ancient and old; with many such other things. Moreover, they had (said he) great friends in the duke's court, not doubting but if they would send certain to the court with a supplication, they should obtain more than they themselves would require; and he, for his part, would employ himself in their affairs to the uttermost of his power: and so he promised that he would retire himself with his army. This he seemed to speak unfeignedly. The people, desiring but to live peaceably in their religion, and under the obedience of their lawful prince, were content to follow his counsel.

The duchess a great favourer of the Angrognians.

About this season they of Angrogne perceived that a part of the army ascended the hill of Tailleret (which is the half way between Angrogne and those of the valley of Lucerne), and the other party had already gotten a way which led to the meadow of Tour, by which they of Angrogne might easily have been inclosed. Therefore they sent certain immediately to keep the way, who soon after encountered with their enemies and obtained the victory, pursuing and chasing

them to their camp, not without great loss of their men. The number of their enemies slain, was not known; for their custom was immediately to carry away those who were slain. Not one of Angrogne perished that day, nor yet was hurt. It was feared that this combat would have hindered the agreement; but the lord of Trinity could well dissemble the matter, and excused that day's journey, putting the fault upon them of Tailleret, whom he charged to have slain certain of his men in the highway, and, amongst others, his barber. *Piedmont.* A.D. 1555 to 1561.

On Saturday following, being the 9th of November, the said lord of Trinity sent again for them of Angrogne, to consult with them touching the agreement, using the like communication as before; and added thereunto, that in token of true obedience they should carry their armour into two of the houses of the chief rulers, not fearing but it should be safe; for it should remain in their own keeping, and, if need were, they should receive it again. Also, that he on Sunday (which was the next day), would cause a mass to be sung within the temple of St. Laurence, in Angrogne, accompanied with a very few; and thereby the duke's wrath would be assuaged. Crafty dissimulation of the lord of Trinity.

The next morning he went into the temple (whereat they were sore grieved, albeit they could not withstand him), his army marching afore him; and having caused a mass to be sung, he desired to see the meadow of Tour, so much spoken of, that thereof he might make a true report unto the duke; and thither the rulers, with a great troop of his own men, went, the residue of his company remained behind, who spoiled certain houses, and seized the armour which they had delivered up before: but they found no great store, for the people had taken away the greatest part thereof. The said lord being entered into the meadow of Tour, the people began to make a commotion; whereof he, having intelligence, returned immediately. All that day he showed himself very courteous to all whom he met.

The people in the mean time perceived themselves to be in great danger, and were sore moved at the sight of the army, the spoil of the soldiers, and the taking away of their armour; but especially because the said lord of Trinity had viewed the meadow of Tour, foreseeing his traitorous meaning and purpose.[1] A few days after, the said lord of Trinity sent his secretary, Gastaut, to Angrogne, to talk with them concerning the agreement, and to make a full resolution thereof; which was read in the assembly by the secretary. The sum thereof was this: that the people of Angrogne submitted themselves to render all honour and reverence to God, according to his holy word, and all due obedience to the duke their sovereign prince, to whom they should send certain men to demand pardon of him, concerning their bearing armour in their extreme necessity, and humbly to beseech him that he would suffer them to live peaceably in their religion, which was according to the word of God, not compelling them to do any thing against their conscience; as it appeareth more amply in the supplication, which, after this, the Angrognians made, and caused to be read before the secretary in the open assembly, and which here ensueth.

(1) Behold the double dealing and dissimulation of the papists to bring their wicked purposes to pass.

Piedmont.

The Supplication of the Angrognians to the Duke of Savoy.

A. D. 1555 to 1561.

To the most excellent and worthy prince, the duke of Savoy, &c. our sovereign lord and natural prince.

Most noble and renowned prince! we have sent certain of our men unto your highness, to give testimony of our humble, hearty, and unfeigned obedience unto the same, and with all submission desire pardon, touching the bearing of armour by certain of our people in their extreme necessity, and for all other our trespasses, for which your sovereign grace might conceive any offence against us.

A lawful request of the Angrognians to live after God's word.

Secondly, To desire in most humble wise your said highness, in the name of our Lord Jesus, that it would please the same, to suffer us to live with freedom of conscience in our religion, which also is the religion of our ancestors, observed for certain hundred years past: and we are persuaded, that it is the pure gospel of our Lord Jesus, the only verity, the word of life and salvation, which we profess. Also, that it may please your most gracious clemency not to take in ill part, if we, fearing to offend and displease God, cannot consent unto certain traditions and ordinances of the church of Rome; and herein to have pity upon our poor souls, and the souls of our children, to the end that your highness be not in any wise charged in the just judgment of God for the same, where all men must appear to answer for their doings.

On our part, we protest that we will seek nothing but to be the true servants of God, to serve him according to his holy word; and also to be true and loyal subjects to your highness, and more obedient than any others, being always ready to give our goods, our bodies, our lives, and the lives of our children, for your noble grace, as also our religion teacheth us to do: only we desire that our souls may be left at liberty, to serve God according to his holy word.

And we, your poor humble subjects, shall most heartily pray our God and Father for the good and long prosperity of your highness, for the most virtuous lady your wife, and for the noble house of Savoy.

To this supplication they of St. Jean, of Roccapiata, of St. Barthelemi, and of Perouse, with those of the valley of Lucerne, did agree. For it was concluded, that the agreement made should extend to all the confederates of the same religion. While they were treating of this agreement, the lord of Trinity vexed cruelly them of Tailleret, under this pretence, because they had not presented themselves to treat of this agreement. He tormented them after this sort: first he commanded that all their armour should be brought before him, and then they, on their knees, should ask him pardon, because they came not to treat of the agreement with the rest; which notwithstanding the most part of them did. Then he commanded them to attend upon him, to enrol all the names of those who would be of the aforesaid agreement.

Wretched dealing of the lord of Trinity against them of Tailleret.

Hereupon, the next morning, the chief of the householders went to the village named Bouvets, the place appointed thereunto, and when they had heard a sermon, and called upon God, they began to write their names. The enrolling of their names not being fully ended, word was brought that the soldiers had gotten the top of the mountain, and had taken all the passages; whereat they of Tailleret were sore amazed, and ran with all speed to defend their wives and children. Some they saved: the most part with their goods, were in their enemies' hands already. At this time, with sacking, spoiling, and burning, they did much mischief.

The papists false breakers of promise.

After this the lord of Trinity sent word to them that were fled, that if they would return, he would receive them to mercy. The poor people for the most part, trusting to his promise, returned to Bouvets,

and yet the next morning the soldiers came thither to apprehend them and their ministers, and beset the place on every side. Such as were swift of foot, and could shift best, escaped, but very hardly: the rest were all hurt or taken, and yet they all escaped by a marvellous means; for it happened that there was an old man who could not run fast, to whom one of the soldiers came with a naked sword in his hand to have slain him. The old man, seeing the imminent danger, caught the soldier by the legs, overthrew him, and drew him by the heels down the hill. *Piedmont.* A.D. 1555 to 1561. God's protection in time of need.

The soldier cried out, "Help! help! this villain will kill me." His fellows, hearing him cry, made haste to rescue him; but in the mean time the old man escaped. The rest, seeing what the old man had done, took heart, by grace, and albeit their armour and weapons were taken from them, yet with stones and slings they so beat and discomfited their enemies, that for that present time they carried no prisoners away.

The day following, the soldiers, returning to the said Tailleret, robbed, spoiled, and carried away all that they could find, and so continued three days together; which was very easy for them to do, because the poor men, fearing lest they should be charged with violating the agreement, made no resistance, but retired towards Villars.

The fourth day the said lord of Trinity, to torment the poor Taillerets yet more cruelly, sent his army again, before day, to the mountain, and into the same place, and because the people of the said village were retired towards Villars, and scattered about the borders thereof in the high mountains, the soldiers, not yet satisfied with spoiling and sacking the rest that they found in the said Tailleret, ranging about the confines thereof, ravened and made havoc on every side of whatsoever they could lay hands on, taking prisoners both men and women, who were loaden with carriage. Tailleret sacked and spoiled.

The poor prisoners were cruelly handled. Amongst others there was one, whose ear a soldier of Mondovis, in a raging fury, bit clean off, with these words, "I will carry," said he, "the flesh of these wicked heretics with me into my country." They of Villars also complained of the great cruelty that was showed unto them, during the time of the agreement. Cruelty of papists.

When the lord of Trinity understood this, to make a show that he was offended therewith, he came to his soldiers, who were so weary that they could scarcely go (not with fighting, but because they were so heavily laden with spoil, that they were not able to carry it), and pretending to be in great choler, some he beat; some things also of a small value he caused to be restored, but all the rest was kept back and carried away. The same day, two women, the mother and the daughter, were found in a cave in the mountain, wounded to death by the soldiers, and who died immediately after. So likewise a blind man, a hundred years of age, who was fled into a cave with his son's daughter, being eighteen years old, who fed him, was slain by the enemies; and as they would have ill-used the maiden, she escaped from them, and fell from the top of the mountain, and died. The mother and the daughter, and others, martyrs. †

At that time also a great company of women of Tailleret and Villars were taken as they fled, with their goods, and brought to the camp, and sent away empty. There was at the same time a certain

Piedmont. soldier, who promised the lord of Trinity to find out the minister of Tailleret, and to deliver him into his own hands. And to bring his purpose to pass, he never ceased until he had found him; and after that he pursued him a long time. But as he was pursuing and chasing him, certain, at unawares coming out of the mountain, rescued the poor minister, and killed the soldier with stones.

A. D. 1555 to 1561.

A wicked persecutor killed with stones.

But this especially is to be noted, that during these troubles divers of the papists had sent their daughters into the mountains unto the Waldois to be kept, fearing lest they should have been ill-used by the soldiers, being wholly given over as to all cruelty and ravine, so to all villany and abomination; by whom they were before threatened to be so abused.

†

All this being done, the said lord of Trinity caused the head-officers and chiefest of the people to assemble together, and declared unto them, that the maintaining of the army was a great charge to the duke, and that it was meet that they should bear the one half of the charges. For this cause he demanded of them twenty thousand crowns; but, by means of the secretary Gastaut, who was promised a hundred crowns for his wine (that is to say, for a bribe), four thousand of those twenty were abated, so that they granted unto him sixteen thousand, of which sum the duke released the one half. Then the lord of Trinity pressed this poor people to deliver the eight thousand out of hand, to pay the soldiers their wages (as he said), and so to withdraw his army. The year before, corn was exceeding dear, for a sack was commonly sold for six crowns, yea, and some for eight crowns; and also they had very little corn growing upon their mountains: wherefore they were now very bare of money. But they, being in this perplexity, and desiring nothing more than to live in peace and quietness, went about to sell their cattle to pay this money: but the lord of Trinity had given out a commandment, that none should buy any cattle of the Waldois without his license. Then license was given out to certain to buy great store of cattle, and that for a small price: and the common bruit was, that he had part of the gain. When the money was paid, yet the army notwithstanding retired not.

The poor Waldois pressed at sixteen thousand crowns.

The papists false of promise.

After this the lord of Trinity commanded the Waldois to surrender up all their armour, to furnish the duke's forts, otherwise he threatened to send his soldiers among them, and indeed he constrained many so to do. Then he demanded, moreover, the eight thousand crowns, which the duke had remitted, and constrained them to promise the payment thereof. After that he commanded that the ministers should be sent away, until the matter were determined before the duke; otherwise he would send his soldiers to dislodge them out of hand: whereupon, with one common assent and accord, they determined that their ministers should withdraw themselves for a space, until the army were retired; which was not done without marvellous sighs, and lamentation, and tears. At that season there fell such abundance of snow, that the like had not been seen of a long time before; so that the people were constrained to make a way, with great travail and pain, through the top of the mountain of St. Martin, for their ministers to pass. Now thought the lord of Trinity so to have inclosed them (he keeping the plain, and the mountains being covered so thick with snow), that by no means they should have escaped his hands.

Piedmont. A. D. 1555 to 1561.

But the people caused them to pass the top of the mountain, and at their departure there flocked out of every quarter great multitudes to the village of Bobi, and came together in a secret place there, called Le Puis, not without great grief and sorrow; for they found them altogether in tears and mourning, that their ministers should be so taken from them, and they now left as lambs amongst wolves.

Care of the Waldois for their ministers.

The army was advertised that the ministers were assembled together, and incontinent a great troop of harquebussiers were at hand, which sought them even to the very top of the mountain, insomuch that if they had remained there but one hour longer, they had been all taken. From that time, for certain days after, they did nothing but range about in all places, seeking for the ministers; and there was no house, chamber, cave, nor secret corner, into which they did not enter, under pretence to seek for the ministers. There was neither chest, nor any thing else so strong, but they brake it open, saying that the ministers were hidden therein, and by that means they took, spoiled, and carried away whatsoever they would.

God's providence for his ministers.

The lord of Trinity promised oftentimes, that although it were forbidden to all the ministers to preach, yet the minister of Angrogne should be excepted; and, furthermore, sent the said minister word, that if he would demand any thing of the duke, it should be granted him: whereupon the said minister made this request, that the poor people might live peaceably in their religion. A while after, he sent for the same minister to confer with him privately upon certain points of religion. The minister went unto him, having thereto the consent of the people. The lord of Trinity propounded unto him three points:[1] the first, concerning the supremacy of the pope; the second, concerning transubstantiation. Of these two points the minister then immediately declared his opinion, and he seemed to agree thereunto, and required him to put the same in writing. The last (which was his whole drift) was to persuade the minister to go to the duke's court, and there he to defend the cause of the people, alleging certain reasons to persuade him so to do: whereunto the minister answered, that he was bound to God and his church, and if it seemed convenient to the ministers and people that he should go, he would be content to do the same; and thereof he promised to send him answer immediately, with which answer he seemed to be contented.

The minister of Angrogne pursued by the soldiers.

Shortly after the aforesaid lord, not tarrying for an answer, sent his army to the temple of St. Laurence, in Angrogne, pretending to sing a mass there, and suddenly the soldiers besieged the minister's house. The minister, being warned thereof, essayed to escape. The soldiers attempted nothing by force, but used gentle persuasions to the contrary, for there were not yet many of them. But the minister pushed on further, and the soldiers followed him half a mile, but fearing the people, durst go no further. The minister withdrew himself into the rocks upon the mountain, accompanied by five others. The army was by and by at his heels, and sought a good while in the houses and cottages on every side, cruelly handling the people whom they took, to make them confess where their minister was; spoiling their houses, taking some prisoners, and beating others: but yet they could not

(1) Mark here the fair pretence and traitorous meaning of the lord of Trinity, who by and by after seeketh the death of this good minister.

Piedmont. learn of them where their minister was. At length they espied him among the rocks, where they thought to have inclosed him; and so they pursued him in the rocks all covered with snow, until it was night, and could not take him. Then they returned and spoiled his house, and diligently searched out all his books and writings, and carried them to the lord of Trinity in a sack, who caused them all to be burned in his presence, supposing (as it well appeared) that the letters which he had sent to Angrogne, touching the agreement, should be with the rest burnt: for he did not the like in the other ministers' houses. That day they spoiled forty houses in Angrogne, broke their mills, and carried away all the corn and meal that they found.

A. D. 1555 to 1561.

His house spoiled.

Forty houses spoiled.

About midnight the soldiers returned with torch-light to the minister's house to seek him, and searched every corner. The next morning commandment was given to the rulers of Angrogne, that within twenty-four hours they should deliver their minister, or else Angrogne should be put to the fire and sword. The rulers answered, that they could not so do, for they knew not where he was, and the soldiers had chased him over the mountain. After certain days, when the soldiers had burned houses, spoiled the people, broken their mills, and done what mischief they could, the army retired. Notwithstanding the lord of Trinity left garrisons in the aforenamed fortresses, but all at the cost and charges of the Waldois; which garrisons, not contented with their wages, spoiled continually. On one night five soldiers went with torches to a rich man's house of Angrogne, and spoiled the same. The good man of the house hardly escaped with life by the top of the house; for there were twelve pellets shot off at him, whereof one touched his face, and struck his hat from his head, without any further hurt.

God's holy protection in saving his servants.

The rulers of Angrogne, who were gone to the fortress to carry thither victuals and money, were by the soldiers retained, and, in despite of them and the people, they caused a mass to be sung before them, and forced them to be present at it; and because they would not kneel down to it, they were beaten almost to death. One of the rulers was sent again for more money; the other with great peril of his life leaped over the walls, and though pursued to Angrogne, escaped.

Two rulers of Angrogne beaten almost to death for not kneeling to the mass.

Certain days after, a certain company of soldiers came into the midst of Angrogne, as though they would have passed through, and called for meat and drink. The poor men brought what they had unto them in a close court. When they had eaten and drunken, they caused the women to leave, and then bound fourteen of those who had brought them victuals, by two and two together, and led them away. Their wives and children perceiving this, so fiercely pursued them with stones, that they were fain to let go ten of their prisoners for haste, and had much ado to save themselves.[1] The other four they led away to the fortress, of whom two were ransomed: the other two were hanged up by the feet and hands; and having tormented them almost to death, they released them for a great sum of money. Of these one died the next night; the other lay sick without hope of life a long time after, and his flesh fell from his

Cruelty shown for kindness.

Two martyrs of Angrogne.

(1) Note how God did bless his servants standing in their own defence.

hands and his feet, and thereof he became lame; and after that his fingers fell off also. *Piedmont.* A. D. 1555 to 1561.

In like manner did the other garrisons treat the villages adjoining unto them.

The garrison of Tour and that of Villars, being assembled together at night, went to Tailleret, to the place called Bouvets, and breaking in at the windows and tops of the houses, breaking open the doors, sacking and spoiling all that they could lay hands on, took also fourteen prisoners, and bound them two and two together by the arms, and so led them to the fortress of Tour; but two that escaped, whilst the soldiers were taking others, set upon them that led the prisoners, and so valiantly assaulted and beat them with stones, that they forced them to let go twelve of the prisoners, who, tumbling and rolling themselves down the mountain, having their hands bound behind their backs, and fastened two and two together by the arms, were contented rather so to die, than to be carried to the fortress; and yet in the end they escaped.[1] The other two who were led to the fortress, were cruelly tormented, and in the end the captain strangled with his own hands one of them, who was very young, and but a child: the other, who was about threescore years of age, whose name was Odul Gemet, suffered a strange and cruel death; for when they had bound him, they took a kind of beasts which live in horse manure, called in French 'escarbotz,' and put them unto his navel, covering them with a dish: they within short space pierced into his belly, and killed him. These, and the like more than barbarous cruelties, have been revealed by the soldiers themselves.

Two martyrs. A barbarous kind of torment used against a martyr of the Lord, called Odul Gemet, by the cruel papists.

The poor Waldois were yet in great captivity and distress, but especially because they had not the preaching of God's word amongst them, as they were wont to have; and therefore taking to them a good courage, they determined to begin preaching again, albeit secretly, for two principal causes: the one, for fear of moving the duke, and hindering the voyage of their messengers, having yet some hope of good success; the other, that no occasion might be given to the soldiers for further trouble and outrage; for that was it which they especially desired.[2] Also they of Angrogne were fully determined, as soon as their messengers were returned from the duke, to preach openly, what news soever they brought, were they good or evil; and furthermore, not to be contributaries to the finding of the garrison, neither yet to suffer the same to enter into Angrogne.

The messengers who were sent to the duke, being at Vercelli, were there detained six weeks, and all that while were cruelly handled by the popish doctors, and were constrained by force and violence to promise to return to the mass. Furthermore, they would have constrained them to promise the same in the behalf of the rest, but they would not. After they were presented to the duke, the secretary Gastaut took the supplication of the Waldois out of the messengers' hands, and delivered another. After they had presented themselves to the duke, and asked pardon for bearing of armour, they were constrained also to crave pardon of the pope's legate; which at the beginning they would in no case do. Now when these messengers

Messengers of the Angrognians cruelly treated.

(1) Note again how God blesseth his people, standing to their defence against the bloody papists.
(2) 'Be wise like serpents.'

Piedmont. were returned, bringing this woeful news, and the people understood that there was a new commandment given out, that they should return to the mass; also that the popish preachers were appointed, and ready to come unto them, and they commanded to go to fetch them and entertain them accordingly; there was wonderful lamentation, weeping, and mourning, for this great calamity.

A.D. 1555 to 1561.

A new commandment to go to mass.

Hereupon, they of the valley of Lucerne and of Bobi, being assembled together, by one assent sent two ministers, with certain others of the people, to the churches of Pragela (which be in the country of Dauphiné), to signify unto them the piteous state of the poor churches of the valleys of Piedmont, to have their counsel and advice how to prevent the great dangers at hand, if it were possible. For this cause they fell all to prayer, and after they had long called upon God, desiring his grace, and the spirit of discretion and counsel, well to consider of those weighty and urgent affairs wherewith they were oppressed; in the end it was concluded, that all the people dwelling in the said valleys and mountains of Piedmont, and those of Dauphiné, should join in a league together. Whereupon they all promised, by God's grace and assistance, to maintain the pure preaching of the gospel, and the administration of the holy sacraments; the one to aid and assist the other; and to render all obedience to their superiors, so far as they were commanded by the word of God. Moreover, that it should be lawful for none of the said valleys to promise or conclude any thing touching the estate of religion, without the consent of the rest of the valleys. And for more sure confirmation of the said league, certain of the ministers and elders of the churches of Dauphiné were sent to the valley of Lucerne, to understand if they would give their consent hereunto, and ratify the same.

God's assistance in time of need.

These messengers, the ministers and others of Dauphiné, being arrived in the evening at the village of Bobi, and the people being there assembled, word was brought that the next day every householder should appear in the council-house, to know whether they would return to the mass or no: and that they that would receive the mass, should quietly enjoy their houses; and they that would not, should be delivered to the justices, and condemned to be burned, or sent to the galleys. Wherefore the people were brought to this extremity, either to die or flee, or else to renounce God. To flee seemed to them best, if the great snow had not hindered them; wherefore seeing themselves in such distress, they most gladly consented to the league. After this they exhorted one another, saying, "Forasmuch as we shall be all called for to-morrow, to renounce and forsake our God, and revolt again to idolatry, let us now make solemn protestation, that we will utterly forsake the false religion of the pope, and that we will live and die in the maintenance and confession of God's holy word. Let us all go to-morrow into the temple, to hear the word of God, and after let us cast down to the ground all the idols and altars." To this every man agreed, saying, "Let us so do; yea, and that very same hour in which they have appointed us to be at the council-house!"

The people of Piedmont brought into great distress.

Images and altars broken down in the church of Bobi.

The next day after, they assembled themselves in the church of Bobi, and as soon as they came into the temple, without any further delay, they beat down the images, and cast down the altars. After

the sermon, they went to Villars to do the like there. By the way they encountered with a band of soldiers, who were going to spoil a village named Le Val Guichard, and to take the poor inhabitants prisoners. The soldiers, seeing them so ill appointed, mocked them, and discharged their hand-guns upon them, thinking at the first brunt to have put them to flight: but they valiantly defended themselves, and with stones chased them even to the fortress. When they came to Villars, they beat down their images and altars, and afterwards besieged the fortress, and demanded the prisoners which were there detained.

Piedmont. A.D. 1555 to 1561.

Also at Villars.

The same day, the judge of Lucerne, called Podesta, went to the council-house, to enrol the names of those who would return to the mass; but seeing what was done, he was sore afraid, and desired the people to suffer him to return quietly; which they willingly granted unto him. Divers gentlemen also of the valley came thither with the judge, to make their poor tenants to forsake God; but seeing the tumult, they were fain to flee into the castle, where they and the garrison were besieged ten days together, not without great danger of their lives. The second day of the siege, the captain of Tour went with a company of soldiers, thinking to raise the siege; but they were, by those that kept the passages, either slain or discomfited.[1] As much was done the third day. The fourth day he returned with three bands, and with the garrison of Tour, which caused a furious combat, wherein many of the enemies were slain, and a great number hurt; and yet of those that besieged the fort, there was not one man hurt.

Combat between the Waldois and their enemies.

In the time of this siege they attempted divers means to take the said fortress, but without ordnance it was impossible so to do; wherefore they were now past all hope of winning it. Moreover, the lord of Trinity, returning with his army, was come to the valley of Lucerne, and the next day after might easily have raised the siege. Wherefore when the garrison (not knowing that the lord of Trinity was so near) desired that they might depart with bag and baggage, they granted their request. In this siege half of the soldiers were slain, and many were hurt, as well with harquebusses as with stones. During this siege, the soldiers for lack of water were constrained to make their bread with wine, which tormented their stomachs, and caused great diseases. Here is not to be forgotten, that the soldiers, who a while before did so cruelly persecute the poor ministers, seeking by all means possible to destroy them, were now fain to pray them to save their lives, and to promise them that they should have no hurt, and also to conduct them safely into a sure place: neither would they depart until they had promised them so to do; which the ministers did promise, and also perform very willingly.[2] Then the soldiers, seeing themselves much beholden to the ministers so gently dealing with them, gave them great thanks, and promised them in recompense thereof all the pleasure that they could show them. The same night the fortress was rased.

The just hand of God upon his enemies.

On the 2d of February, the lord of Trinity encamped at Lucerne,

(1) God giveth victory to his servants.
(2) Note how the ministers of the gospel promise to their enemies and perform, doing good for evil.

Piedmont. and placed a garrison in the priory of St. Jean, a village of the Waldois between Lucerne and Angrogne. The next day, in the morning, the said lord of Trinity sent word unto them of Angrogne, that if they would not take part with the rest, they should be gently handled. All the week before, they were solicited by him to consent to the same, but they would give no answer: The same day they of Angrogne, and the rest of the valleys, fully agreed and determined to defend their religion by force, and that the one should aid the other, and no agreement to be made by any one without the consent of the rest. About noon the lord of Trinity marched with his army by St. Jean, to enter into the borders of Angrogne by a place called La Sonneillette, where they had fought before. The people had made certain bulwarks of earth and stone not past three feet high, where they defended themselves valiantly against their enemies, who assailed them divers ways. When the enemies were so weary that they could fight no longer, they put fresh soldiers into their places; so that the combat endured until night, and all that day the army could not enter into the borders of Angrogne. Many of the enemies were slain, and a great number hurt; and but two of Angrogne slain, of whom one was slain by his own folly, because he was too greedy upon the spoil. The army, being now well beaten and tired, rested a while, to make themselves stronger for a further mischief.

A. D. 1555 to 1561.

God compelleth his servants to defend their religion by force.

Another combat.

God giveth victory again to his people.

Another fight.

The Friday following, which was the 7th of February, at break of day, the army marched towards Angrogne by five several places. The people of Angrogne were not yet assembled, and there were none to resist, but only a few who kept the watch; who, seeing their enemies coming upon them in so many places, and perceiving that they went about to inclose them, after they had valiantly fought for a space, recoiled by little and little to a high place called La Casse, where the combat was renewed with greater fierceness than before. But the lord of Trinity, seeing the loss of his men, and above all, that one of great credit and authority in the duke's court was wounded to death, blew a retreat, and descended to Angrogne (the people being fled to the meadow of Tour), and there spoiled and burnt all the wines, victuals, and the rest of the goods that he could find; so that in a short space he had burned about a thousand houses of Angrogne.

God keepeth the temples of the gospel from burning.

And here is not to be forgotten, that they oftentimes set fire upon the two temples of Angrogne, where the word of God was preached, but they could never burn them. So did they also to the minister's house, which notwithstanding remained whole, the houses round about being all consumed with fire. This day none of Angrogne were slain or hurt, saving only one that was hurt in his thigh.

There were in all Angrogne but two, that were enemies to the word of God, who that same day were slain by the soldiers, not in the combat, but for their riches which they had about them, as they were running away.[1] One of them was a very covetous wretch, and had great store of gold and silver, and would spend nothing, either to help himself, or succour others, no not his poor parents. All this was spoiled by the soldiers, with a hundred or two hundred crowns besides, which he had about him. Besides these two, there was not one of Angrogne slain that day. All the rest of the people retired to the

Unkindness to parents rightly rewarded.

(1) Note again the secret work of God.

meadow of Tour, the situation whereof we will here declare, for the better understanding of that which followeth. *Piedmont.* A. D. 1555 to 1561

Tour is a little valley upon the borders of Angrogne, environed about with mountains, two miles in length, but very narrow. On both sides, and in the midst thereof, there be about two hundred small houses and cottages; also meadows, pastures for cattle, ground for tillage, trees, and goodly fountains. On the south-side and the north the mountains are so high, that no man can that way approach unto the said valley. On the other coasts a man may enter by seven or eight ways. This place is not more than two miles from Angrogne; the way thither is very narrow, and ill to pass by, because of the hills which be on both sides. There is also a river hard by, but very small; but the banks thereof be very high in many places. The people had carried thither very few victuals, partly because the way was so ill, and also through the sudden return of the army. The meadow of Tour described

In the mean time the lord of Trinity, after he had now twice assaulted Angrogne, sent certain to burn Rosa, and to discover the ways which led to the valley of Lucerne; but the soldiers were driven back four days together by those who kept the passages: whereupon he sent his whole army, whom they valiantly withstood from the morning till night. Then they of Lucerne sent new aid. During this combat, an ambushment of soldiers descended from the top of the mountain, by a place so hard to pass by, that no man would have suspected it. The poor people, seeing themselves so environed by their enemies, saved themselves, some running through the midst of their enemies, and others into the rocks. The enemies again driven back. The poor Christians run through the pikes.

The enemies, being entered into Rosa, consumed all with fire and sword. The residue of the people fled by the secret way leading to the valley of Lucerne, and wandered all that night upon the mountains full of snow, loaden with their stuff, carrying their little infants in their arms, and leading the others by the hands, with great pain and travail. When they of the valley saw them, they ran unto them, praising God for their deliverance, for they thought they had been all slain. Albeit this poor people were here in such great extremity, yet they were joyful, and comforted themselves, without any lamentation or mourning, except the little poor infants that cried out for cold. The Angrognians with their young infants flee into the mountains.

A few days after, the lord of Trinity entered into the valley of Lucerne by three several ways; that is to say, by Rosa, by the plain, and by the sides of Tailleret. They that kept the passages, at first resisted their enemies valiantly, but perceiving that they were assailed on every side, they retired to Villars, and there defended themselves awhile: but because they saw that their enemies had already passed the plain, and gotten above Villars towards Bobi, they gave over, and left Villars, and fled into the mountains. The soldiers, being entered, burned their houses, and slew all that they could find. The poor people who were fled into the mountains, seeing the village on fire, praised God, and gave him thanks, who had made them worthy to suffer for his name and for his cause; and also they were glad to see the village on fire, lest their enemies should encamp there themselves. Then the soldiers, in great rage, mounted the hills on every side, pursuing the poor people in great fury; but a few of them, after The Waldois again assaulted by the lord of Trinity.

Piedmont. they had ardently called upon God, took courage, and beat back their enemies to Villars. This done, the army retired.

A. D. 1555 to 1561. In a few days after, the meadow of Tour was assaulted by three several ways on the east side. The combat endured a long season, where divers of the enemies were hurt, and many slain: but none of this poor people were slain that day, only two were hurt, who were soon healed again. But to declare the conflicts, assaults, skirmishes, and alarms, which were at Angrogne and other places thereabouts, it were too long: for brevity's sake it shall be sufficient to touch the principal, and those which are most worthy of memory.

On Saturday, which was the 14th day of February, the people who were in the uppermost part of the meadow of Tour, perceived that a company of soldiers had ascended up the hill to Angrogne, and were burning the rest of the houses there. They doubted that it was a policy of their enemies to draw them thither, and in the mean time to set on them behind, and so to win the meadow of Tour from them. Therefore they sent only six harquebussiers against those soldiers, who, having the higher ground, and not being espied of their enemies, discharged all their guns together; whereupon incontinent the soldiers fled, albeit no man pursued them. Whether they fled of policy, or for fear, it was not known.[1]

Shortly after, they of the ward of the meadow of Tour, who were on the watch on the top of the mountain (because every morning a sermon was made there, whereunto the people resorted, and they might see afar off round about them), espied a troop of soldiers marching on that side of the hill which is between the east and the north, and soon after that, they discovered another company, which marched on the north side towards the said troop. The first had ascended an hour before the other, and fought on the top of the mountain called Melese, but they were soon discomfited; and because they could not run fast by means of the deep snow, and the difficulty of the ways, in fleeing they fell often down upon the ground. Whilst they that pursued them were earnest in the chase, and had taken from them their drum, behold there came certain unto them, crying out that the other troop was entered into the meadow of Tour, by means whereof they gave over the chase; or else not one of their enemies had escaped, as they that were there, reported for a truth. Not one of Angrogne was slain or hurt.

The persecutors pursued.

The other troop, that came by the north side, took a high hill in the top of the mountain, which seemed to be almost inaccessible, by reason of the snow and ice which were there. The chiefest of this company were Ludovic of Monteil (who had been before master of the camp in the king's wars), and Charles Truchet. When they were come to the top of the hill, they caused seven soldiers to go down the hill, and to view the way, and to see whether the troop might descend that way or no. These seven went down almost to the houses. They sent also others to occupy the rest of the high places which were near to the foot of the hill and the rocks. In the mean time the ministers, and the people who were in the midst of the valley of the meadow, saw all this, and were much discouraged therewith: wherefore they fell to prayer, and called upon God

God's people fall to prayer.

(1) 'The wicked fleeth when no man pursueth him.'

ardently, not without great sighs, and lamentation, and tears, even until night.

The seven spies who came down to discover the ways, cried unto their captain Truchet, "Come down! come down!" "Seignior Charles! this day Angrogne shall be taken." The others cried to them again, "Ascend! ascend, and return! or else you shall be slain every one of you!" Immediately issued out five against these spies, and took certain, and chased the rest. The first of the five who set upon them, cast two of them down upon the ground with a fork of fire. Soon after, eight of Angrogne issued out against the whole troop. It was wonderful to see them go with such courage and boldness, to assail such a multitude, and it seemed that they should have been all destroyed and hewn in pieces. The first of the eight went a good way before the others, to discover the enemies, and carried a great staff, which they call à rancon, and is somewhat bigger than a halberd: the others followed by two and two together, with harquebusses. These eight went from rock to rock, from hill to hill, about the mountain, and chased their enemies valiantly. Then came twelve others, who, joining with the rest, fought with a wonderful courage, and made great slaughter of their enemies. Soon after there came from the valley of Lucerne a hundred harquebussiers, with one of their ministers, according to their manner, who were wont to send out a minister withal, as well for prayer and exhortation, as to keep the people in order, that they exceeded not measure, as it came to pass that day.

Courage of God's people against their enemies.

At length they saw them also coming, who returned from the discomfiture of the former troop, making a great noise, and having a drum sounding before them which they had taken from their enemies; who joined with them of the valley of Lucerne, and having made their earnest prayer unto God, immediately they came to succour the others that now were encountering valiantly with their enemies. Then the enemies, seeing such a company marching against them with such courage and boldness, after the others had once called upon God, their hearts were so taken from them, that suddenly they fled, and as soon as the others began to pray, they began also to flee; but because they could not well save themselves by running away, they turned back twice, and fought, and some in the meantime fled.

Conflict between the Angrognians and their enemies.

He that carried the rancon, and discovered the enemies, was but a very young and a simple man, and was esteemed to be one that could do nothing but (as they say in their language) handle 'la sappe,' that is to say, a hatchet, and kept cattle: and yet he, with those that followed, so discomfited the enemies, that it was wonderful to behold. He brake his great rancon with laying load upon them; and after that he brake also four of their own swords in pursuing them. There was a boy of eighteen years of age, and of small stature, who alone slew the lord of Monteil, master of the camp (as is said) to the king; wherewith the enemies were marvellously astonished and discouraged. Another simple man, who, a man would have thought, durst not once have looked Charles Truchet in the face (because he was a very big man, strong and puissant, and one of the chiefest captains of the whole army), threw down the said Truchet with the stroke of a stone. Then a young man leaped upon him, and slew him with his own sword, which was four fingers broad, and cleft his head in pieces.

The marvellous works of the Lord.

David with his sling killeth Goliath.

Piedmont. A. D. 1555 to 1561.

This Truchet was one of the principal authors of this war, and one of the chiefest enemies of true religion, and of the poor Waldois, that could then be found.[1] It was said also, that he vaunted and promised before to the said lord of Trinity, that he would deliver into his hands the meadow of Tour: but God soon brought his proud brag to nought; and for his spoiling, pilling, and polling of the poor people, he lay spoiled and naked like a beast in the wild mountain of Angrogne. Two of the chiefest among them offered to pay a great sum of crowns for their ransom, but they could not be heard. They were pursued more than a mile, and were so discomfited, that they fled without any resistance; and if the night had not let them, they had pursued them further.

The minister, when he saw the great effusion of blood, and the enemies to flee, cried to the people, saying, that it was enough, and exhorted them to give thanks unto God. They that heard him, obeyed, and fell to prayer; but they that were further off, and heard him not, chased their enemies till dark night, insomuch that if the rest had done the like, very few of their enemies had escaped. That day they spoiled their enemies of a great part of their armour and munition. So God restored in this combat, and in others, to the poor Waldois, the armour which the lord of Trinity had taken from them before. Thanks were given to God in every place; and every man cried, "Who is he that seeth not that God fighteth for us?" This victory gave great courage to the poor Waldois, and greatly astonished the enemies.

God fighteth for his people.

On the 18th of February, the lord of Trinity, not satisfied with burning and destroying the greatest part of Villars, returned to burn all the little villages round about, which pertain to the same, and especially to pursue the poor people, who were fled up into the mountains; and dividing his army into three parts, he entered by three several ways above mentioned. The two first companies joined together between Villars and Bobi, having a great company of horsemen. From thence they went to seek the people who were in the mountain of Combe, by such a way as they did not suspect, and where there were no warders to defend the place. Notwithstanding, the warders who were next, seeing their enemies ascending that way, speedily ran before them; and calling upon God for his aid and succour, they set themselves against their enemies: and albeit they were but thirty in number, yet they valiantly beat them back twice, coming out of their bulwarks, that is to say, certain houses which at that time served them for that purpose, albeit they were not made for that use. Many of the enemies were slain at those two combats, and not one of the other side. The lord of Trinity, seeing his men so fiercely driven back, sent out the greatest part of his army, which were esteemed to be fifteen hundred men. There came also about a hundred to succour the warders. The combat was very cruel and fierce. At length the poor people were assaulted so vehemently, that they were fain to forsake their bulwarks, losing two of their men. Then the enemies thought all to be theirs, and blew their trumpets, triumphing that they had put the people to flight. But the people, retiring not past a stone's cast, took courage, and crying altogether

Pharaoh's heart yet remaineth indurate.

The Waldois again drive their enemies back.

(1) The cruelty of this wretched Truchet against this poor people appeareth before in this story.

to the Lord for succour, they turned themselves to the face of their enemies, and with great force and power hurled stones at them with their slings. *Piedmont.* A. D. 1555 to 1561.

After this the enemies rested themselves awhile, and by and by after they gave a furious assault; but yet they were again mightily resisted. Yet once again the enemies rested, and in the mean time the people fell to prayer, calling upon God altogether, with their faces lifted up towards heaven; which frayed the enemies more than any thing else. After this, they gave yet another great assault, but God by the hands of a few drove them back. Yea God here showed his great power, even in the little children also, who, fervently calling upon God, threw stones at their enemies, and gave courage also unto the men. So did also the women, and the vulgar sort; that is to say, those who were meet for no feats of war, remaining upon the mountain, and beholding these furious combats, kneeling upon the ground, and having their faces lifted up towards heaven, with tears and groanings they cried, "Lord, help us!" who heard their prayers.

After these three assaults were given, there came one unto them crying, "Be of good courage! God hath sent those of Angrogne to succour us." He meant, that they of Angrogne were fighting for them in another place, that is to say, towards Tailleret, where the third part of the army was. The people perceiving that they of Angrogne were come to that place to succour them, began to cry, "Blessed be God, who hath sent us succour: they of Angrogne be here to succour us!" The enemies hearing this, were astonished, and suddenly blew a retreat, and retired into the plain. The enemies retire. The Angrognians help their fellows.

The troop that were gone towards Tailleret, divided themselves into three companies. The first marched by the side of the mountain, burning many houses, and joined with the main army. The second company, which was of seven score, marched higher, thinking to take the people at unawares; but they were by seven men strongly resisted and driven back. The third company attained the top of the mountain, thinking to inclose the people; but as God would, they of Angrogne, who came to succour them, encountered with them, and with great force put them to flight.

They of Villars, of whom mention is made before, after they had refreshed themselves with a little bread and wine (for the most part of them had eaten nothing all that day), chased their enemies till it was almost night, so fiercely, that the master of the camp was fain to send to the lord of Trinity (who was at Tour) for succour, or else all would have been lost; which he did; and immediately he rode with all speed to Lucerne to save himself, hearing the alarm which was given at St. Jean by those of Angrogne, and fearing lest the way should have been stopped. The army retired with great difficulty (notwithstanding the new aid which was sent them), and with great loss of their men. One of their captains confessed since, that if they had been pursued any further, they had fled all that night long. Since that time they never returned again into the valley of Lucerne. The persecutors put to flight.

On Monday, being the 17th of March next following, the lord of Trinity, to be revenged on those of the meadow of Tour, assembled all the force that he could make with the gentlemen of the country;

Piedmont. insomuch that whereas before, his army was commonly but four thousand, it was now between six and seven thousand: and secretly, in the night season, he encamped with part of his army in the midst of Angrogne, from whence the poor inhabitants were fled before. The next morning, after the sermon and prayers were ended, they perceived the other part of the army to be encamped at the foot of the mountain of Angrogne on the east side. Soon after they perceived how both parts of the army coasted the hill's side, the one towards the other, being such a multitude, so glittering in their harness, and marching in such array, that the poor people at first were astonished thereat. Notwithstanding, the assembly fell down upon their knees three or four times, crying, "Help us, O Lord!" beseeching him to have regard to the glory of his holy name, to stay the effusion of blood, if it were his good pleasure, and to turn the hearts of their enemies to the truth of his holy gospel. These two parts of the army joined together near to the bulwarks of the meadow of Tour, and gave the assault in three several places. One of the bands mounted secretly by the rocks, thinking to have inclosed the people in their bulwarks. But as soon as they that kept the bulwark below had espied them, they forsook the place, and marched straight towards them; and as they marched, they met with the aid which was sent unto them, very luckily, from the valley of Lucerne, and coming as it were from heaven; who joining together, soon discomfited their enemies with stones and harquebusses. They pursued them fiercely into the rocks, and vexed them wonderfully, because the rocks are so steep that no man can ascend or descend without great pain and difficulty. The captain of this band was named Bastian, of Vergilia, a man very expert in the affairs of war. At his going out of his lodging, he threatened that he would do great and terrible things that day. His hostess hearing that, said unto him, "Monsieur! if our religion be better than theirs, you shall have the victory; but if theirs be better than ours, you shall not prevail." Shortly after the captain was brought again into his inn, so wounded and so feeble, that he was not likely to live. Then said his hostess unto him, "Monsieur! it is now well seen, that their religion is better than ours."

A. D. 1555 to 1561.

The Angrognians fall to prayer.

Proud threats of Haman.

There was also another band that kept the top of the hill, to assault the bulwarks from thence. The middlemost bulwark was then assaulted, in which were very few to defend the same; who, seeing the number of their enemies, retired back, leaving therein five only to defend it. There was a huge rock not far from the aforesaid bulwark, behind which a great number of the enemies were hid; and anon there issued out two ensigns, assuring themselves to win the bulwark; but immediately one of their ensign-bearers was wounded to death, whereupon many recoiled back; the other set up his ensign upon the bulwark. They that were within, had neither halberd, nor any other long weapon, but only one pike, and the same without any iron; which one of the five took, and threw down the ensign, and manfully beat back the scalers, and threw them down to the ground Divers of the enemies were entered into the bulwark by a door below, and slew one of the five who kept the middle part of the bulwark. The other four looked to be destroyed out of hand. Then

The bulwarks manfully defended.

one of the four chased away those who had entered below, with stones; and the other three, leaving their hand-guns, defended themselves likewise with great stones: and perceiving the band which was on the rocks to flee, they took courage, and withstood their enemies valiantly, till their companions were returned from the chase. *Piedmont.* A. D. 1555 to 1561.

In the mean time the bulwark which was upon the side of the mountain, was furiously assailed by the one half of the army. Those that were within, suffered their enemies to approach near to the bulwark, without any gunshot or other defence; whereat the enemies much marvelled: but when they were even at hand, they fell upon them, some with throwing of stones,[1] some with rolling down mighty stones, and some with harquebusses. There was a huge stone rolled down, which passed throughout the whole army, and slew divers. The soldiers at that time had won a little cottage near to the said bulwark, which did much hurt to the poor men; but among them one devised to roll down a great huge stone against the cottage, which so shook it, and amazed the soldiers, that they thought they had been all destroyed; and incontinent they fled, and never would enter into it again.

Then the soldiers made certain fences of wood, five feet long, three feet broad, and of the thickness of three boards: but they were so sore vexed with the shot of the harquebusses, that they were fain to lay all those fences aside. The miners also made others of earth for the soldiers. But all these policies of the enemies availed them nothing; for the slaughter was so great, that in divers places you might have seen three lying dead, one upon another. God so wrought with the poor Christians, that the shot of two harquebusses slew four men. It was said for a certainty, that the shot of a harquebuss came so near the lord of Trinity's head, that it brake a wand which he bare in his hand, and made him to retire six-score paces backward; and seeing his soldiers in such great numbers murdered and wounded on every side, he wept bitterly. Then he retired the rest of his army. That day he thought assuredly to have entered into the meadow of Tour. Moreover, he was determined, if that day's journey had not succeeded, to encamp thereby, and the next morning very early to renew the assault. Many gentlemen and others came thither to see the discomfiture of the poor Waldois; and likewise those of the plain looked for nothing, but to hear the piteous ruin and desolation of this poor people. But God disposed it otherwise, for the lord of Trinity had much ado to save himself and his; and seeing the mischiefs which they intended to do unto others, were fallen now upon their own heads, they were wonderfully astonished. They of the plain also, when they saw the number of the dead bodies and the wounded to be so great (for from noon until the evening they ceased not to carry them away), were likewise exceedingly dismayed. Albeit they carried not all away; for there were many that lay near to the bulwarks, whom the people covered with winding-sheets the next morning. The soldiers themselves confessed to them of the meadow of Tour, that if they had pursued them, they had been all slain, they were so tired, and clean out of heart.

The lord of Trinity with his army driven back.

The papists astonished and dismayed on every side by the wonderful judgment of God.

(1) Behold the artillery of this simple people, and with what weapons they fought.

Piedmont. A.D. 1555 to 1561

Many marvelled why the people did not follow the army, but especially the soldiers, seeing the great discomfiture which they had done, and that they had gotten such advantage of them already: but this was done for two causes; the one was, because they had already determined not to follow the army being once retired, to avoid the effusion of blood, meaning only to defend themselves; the other cause was, for that they were weary, and had spent all their munition: for many of them had shot off about thirty times, and none of them under twenty, spending great store both of pellets and hail shot. The rest of the army retired, crying with a loud voice, "God fighteth for them, and we do them wrong!"

God's people avoid the shedding of blood.

God fighteth for them.

The next day one of the principal captains of the army surrendered his charge to the lord of Trinity, saying unto him, that he would never fight against this people any more; and upon that he departed. It is a marvellous thing, and worthy of perpetual memory, that in that combat there were but two of the Waldois slain, and two hurt. Through the whole country of Piedmont, every man said, "God fighteth for them." One of the captains confessed, that he had been at many fierce assaults and combats, and sundry battles well fought, but yet he never saw soldiers so faint-hearted and amazed; yea, the soldiers themselves told him, they were so astonished, that they could not strike. Moreover, they said, that this people never shot, but they hurt or killed some of the soldiers. Some others said, that the ministers by their prayers conjured and bewitched them, that they could not fight. And indeed wonderful is it, and marvellous are the judgments of God, that notwithstanding so many combats and conflicts, such great assaults and adventures, so much and such terrible shot, continually made against this poor people, yet all in a manner came to no effect, so mightily God's holy power wrought for his people: insomuch that for all the said combats, skirmishes, and so many conflicts of all the Angrognians, there were but nine only that miscarried, and the whole number of those that were slain were but only fourteen persons. Here also is to be noted, not without great admiration, how few there were, and those also but poor silly shepherds and neatherds, to encounter with such a mighty power of so strong and brave soldiers coming against them with weapons and armour, being so well furnished and appointed with munition, as they were in all points accordingly; and the other on the contrary side being unarmed, and unprovided of all habiliment of war, having for their defence for the most part nothing else but slings and stones, and a few harquebusses.

Only fourteen Waldois slain in all these conflicts.

On the 9th of March there was a hot skirmish at Angrogne; for three companies of soldiers went to Angrogne, to burn and spoil all that remained, and to destroy the wines which were hidden in the ground. Here, amongst themselves, they mocked and flouted the poor people, saying, "These Lutheran Waldois are valiant fellows behind their bulwarks; but if they had been in the plain field, they had been well canvassed." After this it chanced that thirty of the Waldois went and assailed these aforesaid companies in the plain field. They fought a long season, and that so near, that some of them fought hand to hand. In this conflict one of those of Angronge, wrestled with a captain of the enemies, strong and mighty, and cast

Another skirmish between the enemies and the Angrognians.

him down upon the ground. Many of the soldiers were slain, and many hurt; but of the Angrognians there was but one slain, and another hurt a little, who notwithstanding gave not over to fight manfully. Then the soldiers, seeing the loss of their men, retired suddenly. *Piedmont.* A. D. 1555 to 1561.

After that, the lord of Trinity sent two gentlemen of the valley of Lucerne to them of Angrogne, to feel them if they would come to any agreement. To whom answer was made, that they would stand to their first answer. From that time he sent very often to treat of the agreement; but what his meaning was, it might well appear; for when the poor people hoped for some agreement, they were most furiously assaulted. Upon this, there was a day assigned in the valley of Lucerne, to confer touching the agreement with certain men pertaining to the lord of Ranconis, and the safe conduct was promised and granted. Note the practice of the papists.

The night before the ministers and rulers of Angrogne should take their journey, they perceived a company of soldiers going up a hill by which they of Angrogne should pass, and hid them in houses on the way-side, thinking to take at unawares them of Angrogne, that were sent to treat of the agreement.[1] But they, having intelligence of this conspiracy, watched and warded. It was an easy matter, as divers thought, that night to have taken the lord of Trinity, and to have spoiled his whole camp; but they of Angrogne and Lucerne would not execute this enterprise, lest thereby they should offend God, and pass the bounds of their vocation, taking upon them no more but to defend themselves. David spares king Saul.

At that time a pitiful case happened in the meadow of Tour. The lord of Ranconis, seeming to be sorry for this war, sent into the meadow of Tour an honest man of Briquetas, named Francis of Gilles, to take advice what means were best to further the agreement; who, having consulted with the ministers and rulers, returned homeward that day according to his master's commandment, and having sent back one who conducted him, was murdered soon after at the foot of Angrogne, by two of Angrogne who otherwise seemed to be honest, and of good parentage. Soon after, one of the two, who had committed this fact, entered into the meadow of Tour and was immediately apprehended and bound. He confessed the fact without any further delay. Immediately the other also was taken.

The Waldois were marvellously troubled and aggrieved with this fact, and wrote to the lord of Ranconis,[2] declaring unto him the whole circumstance of the fact, and that they had the offenders in ward, and that if it would please him to send certain to examine the matter, they, for their part, would so execute justice in the punishment of them, that their innocency to all men should appear. The lord of Ranconis wrote unto them that they should deliver unto him the offenders, and that he would do such justice upon them as the case required. To this they of Angrogne answered, that upon three conditions they should be delivered according to his request: first, that the prisoners should be compelled to do nothing against their consciences; and as touching religion, nothing should be spoken unto them, but Just dealing of the Angrognians.

(1) Behold how this traitorous Trinity, whilst he pretendeth an agreement, goeth about to destroy these poor men! (2) 'Ranconis,' or Raconis, probably Raconigi.—Ed.

Piedmont. A. D. 1555 to 1561.

out of the word of God: secondly, that speedy and sharp justice should be executed upon them; and that hereafter this should be no prejudice to the liberties and privileges of the people of Angrogne: the third, that the execution of them should be upon the borders of Angrogne, for an example to all others. This being accorded with one assent (yea without contradiction of their parents), they sent them prisoners, accompanied with sixty gunners, to the confines of Lucerne, and there delivered them into the hands of the lord of Ranconis. This redounded to the great commendation of them of Angrogne.

After this, the lord of Trinity, having left certain garrisons about Angrogne, and the valley of Lucerne, went to Perouse near to the valley of St. Martin, to succour the garrison there, being in great danger, and there remained a month. During which time, they of Angrogne, and the valley of Lucerne, lived in more quietness than before; but yet they were much afflicted, by reason of the scarcity of victuals which sore pressed them, and namely those of the meadow of Tour, for they were spoiled of their victuals. This poor people lived on milk and herbs, having very little bread: but afterwards, when they were even like to be famished, God of his goodness sent them better succour, both of corn and bread, than they had before. The enemies thought to have taken the meadow of Tour by famine; for they took away the victuals that were to be had in all places round about. Every household was suffered to have no more than should sustain them that day, and that also was very little; to the end that they should not succour this poor people.

Scarceness of victuals; God's mercy towards his people, in time of scarceness.

After that, the lord of Trinity, being returned from Perouse to Lucerne, sent certain to treat of an agreement, and required to commune with some of the people. Then they began to consult and devise, by all means, how they might come to some good agreement. But on Monday, being the 17th of April, by break of day, he sent certain bands of Spaniards, which he had there,[1] with the garrison of Tour, to the mountain of Tailleret, by the way which leadeth to the meadow of Tour, on the south side: they murdered men, women, and children of Tailleret, whom they found in their beds. Then they marched on along upon the mountain, towards the meadow of Tour. Anon after, the people perceived two other companies of soldiers, marching by Angrogne by two several ways, to assault the meadow of Tour. In the morning, as soon as they rose, they blew their horns, for they saw the Spaniards already entered. When they had made their prayers, every man ran to meet the enemies; some on the east side, and the others on the south. They that first resisted the Spaniards (who were already past the bulwarks), were in the beginning but twelve gunners, and a few others, whom they caused to go up to the hill, and roll down great stones. These twelve, having found a fit place for their purpose to stay the Spaniards, began to shoot off their harquebusses at them. The Spaniards, seeing themselves so sore assaulted both above and beneath, and the place so narrow and so strait, recoiled back, and retired as fast as they could by the same way by which they came. If they had tarried a little longer, they had

The people of Tailleret cruelly murdered by the Spaniards.

The trumpets of the Waldois.

The Spaniards beaten back.

(1) Note how this bloody wretch, pretending agreement, peace, and quietness, immediately seeketh the destruction of this poor people.

been enclosed between the two mountains; which place was so strait, that they could not have escaped. The people chased them unto their camp, which was at Tour. As they fled, they found often some forts, where they did resist for a little while, but they were always beaten out. In this combat, God gave victory to the poor Waldois, with great slaughter of the Spaniards, where also very many of them were sore hurt and wounded. *Piedmont.* A. D. 1555 to 1561.

The said lord of Trinity sent unto the Spaniards, that they should not faint and give over, but stick to it like men, and he would shortly send them succour: but they would not. Those of the valley of Lucerne, hearing of this conflict, came in the mean time to help their neighbours. Amongst others, there was one slain in that battle, for whom the lord of Trinity much lamented, saying, that he would rather have lost a whole band than that man. The other two companies which marched by Angrogne, perceiving the Spaniards to be so beaten and put to flight, and seeing also those of the meadow of Tour coming to encounter with them, retired in haste. Upon that the lord of Trinity went to Cavors, three miles from Lucerne, being in a great perplexity; and as he was about to send succour to the Spaniards, he heard the sound of a drum above Lucerne, and suspected that there was an army of the Waldois coming against him. Upon this, divers of the soldiers fled away by the plain, crying that all was lost. It was certainly reported, that if the Waldois had pursued the army, as they might easily have done, the camp had that day been chased out of Lucerne. The poor people lacked no courage so to do; for albeit they had neither eaten nor drunk all the day before, and had so sore travailed and fought, yet they said, that if they had but a little refreshed themselves with a morsel of bread, and a glass of wine, they durst take upon them to enter into the camp of their enemies.

God taketh the hearts from his enemies. He giveth courage to the poor Waldois.

Within a few days after, they of Angrogne were advertised by the lord of Trinity's letters, that he fully determined to cut down their trees and vines, and destroy their corn being on the ground; and furthermore, that two forts should be built at Angrogne. The day was assigned, and horsemen appointed, with all speed to execute this mischievous enterprise. The poor people thought that they should be assailed as sore as ever they were, and fight as hard as ever they did before. But God prevented this cruel attempt; for the night before this should be executed, the lord of Trinity received certain letters from the duke, which stayed this enterprise. They of the meadow of Tour being advertised that the lord of Trinity did now intend to send ordnance to beat down the bulwarks which were made of stones, they made a bulwark of earth, which was in compass about five hundred paces, which they might easily see from Lucerne. They of the meadow of Tour told the lord of Trinity's men, that if they brought any artillery, they should not so soon carry it away again; and shortly the ordnance was sent back again.

The mischievous purpose of Trinity stayed by the providence of God.

About this season, the chief rulers and ministers of the Waldois, requested earnestly the lord of Ranconis to present a supplication which they had made to the duchess of Savoy: for they had intelligence, that she was sore offended that her subjects were so cruelly handled. In this supplication they declared the equity of their cause, protesting all due obedience to the duke their sovereign lord, and if it might be

The Waldois send a supplication to the duchess.

Piedmont. A.D. 1555 to 1561.

proved by the pure word of God that they held any error, they would, with all humble submission, receive correction, and be reformed, humbly beseeching her grace to appease the displeasure which the duke had conceived against them, by the untrue surmises of their adversaries; and if there were any thing wherein they had offended him, they most humbly craved his gracious pardon.

The lord of Trinity sore sick.

About this time the lord of Trinity, by sickness, was in great danger of his life. Soon after the supplication was delivered, the duchess sent an answer to the Waldois, by the said lord of Ranconis. The effect thereof was, that she had obtained of the duke's grace all that they demanded in their supplication, upon such conditions as the said lord of Ranconis would propound unto them. But when they understood that the said conditions were very rigorous, they sent another supplication unto the duchess, wherein they humbly besought her grace to be a mean that the said conditions and articles might be moderated; which articles here follow.

Another supplication to the duchess.

Conditions and Articles proposed to the Waldois.

First, That they should banish their ministers.

Secondly, That they should receive the mass, and other ceremonies of the Romish church.

Thirdly, That they should pay a ransom to the soldiers for certain of their men whom they had taken.

Fourthly, That they should assemble and preach no more as they were wont to do.

Fifthly, That the duke would make fortresses at his pleasure, in all that country, with other like things.

The Supplication of the Waldois to the Duchess of Savoy.

The conditions whereunto the Waldois did agree and consent.

The people made humble request in this their last supplication, that it would please the said duchess to give the duke her husband to understand, how that these conditions were strange and rigorous. And as for their parts, although they had good trial of their ministers, that they were good men and fearing God, of sound doctrine, of good life, and honest conversation; yet nevertheless they were contented so to do, if he would give leave to some of them to remain: requesting this, that it might be permitted unto them to choose some other good ministers in their places, before they departed, lest their churches should remain without pastors.

Concerning the mass, and other ceremonies of the church of Rome, if the duke should cause them to be ministered in their parishes, they neither would nor could withstand the same, and for their part, they would do no injury or violence to those that should minister them, or be present thereat: notwithstanding they besought him, that they might not be constrained to be present themselves at the ministration thereof, nor to pay any thing to the maintenance of the same, neither to yield either favour or consent thereunto.

As touching the ransom which was demanded of them for their prisoners, considering the extreme poverty that they were in, and the great calamities and damages which they had suffered, it was to them a thing impossible. Yea, if his highness were truly informed what loss they had sustained, by burning, spoiling, and sacking of their houses and goods, without all mercy or pity, he would not only not require of them any such thing, but, as a gracious and merciful prince, he would succour and support them, that they might be able to maintain their poor families, whom they nourished (as they were bound to do) to the service of God, and of their said lord and prince: and therefore they desired that it might please him, that their poor brethren remaining in captivity and prison, and such as were sent to the galleys for the profesison of their religion, might speedily be delivered and set at liberty.

As for their assemblies and preachings, they were contented that they should be kept only amongst themselves, in their accustomed places, and in other valleys aforesaid, where any assembly of the faithful should be, who were desirous to hear the preaching of the gospel. *Piedmont.* A. D. 1555 to 1561.

Touching the fortresses, forasmuch as by those which were already made, they had suffered great molestations and troubles, as well concerning their goods, as also their religion, they were assured, that if he should build up new forts, they should never be able to abide the troubles, miseries, and calamities, that would follow thereupon: and therefore they most humbly desired the said duchess to be so good and gracious unto them, as to obtain of the duke that he would accept their persons in the stead of forts; and that, seeing those places were by nature and of themselves strong and well fortified, it might please their said lord the duke to receive them into his protection and safeguard; and by the grace and assistance of God they would serve him themselves for such walls and forts, that he should not need to build any other. And because many of those who dwelt near about them had robbed and spoiled them, not only of their household goods and such other things, but also driven away their cattle, that it might please him to give them leave to recover the said goods by way of justice, and to buy again that which the soldiers had sold, and that for the same price for which it was sold.

Briefly, they also besought their said lord, that it might please him to be so gracious unto them, as to grant them a confirmation of all their franchises, immunities, and privileges, as well general as particular, given unto them as well by him as by his predecessors; and likewise of those, who, as well as their ancestors, had bought of their lords, and to receive them, as his most humble and obedient subjects, into his protection and safeguard.

And because in time past, instead of good and speedy justice, all iniquity was committed by those that had the administration of justice in their valleys, and forasmuch as their purses were emptied and punished rather than the malefactors; that it might please him to give order that such justice might be done amongst them, whereby the wicked might be punished with all severity, and the innocent defended and maintained in their right.

Finally, forasmuch as divers of this poor people (being astonished at the coming of the army, and fearing lest they should not only be spoiled of all their goods, but also they with their wives and children be utterly destroyed) made promise, against their consciences, to live according to the traditions of the church of Rome; they were marvellously troubled and tormented in spirit, and did nothing but languish in that distress. Wherefore they humbly besought the said duchess to take pity upon them, and to obtain that they might not be compelled to do any thing against their conscience; and moreover, that it might please the duke to permit them to live in liberty and freedom of conscience: also, that all their poor brethren, banished for the cause of religion, might return home to their houses; and that all confiscations and penalties made against them, might be abolished. And for their part, they promised to give all due reverence and honour to God and his holy word, and to be true and faithful subjects unto their lord and prince; yea, more than any other. Underneath the said supplication there was written: Torment of conscience in sliding from the truth.

> Your faithful and humble subjects, the poor afflicted of the valleys of Lucerne, Angrogne, St. Martin, and Perouse, and, generally, all the people of the Waldois, who inhabit the country of Piedmont.

After this supplication was viewed and read by the said duchess, she so persuaded with the duke, that answer was made with these conditions, declared in these articles following:

Conclusions and Articles lastly agreed upon between the Right Honourable Lord of Ranconis, on the part of the Duke's Highness, and them of the Valleys of Piedmont, called the Waldois.

That there shall shortly be made letters patent by the duke's highness, by which it may appear that he hath forgiven and pardoned them of the valleys of Pardon promised

Piedmont. A. D. 1555 to 1561.

Angrogne, Bobi, Villars, Valquichard, Roras, Tailleret, La Rua de Bonet (bordering upon Tour), St. Martin, Perouse, Roccapiata, St. Barthilimi, and all such as have aided them; of all such faults as they have committed, as well in bearing armour against his highness, as against the lords and certain other gentlemen whom he retained and kept in his protection and safeguard.

Sermons and congregations permitted.

That it shall be lawful for them of Angrogne, Bobi, Villars, Valquichard, Roras, members of the valley of Lucerne, and for them of Rodoret, Marcele, Maneille, and Salsa (members of the valley of St. Martin), to have their congregations, sermons, and other ministries of their religion in places accustomed

The parish of Villars.

That it shall be lawful for them of Villars (members of the valley of Lucerne) to have the same, but that only until the time that his highness doth build a fort in the same place. But whilst the said fort is in building, it shall not be lawful to have their preachings and assemblies within the said precinct of the place, but it shall be lawful for them to build a place for that purpose near at hand, where they shall think good, on that side towards Bobi. Nevertheless it shall be permitted to their ministers to come within the precinct aforesaid, to visit the sick, and exercise other things necessary to their religion, so that they preach not, nor make any assembly there.

The parish of Tailleret La Rua de Bonet.

It shall also be permitted to them of Tailleret, and La Rua de Bonet, bordering upon Tour, to have their sermons and assemblies in places accustomed, so that they enter not for that purpose into the rest of the confines of Tour.

The valleys of Lucerne and St. Martin.

That it shall not be lawful for the said members of the valleys of Lucerne and St. Martin, to come to the rest of their borders, nor to any other of his highness's dominions; nor to have their preachings, assemblies, or disputations, out of their own borders, having liberty to have them therein. And if they be examined of their faith, it shall be lawful for them to answer without danger of punishment in body or goods.

The parish of Perouse.

The like shall be lawful for them of the parish of Perouse, who at this present are fled because of the said religion, and were wont to have their assemblies and preachings, and other ministries according to their religion, at the place called Le Puis; so that they come not to other places and borders of the said parish.

The parish of Pinachia.

It shall be permitted to them of the parish of Pinachia, of the valley of Perouse, who at this present be fled because of the said religion, and were wont to go to sermons and assemblies, and other ministries of that religion, to have the like, only at the place called Le Grandoubion.

The parish of St. Germain.

It shall be permitted to them of the parish of St. Germain, of the valley of Perouse, and to them of Roccapiata, who at this present are fled because of the said religion, and continue in the same, to have one only minister, who may the one day preach at St. Germain, at the place called l'Adormilleux, and the other day at Roccapiata, at the place called Vandini only.

Order for villages being far from the parish church.

It shall be permitted to all them of the towns and villages of the said valleys, who at this present are fled, and continue in the said religion, notwithstanding any promise or abjuration made before this war against the said religion, to repair and return to their houses with their households, and to live according to the same, going and coming to the sermons and assemblies which shall be made by their ministers in the places above specified, so that they obey that which is above-said.

And because many of the said towns and villages dwell out of the precinct of the preaching, having need to be visited, and of other things according to their said religion, their ministers, who dwell within the precinct, shall be suffered, without prejudice, to visit and duly aid them of such ministries as shall be necessary for them, so that they make no sermons nor assemblies.

The parishes of Meane, and St. Barthilimi.

By especial grace it shall be permitted to all them of the valley of Meane, and them of St. Barthilimi, neighbours to Roccapiata, and who are fled and continue in the said religion, peaceably to enjoy the grace and liberties granted in the next article before, so that they observe all which they before promise to observe.

Goods of the Waldois restored.

The goods already seized as forfeited, shall be restored to all the inhabitants of the said valleys, and to all that are fled and continue in the said religion, as well them of the said valleys, as to those of Roccapiata, St. Barthilimi, and of Meane; so that they be not seized for any other cause than for the said religion, and for the war present and lately passed.

Piedmont.

A. D. 1555 to 1561.

It shall be lawful for them aforesaid to recover by way of justice, of their neighbours, their movable goods and cattle, so it be not of soldiers; and that which hath been sold, they shall also recover by way of justice, so that they restore the price for which it hath been sold. Their neighbours shall have the like against them.

All their franchises, freedoms, and privileges, as well general as particular, granted as well by his highness's predecessors, as by himself, and obtained of other inferior lords, whereof they shall make proof by public writing, shall be confirmed unto them. The liberties restored.

The said valleys shall be provided for, to have good justice ministered unto them, whereby they may know they are kept in safeguard by his highness, as well as all his other subjects.

The inhabitants of the said valleys, shall make a roll of the names and surnames of all those of the said valleys, who are fled for religion, as well such as have abjured as others, to the end they may be restored and maintained in their goods and households, and enjoy such grace and benefits as their prince and lord hath bestowed on them.

And inasmuch as it is known to every man, that the prince may build fortresses in his country, where it shall please him, without contradiction, nevertheless, to take all suspicion out of the minds of the aforesaid Waldois, it is declared, that if at any time hereafter his highness shall make a fort at Villars, the inhabitants of the said place shall not be constrained to bear the charges, but only as they shall think good lovingly to aid their prince: which fort being builded (by God's aid), a governor and captain shall therein be appointed, who shall attempt nothing but the service of his highness, without offence of the inhabitants, either in their goods or consciences.

It shall be lawful for them, before the discharging of their ministers, such as it shall please his highness to have discharged, to choose and call others in their steads; so that they choose not M. Martin de Pragela, nor change from one place to another of the said valleys, any of them that be discharged. M. Martin de Pragela, minister of the Waldois.

The mass, and other service after the usage of Rome, shall be kept in all the parishes of the said valleys, where the sermons, assemblies, and other ministries of their religion are made; but none shall be compelled to be present thereat, nor to minister aid or favour to such as shall use that service. Mass set up, but not compelled to come to it.

All the expenses and charges borne by his highness in this war, shall be forgiven and released to them for ever; also the eight thousand crowns wherein the inhabitants of the said valleys were behind, as part of sixteen thousand crowns which they had promised in the war passed; and his highness will command that the writings for that cause made, shall be annulled and cancelled.

All the prisoners shall be rendered and restored, who shall be found to be in the hands of the soldiers, paying ransom reasonable, according to their goods, as they shall be seized; and those that shall be adjudged to be wrongfully taken, shall be released without ransom. Prisoners restored by ransom.

Likewise all they of the said valleys, who for religion, and not for other causes, are detained in the galleys, shall be released without ransom.

Finally, it shall be lawful for all them of the said valleys, them of Meane, Roccapiata, and St. Barthilimi, of what degree, estate, or condition soever they be (except ministers), to accompany and dwell, and to be in daily conversation with the rest of his highness's subjects; and to tarry, go, and come in all places of his highness's country; to sell and buy, and use all trades of merchandise, in all places in his highness's country (as before is said), so that they preach not, nor make any assemblies or disputations, as we have before said: and that those who be of the limits dwell not out of them; and those who be of the towns and villages of the said valleys, dwell not out of them, nor of their borders: and in so doing they shall not be molested by any means, and shall not be offended nor troubled in body or goods, but shall remain under the protection and safeguard of his highness. Liberty of traffic granted.

Furthermore, his highness shall give order to stay all troubles, inconveniences, secret conspiracies of wicked persons, after such sort that they shall remain quietly in their religion. For observation whereof, George Monastier, one of the elders of Angrogne; Constantion Dialestini, otherwise called Rembaldo, one of the elders of Villars; Pirrone Arduino, sent from the commonalty of Bobi; Michael Raymundet, sent from the commonalty of Tailleret, and of The elders of the valleys of Piedmont.

Piedmont. A. D. 1555 to 1561. La Rua de Bovet, bordering upon Tour; John Malenote, sent from certain persons of St. Jean; Peter Paschall, sent from the commonalty of the valley of St. Martin; Thomas Roman of St. Germain, sent from the commonalty of the same place, and of all the valley of Perouse, promise for them and their commonalties severally, that the contents of these conclusions aforesaid shall be inviolately kept; and for breach thereof do submit themselves to such punishment as shall please his highness; promising likewise to cause the chief of the families of the commonalties to allow and confirm the said promise.

The lady princess intercessor for the Waldois. The honourable lord of Ranconis doth promise, that the duke's highness shall confirm and allow the aforesaid conclusions to them, both generally and particularly, at the intercession and special favour of the noble lady the princess.

In testimony hereof, the aforesaid lord of Ranconis hath confirmed these present conclusions with his own hand; and the ministers have likewise subscribed, in the name of all the said valleys; and they that can write, in the name of all their commonalties.

At Cavor, the 5th day of June, 1561.

Philip of Savoy.
Francis Valla, Minister of Villars.
Claudius Bergius, Minister of Tailleret.
Georgius Monasterius.
Michael Raymundet.

This accord being thus made and passed, by means of the duchess of Savoy, the poor Waldois have been in quiet until this present; and God, of his infinite goodness, having delivered them out of so many troubles and conflicts, hath set them at liberty to serve him purely, and with quietness of conscience.

All things turn to the best to them that love the Lord. Wherefore there is none at this present (except he be altogether blind or senseless), but seeth and well perceiveth, that God would make it known by experience to these poor Waldois, and all other faithful people, that all things turn to the best to them that love and fear him: for by all these afflictions which they suffered (as is before rehearsed), this good heavenly Father hath brought them to repentance and amendment of life; he hath effectuously taught them to have recourse to his fatherly mercy, and to embrace Jesus Christ for their only Saviour and Redeemer.

Furthermore, he hath taught them to tame the desires and lusts of the flesh, to withdraw their hearts from the world, and lift them up to heaven; and to be always in a readiness to come to him, as unto their most loving and pitiful Father. To be short, he hath sent them to the school of his children, to the end they should profit in patience and hope; to make them to mourn, weep, and cry unto him. And above all, he hath made them so often to prove his succours in the time of need, to see them before their eyes, to feel and touch them with their hands (as a man would say) after such sort, that they have had good occasion, and all the faithful with them, never to distrust so good a Father, and one so careful for the health of his children; but to assure themselves they shall never be confounded, what thing soever happen.

The behaviour of these good men in their persecution. And yet to see this more manifestly, and that every man may take profit thereof, it shall be good to understand what this poor people did, whilst they were in these combats and conflicts. As soon as they saw the army of their enemies approach, they cried all together for aid and succour to the Lord; and before they began to defend themselves, they fell to prayer, and in fighting lifted up

their hearts, and sighed to the Lord. As long as the enemies were at rest, every one of these poor people on their knees called upon God. When the combat was ended, they gave him thanks for the comfort and succour which they had felt. In the mean time the rest of the people, with their ministers, made their hearty prayer unto God, with sighs and tears, and that from the morning until the evening. When night was come, they assembled again together: they that had fought, rehearsed the wonderful aid and succour which God had sent them, and so all together rendered thanks unto him for his fatherly goodness. Always he changed their sorrow into joy. In the morning trouble and affliction appeared before them, with great terror on all sides; but by the evening they were delivered, and had great cause of rejoicing and comfort. *Piedmont.* A. D. 1555 to 1561.

This poor people had two terrible enemies, war and famine, which kept them under in such sort, that a man would have thought they had been utterly lost and destroyed: but God, of his endless mercy, delivered them from such dangers, and restored them to their houses, where they remained afterwards in peace and quietness; and all they that had declared themselves to be their open enemies, were brought to confusion, as well those who sought to get their goods, as those who only desired to shed their blood; for proof whereof, the only example of two gentlemen of the valley of Lucerne shall suffice. These not only moved cruel war against their poor tenants and others, but most shamefully spoiled them, and took intolerable fines of all those that disobeyed their edicts to keep a good conscience. War and famine two enemies against these men.

Besides this, they went about to seize all their goods as forfeited, waiting to have the whole forfeiture thereof themselves. And for this cause they did not only incense the duke with false reports, and with grievous complaints and accusations against these poor Waldois, but also pursued the same so long, and with such charges, that they were fain to sell their inheritance, in hope to bring their purpose to pass, and to enjoy that goodly prey, which they thought could not escape their hands. But in the end, for their reward, they got nothing but shame and confusion. Example of God's favour towards his servants, and confusion towards their persecutors.

And as for the monks and priests, who by such means thought to advance themselves, and to bring their trumpery into estimation, they have lost the little rule which they had over that people, and are confounded, and their religion brought to disdain. Thus God beateth down those who exalt themselves above measure, and maketh his adversaries to fall into the pits which they themselves have made. Let us pray unto him therefore, that it would please him likewise to stretch out his puissant arm at this day to maintain his poor church now afflicted, and to confound all the devices of Satan and his members, to the advancement of his glory and kingdom.

THE CONCLUSION OF THE STORY OF MERINDOL AND CABRIERS.

And thus hast thou, christian reader! for thy erudition and comfort, the story and doings discoursed concerning these two countries, both of Provence and also of Piedmont, the one being subject to the

Piedmont. dominion of France, the other belonging to the duke of Savoy; in which two aforesaid regions and countries, how long the gospel of Christ hath continued (even from the time of the first Waldenses), the history itself declareth.

A.D. 1555 to 1561.

Furthermore, what injuries and wrongs have been done against them for the gospel's sake, what rigour and cruelty hath been showed of the adversary part: again, for their part, what patience in their suffering, what constancy in their doctrine, what truth in their words, and simplicity in their deeds, what obedience towards their magistrates, and faith towards God they have used: and finally, how miraculously and mightily God hath fought for his people, and confounded the enemies, the said history may give thee full knowledge and experience.

Herein this thou hast moreover, for thy more learning, to note and consider with thyself, besides many other memorable things in this story contained, how unwilling this people were at first, and what remorse of conscience they had for their obedience towards their magistrates, to lift up any hand or finger for their own defence. And therefore many of them being slain and cruelly murdered, as willingly offering their throats without any resistance to the cruel hands of their enemies, the rest were compelled to flee into the mountains, being spoiled of house, victual, and weapon, only to save their poor lives with fleeing (which otherwise they would not with resisting) into rocks and caves, thinking there rather to perish by famine, than to use that defence for themselves, which nature giveth to every brute beast to help itself, as it may, against violence and injury. Yet these poor Waldois, refusing all resistance, and laying down their own weapons, for obedience' sake, yea, not lifting up their own hands to defend their own heads, only used the poor shift of fleeing from their enemies, till at length the rage of those bloody persecutors, satisfied with no blood, nor contented with any reason, ceased not still most furiously to infest them, yea, to take also the mountains from them, who had taken from them their houses before; neither yet permitting them to live with the wild beasts in the desert, who could not live in their towns at home; till at length, by extreme necessity, the providence of God so working with them, they were compelled to turn their faces, and to take those weapons which the ground gave into their hands. And with these stones so marvellously the God of hosts wrought for his people, that they beat, vanquished, and overthrew their adversaries; they confounded their pride, they abated their malice, and at last stayed the intolerable rage of their persecution. So mercifully and victoriously the Lord God Omnipotent fought with his people, or rather for his people (they but turning almost their faces to their enemies), no otherwise than he fought in times past with Joshua against the heathen, with the Israelites against the Philistines, with the Maccabees against Antiochus and the Syrians.

Then they which are in Jewry, let them flee into the mountains, Luke xxi.

The Waldois compelled to defend themselves.

Note how the Lord blessed the Waldois, standing to their own defence.

This history, carrying with it a true narration of things done in the said country of Piedmont, and written as it seemeth by certain of the ministers who were at the doing thereof, with the like faith and simplicity we have collected, partly out of the Italian, and partly out of the French tongue: for in both languages it is written, although in the French tongue it is much more largely discoursed, which book most principally herein we have followed; the title whereof thus

beginneth, 'Histoire des Persecutiones et Guerres faits contre le peuple appellé Vaudoys,' &c. *Piedmont.*

A. D. 1555 to 1561.

Now that we have finished these foreign histories, concerning such matters as have been passed in other realms and nations of Germany, Italy, Spain, France, and Savoy; consequently it remaineth, after this digression, to return and reduce our story again to our own country matters here done and passed at home, after that first we shall have added one foreign story more concerning the martyrdom of a christian Jew, who suffered about these years in Constantinople, among the Turks, in this wise as followeth:

THE STORY OF A CHRISTIAN JEW MARTYRED BY THE TURKS AT CONSTANTINOPLE, A. D. 1528.

To these foreign martyrs aforesaid we will adjoin the history of a certain Jew, who, A. D. 1528, dwelling in the city of Constantinople, and there receiving the sacrament of baptism, was converted, and became a good Christian. When the Turks understood hereof, they were vehemently exasperated against him, that he, forsaking his Jewishness, should be regenerated to the faith of Christ: and fearing lest his conversion should be a detriment to their Mahometical law, they sought means how to put him to death, which in a short time after they accomplished; and, for the greater infamy to be done to the man, they cast his dead corpse into the streets, commanding that no man should be so hardy as to bury the same.

Herein the marvellous glory and power of Christ appeared; for the dead corpse, lying so by the space of nine days in the midst of the streets, retained so its native colour, and was so fresh, without any kind of filthiness or corruption, and also not without a certain pleasant and delectable scent or odour, as if it had been lately slain, or rather not slain at all. This when the Turks beheld, they were thereat marvellously astonished; and being greatly afraid, they themselves took it up, and carried it to a place near, without the town, and buried it.

THE CONCLUSION.

Having thus comprehended the troubles and persecutions of such godly saints, and blessed martyrs, who have suffered in other foreign nations above mentioned, here now ending with them, and beginning the eighth book, we are (God willing) to return again to our own matters, and to prosecute such acts and records, as to our own country of England do appertain; in the process whereof, among many other things may appear the marvellous work of God's power and mercy in suppressing and banishing out of this realm, the long usurped supremacy of the pope; also in subverting and overthrowing the houses of monks and friars, with divers other matters appertaining to the reformation of Christ's true church and religion. All which things as they have been long wished, and greatly groaned for in times past by many godly learned men, so much more ought we now to rejoice and give God thanks, seeing these days of reformation which God hath given us. If John Huss, or good Jerome of Prague, or John Wickliff before them both, or William Brute, Thorpe, Swin-

The contents of the book following.

Piedmont. derby, or the Lord Cobham; if Zisca with all the company of the Bohemians; if the earl Reimond, with all the Toulousians; if the Waldois, or the Albigenses, with infinite others, had either been in these our times now, or else had seen then this ruin of the pope, and revealing of Antichrist, which the Lord now hath dispensed unto us, what joy and triumph would they have made! Wherefore now, beholding that thing which they so long time have wished for, let us not think the benefit to be small, but render therefore most humble thanks to the Lord our God, who by his mighty power, and the brightness of his word, hath revealed this great enemy of his so manifestly to the eyes of all men, who before was hid in the church so colourably, that almost few Christians could espy him. For who would ever have judged or suspected in his mind, that the bishop of Rome (commonly received, and believed almost of all men, to be the vicar and vicegerent of Christ here in earth) was Antichrist, and the great adversary of God, whom St. Paul so expressly prophesieth of, in these latter days to be revealed by the brightness of the Lord's coming, as all men now, for the most part, may see it is come to pass? Wherefore to the Lord, and Father of lights, who revealeth all things in his due time, be praise and glory for ever. Amen.

A. D. 1555 to 1561.

Anti-christ long hid, and now revealed.

END OF BOOK THE SEVENTH.

SEVEN GODLY MARTYRS BURNED AT COVENTRY.

ACTS AND MONUMENTS.

BOOK VIII.

PERTAINING TO

THE LAST THREE HUNDRED YEARS FROM THE LOOSING OUT OF SATAN.

CONTINUING THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH MATTERS APPERTAINING TO BOTH STATES, AS WELL ECCLESIASTICAL, AS CIVIL AND TEMPORAL.[1]

The History of Seven Godly Martyrs burnt at Coventry.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1519

Mistress Smith, Widow; Robert Hatchets, a Shoemaker; Archer, a Shoemaker; Hawkins, a Shoemaker; Thomas Bond, a Shoemaker; Wrigsham, a Glover; Landsdale, a Hosier, martyred at Coventry, A. D. 1519. Their Persecutors: Simon Mourton, the Bishop's Sumner; also the Bishop of Coventry, and Friar Stafford, Warden.

The principal cause of the apprehension of these persons, was for teaching their children and family the Lord's Prayer and Ten Commandments in English, for which they were, upon Ash-Wednesday, taken and put in prison, some in places under ground, some in chambers and other places about, till Friday following.

The Lord's Prayer in English forbidden by the papists.

Then they were sent to a monastery called Mackstock Abbey, six miles from Coventry; during which time their children were sent for to the Grey-Friars in Coventry, before the warden of the said friars, called friar Stafford; who straitly examining them of their belief, and what heresies their fathers had taught them, charged them, upon pain of suffering such death as their fathers should, in no wise to meddle any more with the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and Commandments in English.

This done, upon Palm Sunday the fathers of these children were brought back again to Coventry, and there, the week next before Easter (because most of them had borne faggots in the same city before), were condemned for relapse to be burned.

Only Mistress Smith was dismissed for that present, and sent away. And because it was in the evening, being somewhat dark, as she should go home, the aforesaid Simon Mourton, the sumner, offered himself to go home with her. Now as he was leading her by the arm, and heard the rattling of a scroll within her sleeve; 'Yea,' saith he, 'what have ye here?' And so took it from her, and espied that it was the Lord's Prayer, the Articles of the Faith, and the Ten Commandments in English. When the wretched sumner understood this; 'Ah sirrah!' said he, 'Come, as good now as another time;' and so brought her back again to the bishop, where she was immediately condemned, and so burned with the six men before named, the 4th of April, in a place thereby, called The Little Park, A. D. 1519.

Mistress Smith condemned for having the Lord's Prayer in English.

(1) Edition 1576, p. 946. Ed. 1583, p. 973. Ed. 1596, p. 887. Ed. 1684, vol. ii. p. 181.—Ed.

Henry VIII.

Robert Silkeb, at Coventry, A. D. 1521.

A. D. 1521.

In the same number of these countrymen above rehearsed was also Robert Silkeb, who at the apprehension of these, as is above recited, fled away, and for that time escaped. But about two years after he was taken again, and brought to the said city of Coventry, where he was also burned the morrow after he came thither, which was about the 13th of January, A. D. 1521.

Thus, when these were dispatched, immediately the sheriffs went to their houses, and took all their goods and cattle to their own use, not leaving their wives and children any parcel thereof, to help themselves withal. And forasmuch as the people began to grudge somewhat at the cruelty showed, and at the unjust death of these innocent martyrs, the bishop, with his officers and priests, caused it to be noised abroad by their tenants, servants, and farmers, that they were not burned for having the Lord's Prayer and the Commandments in English, but because they did eat flesh on Fridays and other fast days; which could not be proved either before their death or after, nor yet was any such matter greatly objected to them in their examinations. The witnesses of this history be yet alive, who both saw them and knew them; of whom one is by name mother Hall, dwelling now in Bagington, two miles from Coventry: by whom also this is testified of them, that they, above all others in Coventry, pretended most show of worship and devotion at the holding up of the sacrament; whether to colour the matter, or no, it is not known.[1] This is certain, that in godliness of life they differed from all the rest of the city; neither in their occupying would they use any oath, nor could abide it in them that occupied with them.

Testimony of the story.

Patrick Hamelton martyred at St. Andrew's in Scotland, A. D. 1527.

His Persecutors were James Beton, Archbishop of St. Andrews; Master Hugh Spens, Dean of Divinity in the University of St. Andrew; Master John Weddel, Rector of the University; James Simpson, Official; Thomas Ramsay, Canon, and Dean of the Abbey of St. Andrew; Allane Meldrum, Canon; John Greson, Principal of the Black Friars; John Dillidaff, Warden of the Grey Friars; Martin Balbur, Lawyer; John Spens, Lawyer; Alexander Yong, Bachelor of Divinity, Canon; John Annaud, Canon; Friar Alexander Campbel, Prior of the Black Friars, &c.

Like[2] as there was no place, either of Germany, Italy, or France, where there were not some imps or branches sprung out of that most fruitful root and foundation of Luther; so likewise was not this isle of Britain without its fruit and branches, amongst whom was Patrick Hamelton, a Scotchman born of high and noble stock, and of the king's blood, young, and of flourishing age, and excellent towardness, of twenty-three years, called abbot of Ferme, who, first coming out of his country with three companions to seek godly learning, went to the university of Marburg in Germany, which university was then newly erected by Philip, landgrave of Hess, where he, using conference and familiarity with learned men, especially with Francis Lambert, so profited in knowledge and mature judgment in matters of religion, that he, through the incitation of the said Lambert, was the first in all that university of Marburg who publicly did set up conclusions there to be disputed of, concerning faith and works; arguing also no less learnedly than fervently upon the same What those propositions and conclusions were, partly in his treatise hereafter following, called Patrick's Places, may appear. *This[3] young man, Patrick Hamelton, if he had chosen to lead his life, after the manner of other courtiers, in all kind of licentious riotousness, he should peradventure have found praise without peril or punishment in that his flourishing age; but, forsomuch as he joined godliness with his stock, and virtue with his age, he could by no means escape the hands of the wicked. So that in all things and in all ages, the saying of St. Paul is verified, 'Whosoever doth desire and study to live godly in Christ, he shall suffer persecution as a com-

Of this Philip, landgrave of Hess, read before.

Of the university of Marburg, read before.

(1) Note how these martyrs, holding with the popish sacraments, yet were burned by the papists for only a few Scriptures in English. (2) and (3) See Edition 1563, page 460.—Ed.

panion of his godliness:' for there is nothing safe or sure in this world but wickedness and sin. Whoever saw the cardinals or bishops rage with their cruel inquisitions against adultery, riot, ambition, unlawful gaming, drunkenness, rapines, and wilfulness to do all kind of mischief? Any man that lists, for all them, may exercise usury, make tumults, haunt base women, swear and foreswear, and deceive at his own will and pleasure. But if any man were truly addicted to the desire and study of godliness, confessing Christ to be his only patron and advocate, excluding the merits of saints, acknowledging free justification by faith in Christ, denying purgatory (for these articles Hamelton was burned); in these points they spare neither age nor kindred, neither is there any so great power in the world, that may withstand their majesty or authority. How great an ornament might so noble, learned, and excellent a young man have been unto that realm, being endued with so great godliness, and such a singular wit and disposition, if the Scots had not envied their own commodity? What, and how great commendation there was of that young man, what hope of his disposition, his singular learning and doctrine, and what a maturity and ripeness of judgment were in him, did appear amongst the Germans, where he might declare himself.*

Henry VIII. A. D. 1527.

Thus the ingenious wit of this learned Patrick, increasing daily more and more in knowledge, and inflamed with godliness, at length he began to revolve with himself touching his return into his country, being desirous to impart unto his countrymen some fruit of understanding which he had received abroad. Whereupon, persisting in his godly purpose, he took one of the three whom he brought out of Scotland, and so returned home without any longer delay; where he, not sustaining the miserable ignorance and blindness of that people, after he had valiantly taught and preached the truth, and refelled their abuses, was first accused of heresy, and afterwards, constantly and stoutly sustaining the quarrel of God's gospel against the high priest and archbishop of St. Andrew's, named James Beton, was cited to appear before him and his college of priests, on the 1st of March, A. D. 1527. But he, being not only forward in knowledge, but also ardent in spirit, not tarrying for the hour appointed, prevented the time, and came very early in the morning before he was looked for; and there mightily disputing against them, when he could not by the Scriptures be convicted, by force he was oppressed. And so the sentence of condemnation being given against him, the same day after dinner, in all the hot haste, he was had away to the fire, and there burned (the king being yet but a child): which thing made the bishops more bold. And thus was this noble Hamelton, the blessed servant of God, without all just cause, made away by cruel adversaries, yet not without great fruit to the church of Christ; for the grave testimony of his blood left the verity and truth of God more fixed and confirmed in the hearts of many, than ever could after be plucked away: insomuch that divers afterwards, standing in his quarrel, sustained also the like martyrdom, as hereafter (Christ willing) shall appear, as place and time shall require.

The godly zeal of Hamelton towards his country.

The martyrdom and suffering of Patrick Hamelton.

In the mean season we think good to express here his articles, and order of his process, as we received them from Scotland, out of the registers.

The Articles and Opinions objected against Master Patrick Hamelton, by James Beton, Archbishop of St. Andrews.

Articles as they appear in the registers.

That man hath no free-will.
That there is no purgatory.
That the holy patriarchs were in heaven before Christ's passion.
That the pope hath no power to loose and bind; and that no pope had that power after St. Peter.
That the pope is Antichrist, and that every priest hath the power that the pope hath.
That Master Patrick Hamelton was a bishop.
That it is not necessary to obtain any bulls from any bishop.
That the vow of the pope's religion is a vow of wickedness.
That the pope's laws be of no strength.
That all Christians, worthy to be called Christians, do know that they be in the state of grace.

Henry VIII. That none be saved, but they are before predestinated.
Whosoever is in deadly sin, is unfaithful.
A. D. 1528. That God is the cause of sin, in this sense, that is, that he withdraweth his grace from men, whereby they sin.
That it is devilish doctrine, to enjoin to any sinner actual penance for sin.
That the said Master Patrick himself doubteth whether all children, departing incontinent after their baptism, are saved or condemned.
That auricular confession is not necessary to salvation.

These articles above written were given in, and laid against Master Hamelton, and inserted in their registers, for which also he was condemned, by them that hated him, to death. But other learned men, who communed and reasoned with him, do testify, that these articles following were the very articles, for which he suffered.

His articles otherwise more truly collected.

I. Man hath no free-will.
II. A man is only justified by faith in Christ.
III. A man so long as he liveth, is not without sin.
IV. He is not worthy to be called a Christian, who believeth not that he is in grace.
V. A good man doth good works: good works do not make a good man.
VI. An evil man bringeth forth evil works: evil works, being faithfully repented, do not make an evil man.
VII. Faith, hope, and charity be so linked together, that one of them cannot be without another in one man, in this life.

And as touching the other articles whereupon the doctors gave their judgments, as divers do report, he was not accused of them before the bishop; albeit in private disputation he affirmed and defended the most of them. Here followeth the sentence pronounced against him.

The Sentence against Patrick Hamelton.

Christi nomine invocato: We James, by the mercy of God archbishop of St. Andrews, primate of Scotland, with the counsel, decree, and authority of the most reverend fathers in God, and lords, abbots, doctors of theology, professors of the holy Scripture, and masters of the university, assisting us for the time, sitting in judgment within our metropolitan church of St. Andrew, in the cause of heretical pravity, against Master Patrick Hamelton, abbot or pensionary of Ferme, being summoned to appear before us, to answer to certain articles affirmed, taught, and preached by him, and so appearing before us, and accused, the merits of the cause being ripely weighed, discussed, and understood by faithful inquisition made in Lent last past: we have found the same Master Patrick many ways infamed with heresy, disputing, holding, and maintaining divers heresies of Martin Luther, and his followers, repugnant to our faith, and which are already condemned by general councils, and most famous universities.[1] And he being under the same infamy, we decreeing before that he should be summoned and accused upon the premises, he, of evil mind (as may be presumed), passed forth of the realm to other parts, suspected and noted of heresy. And being lately returned, not being admitted, but of his own head, without license or privilege, hath presumed to preach wicked heresy.

We have found also, that he hath affirmed, published, and taught divers opinions of Luther, and wicked heresies, after that he was summoned to appear before us, and our council: that man hath no free will: that man is in sin so long as he liveth: that children, incontinent after their baptism, are sinners: that all Christians that be worthy to be called Christians, do know that they are in grace: that no man is justified by works, but by faith only: that good works make not a good man, but a good man doth make good works: that faith, hope,

(1) Condemned by councils and universities, but here is no mention of the Scripture.

and charity are so knit, that he that hath the one, hath the rest, and he that wanteth the one of them, wanteth the rest, &c., with divers other heresies and detestable opinions; and hath persisted so obstinately in the same, that by no counsel or persuasion he may be drawn therefrom to the way of our right faith.[1] *Henry VIII.* A.D. 1528.

All these premises being considered, we having God and the integrity of our faith before our eyes, and following the counsel and advice of the professors of the holy Scripture, men of laws, and other assisting us for the time, do pronounce, determine, and declare the said Master Patrick Hamelton, for his affirming, confessing, and maintaining of the aforesaid heresies, and his pertinacity (they being condemned already by the church, general councils, and most famous universities), to be a heretic, and to have an evil opinion of the faith; and therefore to be condemned and punished, like as we condemn, and define him to be punished, by this our sentence definitive; depriving and sentencing him to be deprived of all dignities, honours, orders, offices, and benefices of the church; and therefore do judge and pronounce him to be delivered over unto the secular power, to be punished, and his goods to be confiscated. Wolves in lamb's skins. Master Patrick given to the secular power.

This our sentence definitive was given and read at our metropolitan church of St. Andrew, the last day of the month of February A.D. 1527, there being present the most reverend fathers in Christ, and lords, Gawand, bishop of Glasgow; George, bishop of Dunkeld; John, bishop of Brechyn; William, bishop of Dunblane; Patrick, prior of St. Andrews; David, abbot of Abirbrothoke; George, abbot of Dunfermline; Alexander, abbot of Caunbuskineth; Henry, abbot of Lendors; John, prior of Peterweme; the dean and subdean of Glasgow; Master Hugh Spens, Thomas Ramsay, Allane Meldrum, &c.

In the presence of the clergy and the people, &c.

After the condemnation and martyrdom of this true saint of God were dispatched by the bishops and doctors of Scotland, the rulers and doctors of the university of Louvain, hearing thereof, received such joy and consolation at the shedding of that innocent blood, that for the abundance of heart they could not stay their pen to utter condign thanks; applauding and triumphing, in their letters sent to the aforesaid bishop of St. Andrews and doctors of Scotland, at the worthy and famous deservings of their achieved enterprise in that behalf: as by the tenor of their said letter may appear, which here followeth.

The copy of a Letter congratulatory, sent from the Doctors of Louvain to the Archbishop of St. Andrews and Doctors of Scotland, commending them for the death of Master Patrick Hamelton.

Your excellent virtue, most honourable bishop, hath so deserved, that albeit we be far distant both by sea and land, without conjunction of familiarity, yet we desire with all our hearts to thank you for your worthy deed, by whose works that true faith, which not long ago was tainted with heresy, not only remaineth unhurt, but also is more confirmed. For as our dear friend Master Alexander Galoway, canon of Aberdeen, hath showed us the presumption of the wicked heretic, Patrick Hamelton, which is expressed in this your example, in that you have cut him off, when there was no hope of amendment, &c.

This thing as it is thought commendable to us, so the manner of the proceeding was no less pleasant, that the matter was performed by so great consent of so many states, as of the clergy, nobility, and vulgar people; not rashly, but most prudently, the order of law being in all points observed. We have seen the sentence which ye pronounced, and always do approve the same, not doubting but that the articles which be inserted are erroneous: so that whosoever will defend for a truth any one of the same, with pertinacity, should be esteemed an enemy to the faith, and an adversary to the holy Scripture.[2] And albeit one or two of them appear to be without error, to them that will consider only What joy the papists make in spilling the blood of Christians.

(1) Note here that these articles agree not with the articles in the register before-mentioned.
(2) If ye could show to what place of the Scripture, we would gladly hear you.

Henry VIII. A. D. 1528.

the bare words; as for example, 'Good works make not a good man, but a good man worketh good works;' yet there is no doubt but they contain a Lutheran sense, which in a manner they signify; to wit, that works done after faith and justification, make not a man the better, nor are worthy of any reward before God. Believe not that this example shall have place only among you, for there shall be those among extern nations who shall imitate the same, &c.

Certainly ye have given us great courage, so that now we acknowledge your university, which was founded according to the example of our university of Louvain, to be equal to ours, or else above; and would God occasion were offered of testifying our minds toward you. In the mean time let us labour with one consent, that the ravening wolves may be expelled from the sheepfold of Christ, while we have time. Let us study to preach to the people more learnedly hereafter, and more wisely. Let us have inquisitors and espiers of books, containing that doctrine, especially that are brought in from far countries, whether by apostate monks, or by merchants, the most suspected kind of men in these days. It is said that since Scotland first embraced the christian faith, it was never defiled with any heresy.[1] Persevere therefore, being moved thereunto by the example of England, your next neighbour, which in this most troublous time is not changed, partly by the working of the bishops, among whom Roffensis[2] hath showed himself an evangelical Phœnix, and partly of the king, declaring himself to be another Matthias[3] of the new law, pretermitting nothing that may defend the law of his realm; which, if your most renowned king of Scotland will follow, he shall purchase to himself eternal glory. Further, as touching the condign commendation due for your part, most reverend bishop! in this behalf, it shall not be the least part of your praise, that these heresies have been extinct some time in Scotland, you being primate of Scotland, and principal author thereof: albeit that they also who have assisted you, are not to be defrauded of their deserved praise; as the reverend bishop of Glasgow, of whose erudition we have here given us partly to understand, and also the reverend bishop of Aberdeen, a stout defender of the faith, together with the rest of the prelates, abbots, priors, and professors of holy Scripture. Let your reverend fatherhood take this little testificate of our duty towards you in good part, whom we wish long and happily well to fare in Christ.

From Louvain, the year 1528, April 21.

By the masters and professors of theology in the university of Louvain,
Yours to command.

In this epistle of the Louvanian doctors, I shall not need, gentle reader! to note unto thee, what a pernicious thing in a commonwealth is blind ignorance, when it falleth into cruel hearts; which may well be compared to a sword, put into the hands of one that is both blind and mad. For as the blind man, having no sense to see and judge, knoweth not whom he striketh; so the madman, being cruel and furious, hath no compassion in sparing any. Whereupon it happeneth many times with these men, as it did with the blind furious pharisees, that as they, having the sword of authority in their hands, instead of malefactors and false prophets, slew the true prophets of God, and at last crucified the King of glory; so these, catholic Louvanians, and followers of their Messias of Rome, take in their hands the sword of jurisdiction; who, neither seeing what to spare, nor caring whom to smite, under the style and pretence of heretics, murder and blaspheme, without mercy, the true preachers of the gospel, and the holy anointed of the Lord.

But to return to the matter again of Master Hamelton; here is

(1) The university of St. Andrews was founded about the year of our Lord 1516, in the reign of king James the First, who brought into Scotland out of other countries two doctors of divinity, and eight doctors of decrees, with divers other.—Hect. Boet. lib. xvi. c. 17

(2) He meaneth Fisher bishop of Rochester, who wrote against Œcolampadius and Luther, and at length was beheaded for treason.

(3) King Henry VIII. is here a Matthias, when he maketh with you; but when he put down the pope and his abbeys, then ye make him a heretic.

moreover to be observed, as a note worthy of memory, that in the year of our Lord 1564, in which year this present history was collected in Scotland, there were certain faithful men of credit then alive, who, being present the same time when Master Patrick Hamelton was in the fire, heard him to cite and appeal the Black Friar called Campbel, that accused him, to appear before the high God, as general Judge of all men, to answer to the innocency of his death, and whether his accusation was just or not, between that and a certain day of the next month, which he there named. Moreover, by the same witness it is testified, that the said friar died immediately before the said day came, without remorse of conscience that he had persecuted the innocent; by the example whereof divers of the people the same time much mused, and firmly believed the doctrine of the aforesaid Master Hamelton to be good and just.

Henry VIII A. D. 1528.

A marvellous example of God's just punishment upon the accuser, of Master Hamelton.

Hereunto I thought good to adjoin a certain godly and profitable treatise of the said Master Patrick Hamelton, written first by him in Latin, and afterwards translated by John Frith into English; which he names 'Patrick's Places;' not unprofitable, in my mind, to be seen and read of all men, for the pure and comfortable doctrine contained in the same, as not only by the treatise itself may appear, but also by the preface of the said John Frith, prefixed before, which also I thought not inconvenient to insert with the same, as here followeth.

A brief Treatise of Master Patrick Hamelton, called 'Patrick's Places.'

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH BY JOHN FRITH, WITH THE EPISTLE OF THE SAID FRITH PREFIXED BEFORE THE SAME, AS FOLLOWETH.

John Frith unto the Christian Reader.

Blessed be God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who in these last days and perilous times hath stirred up in all countries witnesses unto his Son, to testify the truth unto the unfaithful, to save at least some from the snares of Antichrist, which lead to perdition, as ye may here perceive by that excellent and well learned young man, Patrick Hamelton, born in Scotland of a noble progeny: who, to testify the truth, sought all means, and took upon him priesthood (even as Paul circumcised Timothy, to win the weak Jews), that he might be admitted to preach the pure word of God. Notwithstanding, as soon as the chamberlain and other bishops of Scotland had perceived that the light began to shine, which disclosed their falsehood which they conveyed in darkness, they laid hands on him, and because he would not deny his Saviour Christ at their instance, they burnt him to ashes. Nevertheless, God of his bounteous mercy (to publish to the whole world what a man these monsters have murdered), hath reserved a little treatise, made by this Patrick, which if ye list, ye may call Patrick's Places: for it treateth exactly of certain common places, which known, ye have the pith of all divinity. This treatise I have turned into the English tongue, to the profit of my nation: to whom I beseech God to give light, that they may espy the deceitful paths of perdition, and return to the right way, which leadeth to life everlasting, Amen.

Patrick's Places.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE LAW.

The law is a doctrine that biddeth good, and forbiddeth evil, as the commandments do specify here following.

What the law is.

Henry VIII.

A.D. 1528.

The Ten Commandments of God.

I. Thou shalt worship but one God.
II. Thou shalt make thee no image to worship it.
III. Thou shalt not swear by his name in vain.
IV. Hold the Sabbath day holy.
V. Honour thy father and thy mother.
VI. Thou shalt not kill.
VII. Thou shalt not commit adultery.
VIII. Thou shalt not steal.
IX. Thou shalt not bear false witness.
X. Thou shalt not desire ought that belongeth to thy neighbour.

The love of God. The love of our neighbour.

All these commandments are briefly comprised in these two, hereunder ensuing: 'Love thy Lord God with all thine heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy mind: this is the first, and great commandment. The second is like unto this, that is, Love thy neighbour as thyself. On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets.'[1]

CERTAIN GENERAL PROPOSITIONS PROVED BY THE SCRIPTURE.

The First Proposition.

'He that loveth God loveth his neighbour.'

Proba-tion.

This proposition is proved by 1 John iv.: 'If a man say, I love God, and yet hateth his brother, he is a liar. He that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?'[2]

The Second Proposition.

'He that loveth his neighbour as himself, keepeth all the commandments of God.'

This proposition is proved: 'Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, even so do to them: for this is the law and the prophets.'[3] 'He that loveth his neighbour, fulfilleth the law. Thou shalt not commit adultery: thou shalt not kill: thou shalt not steal: thou shalt not bear false witness: thou shalt not desire,' &c. 'And if there be any other commandment, all are comprehended in this saying, Love thy neighbour as thyself.'[4] 'All the law is fulfilled in one word, that is, Love thy neighbour as thyself.'[5]

Argument.

Major. *Bar-* He that loveth his neighbour, keepeth all the commandments of God.[6]
Minor. *ba-* He that loveth God, loveth his neighbour.[7]
Conclu-sion. *ra.* Ergo, he that loveth God, keepeth all the commandments of God.

The Third Proposition.

'He that hath faith, loveth God.'

Proba-tion.

'My Father loveth you, because you love me, and believe that I come of God.'[8]

Argument.

Major. *Bar-* He that keepeth the commandments of God, hath the love of God.
Minor. *ba-* He that hath faith, keepeth the commandments of God.
Conclu-sion. *ra.* Ergo, he that hath faith, loveth God.

The Fourth Proposition.

'He that keepeth one commandment of God, keepeth them all.'

Proba-tion.

This proposition is confirmed: 'It is impossible for a man without faith to please God;'[9] that is, to keep any one of God's commandments, as he should do. Then whosoever keepeth any one commandment, hath faith.

(1) Matt. xxii. (2) 1 John iv. (3) Matt. vii. (4) Rom. xiii. (5) Gal. v.
(6) Rom. xiii. (7) 1 John iv. (8) John xvi. (9) Heb. xi.

Argument.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1528.

Bar- He that hath faith keepeth all the commandments of God.
ba- He that keepeth any one commandment of God, hath faith.
ra. Ergo, he that keepeth one commandment, keepeth them all.

The Fifth Proposition.

'He that keepeth not all the commandments of God, keepeth not one of them.'

Argument.

He that keepeth one commandment of God, keepeth all.
Ergo, he that keepeth not all the commandments of God, keepeth not one of them.

The Sixth Proposition.

'It is not in our power to keep any one of the commandments of God.' Enthymema.

Argument.

Bar- It is impossible to keep any of the commandments of God, without grace. Major.
ro- It is not in our power to have grace. Minor.
co. Ergo, it is not in our power to keep any of the commandments of God. Conclusion.

And even so may you reason concerning the Holy Ghost and faith, forasmuch as neither without them we are able to keep any of the commandments of God, nor yet be they in our power to have: 'Non est volentis neque currentis,' &c.[1]

The Seventh Proposition.

'The law was given us to show our sin.'

'By the law cometh the knowledge of sin.'[2] 'I knew not what sin meant, but through the law; for I had not known what lust had meant, except the law had said, Thou shalt not lust. Without the law sin was dead, that is, it moved me not, neither wist I that it was sin, which notwithstanding was sin, and forbidden by the law.[3] The office of the law.

The Eighth Proposition.

The law biddeth us do that thing which is impossible for us.

Argument.

Da- The keeping of the commandments is to us impossible. Major.
ri- The law commandeth to us the keeping of the commandments. Minor.
i. Ergo, the law commandeth unto us what is impossible. Conclusion.

Objection: But thou wilt say, 'Wherefore doth God bid us do what is impossible for us?'

Answer: I answer, to make thee know that thou art but evil, and that there is no remedy to save thee in thine own hand: and thou mayest seek remedy at some other; for the law doth nothing else but command thee. The law ordained to bring us to Christ.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE GOSPEL.

The Gospel is as much as to say, in our tongue, good tidings; like as these be hereunder following, and such others. Luke ii.

Christ is the Saviour of the world. John iv
Christ is the Saviour. Luke ii.
Christ died for us. Rom. v.
Christ died for our sins. Rom. iv.
Christ bought us with his blood. 1 Pet. ii.
Christ washed us with his blood. Apoc. i.
Christ offered himself for us. Gal. i.
Christ bare our sins on his back. Isa. liii.
Christ came into this world to save sinners. 1 Tim. i.

(1) Rom. ix. (2) Rom. iii. (3) Rom. vii

Henry VIII. A. D. 1528.

Christ came into this world to take away our sins. 1 John iii.
Christ was the price that was given for us and our sins. 1 Tim. ii.
Christ was made debtor for us. Rom. viii.
Christ hath payed our debt, for he died for us. Col. ii.
Christ made satisfaction for us and our sins. 1 Cor. vii.
Christ is our righteousness. 1 Cor. i.
Christ is our sanctification. 1 Cor. i.
Christ is our redemption. Eph. ii.
Christ is our peace. Rom. v.
Christ hath pacified the Father of heaven for us. 1 Cor. iii.
Christ is ours and all his. Col. ii.
Christ hath delivered us from the law, from the devil, and from hell. 1 John i.

The Father of heaven hath forgiven us our sins, for Christ's sake.

(Or any such other, like to the same, which declare unto us the mercy of God.)

The Nature and Office of the Law and of the Gospel.

The law showeth us our sin. Rom. iii.
The gospel showeth us remedy for it. John i.
The law showeth us our condemnation. Rom. vii.
The gospel showeth us our redemption. Col. i.
The law is the word of ire. Rom. iv.
The gospel is the word of grace. Acts xx.
The law is the word of despair. Deut. xxvii.
The gospel is the word of comfort. Luke ii.
The law is the word of unrest. Rom. vii.
The gospel is the word of peace. Eph. vi.

A Disputation between the Law and the Gospel; where is shown the difference or contrariety between them both.

The law saith, 'Pay thy debt.'
The gospel saith, 'Christ hath paid it.'
The law saith, 'Thou art a sinner; despair, and thou shalt be damned.'
The gospel saith, 'Thy sins are forgiven thee, be of good comfort, thou shalt be saved!'
The law saith, 'Make amends for thy sins.'
The gospel saith, 'Christ hath made it for thee.'
The law saith, 'The Father of heaven is angry with thee.'
The gospel saith, 'Christ hath pacified him with his blood.'
The law saith, 'Where is thy righteousness, goodness, and satisfaction?'
The gospel saith, 'Christ is thy righteousness, thy goodness, thy satisfaction.'
The law saith, 'Thou art bound and obliged to me, to the devil, and to hell.'
The gospel saith, 'Christ hath delivered thee from them all.'

THE DOCTRINE OF FAITH.

Faith is to believe God, like as Abraham believed God, and it was imputed unto him for righteousness.

To believe God, is to believe his word, and to account it true, that he saith.

He that believeth not God's word, believeth not God himself.

He that believeth not God's word, counteth him false and a liar, and believeth not that he may and will fulfil his word; and so he denieth both the might of God, and God himself.

The Ninth Proposition.

'Faith is the gift of God.'

Argument.

Major. *Da-* Every good thing is the gift of God.
Minor. *ri-* Faith is good.
Conclusion. *i.* Ergo, faith is the gift of God.

The Tenth Proposition.

Faith is not in our power.

Argument.

Da- The gift of God is not in our power. Major.
ri- Faith is the gift of God. Minor.
i. Ergo, faith is not in our power.[1] Conclusion.

The Eleventh Proposition.

He that lacketh faith, cannot please God.

'Without faith it is impossible to please God;'[1] 'all that cometh not of faith is sin; for without faith can no man please God.'[2]

Induction.

He that lacketh faith, trusteth not God: he that trusteth not God, trusteth not his word: he that trusteth not his word, holdeth him false and a liar: he that holdeth him false and a liar, believeth not that he may do that he promiseth, and so denieth he that he is God.

Ergo, 'a primo ad ultimum,' he that lacketh faith cannot please God.

If it were possible for any man to do all the good deeds that ever were done either by men or angels, yet being in this case, it is impossible for him to please God.

The Twelfth Proposition.

All that is done in faith, pleaseth God.

Right is the word of God, and all his works in faith.[3]

Lord, thine eyes look to faith: that is as much as to say, Lord, thou delightest in faith.[4]

The Thirteenth Proposition.

He that hath faith is just and good.

Argument.

Da- He that is a good tree, bringing forth good fruit, is just and good. Major.
ri- He that hath faith, is a good tree bringing forth good fruit. Minor.
i. Ergo, he that hath faith, is just and good. Conclusion.

The Fourteenth Proposition.

He that hath faith, and believeth God, cannot displease him.

Induction.

He that hath faith, believeth God; he that believeth God, believeth his word; he that believeth his word, wotteth well that he is true and faithful, and may not lie, knowing that he both may, and will, fulfil his word.

Ergo, 'a primo ad ultimum,' he that hath faith cannot displease God, neither can any man do a greater honour to God, than to count him true.

Objection.

Thou wilt then say, that theft, murder, adultery, and all vices please God.

Answer.

Nay verily, for they cannot be done in faith; for 'a good tree beareth good fruit.'[5]

The Fifteenth Proposition.

Faith is a certainty or assuredness.

(1) Rom. xiv. (2) Heb. xi (3) Psalm xxxiii. (4) Jer. v. (5) Matt. vii. 12.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1528.

'Faith is a sure confidence of things which are hoped for, and certainty of things which are not seen.'[1]

'The same Spirit certifieth our spirit, that we are the children of God.'[2] Moreover, he that hath faith, wotteth well that God will fulfil his word: whereby it appeareth, that faith is a certainty or assuredness.

A man is justified by Faith

'Abraham believed God, and it was imputed unto him for righteousness.'[3]

'We suppose therefore, that a man is justified by faith, without the deeds of the law.'[4]

'He that worketh not, but believeth on him that justifieth the wicked, his faith is counted to him for righteousness.'[5]

'The just man liveth by his faith.'[6]

'We wot that a man is not justified by the deeds of the law, but by the faith of Jesus Christ; and we believe in Jesus Christ, that we may be justified by the faith of Christ, and not by the deeds of the law.'[7]

What is the Faith of Christ?

Faith in Christ what it is.

The faith of Christ is to believe in him; that is, to believe his word, and believe that he will help thee in all thy need, and deliver thee from all evil.

Thou wilt ask me, 'What word?' I answer, 'The gospel.'

'He that believeth in Christ shall be saved.' Mark xvi.

'He that believeth the Son hath everlasting life.' John iii.

'Verily I say unto you, he that believeth in me, hath everlasting life.' John vi.

'This I write unto you, that you believe on the Son of God, that ye may know how that ye have eternal life.' 1 John v.

'Thomas! because thou hast seen me, therefore hast thou believed: happy are they which have not seen, and yet have believed in me.' John xxii.

'All the prophets to him bear witness, that whosoever believeth in him shall have remission of their sins.' Acts x.

'What must I do that I may be saved?' The apostles answered, 'Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved.' Acts xvi.

'If thou dost acknowledge with thy mouth that Jesus is the Lord, and believe with thine heart that God raised him from death, thou shalt be safe.' Rom. x.

'He that believeth not in Christ shall be condemned. He that believeth not the Son shall never see life, but the ire of God bideth upon him' John iii.

'The Holy Ghost shall reprove the world of sin, because they believe not in me.' John xvi.

They that believe in Jesu Christ are the sons of God. 'Ye are all the sons of God, because ye believe in Jesus Christ.' 1 John iii.

'He that believeth that Christ is the Son of God, is safe.' John i.

'Peter said, Thou art Christ the Son of the living God! Jesus answered and said unto him, Happy art thou, Simon, the son of Jonas, for flesh and blood hath not opened to thee that, but my Father that is in heaven.' Matt. xvi.

'We have believed, and know that thou art Christ the Son of the living God.'

'I believe that thou art Christ the Son of God, which should come into the world.' John xi.

'These things are written, that ye might believe that Jesus is Christ the Son of God, and that ye, in believing, might have life.' John xx.

'I believe that Jesus is the Son of God.' Acts viii

The Sixteenth Proposition.

'He that believeth the gospel, believeth God.'

Argument.

Major. *Da.* He that believeth God's word, believeth God.

Minor. *ri-* The gospel is God's word.

Conclusion. *i.* Ergo, he that believeth the gospel, believeth God.

To believe the gospel is this: that Christ is the Saviour of the world.' John vi.

(1) Heb. xi. (2) Rom. viii. (3) Rom. iv. (4) Rom. iii., Gal. ii.
(5) Rom. iv. (6) Hab. ii., Rom. i. (7) Gal. ii.

Christ is our Saviour. Luke ii.
Christ bought us with his blood. Heb. xiii. 1 Pet. i. Apoc. v.
Christ washed us with his blood. Apoc. i.
Christ offered himself for us. Heb. ix.
Christ bare our sins on his own back, &c. 1 Pet. ii.

Henry VIII. A. D. 1528.

The Seventeenth Proposition.

'He that believeth not the gospel believeth not God.'

Argument.

Fe- He that believeth not God's word, believeth not God himself. Major.
ri- The gospel is God's word Minor.
o. Ergo, he that believeth not the gospel, believeth not God himself; and consequently, he that believeth not those things above written, and such others, believeth not God. Conclusion.

The Eighteenth Proposition.

He that believeth the gospel, shall be safe.

'Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel unto every creature: he that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved; but he that believeth not, shall be condemned.' Mark xvi.

A Comparison between Faith and Incredulity.

Faith is the root of all good: incredulity is the root of all evil.
Faith maketh God and man good friends: incredulity maketh them foes.
Faith bringeth God and man together: incredulity sundereth them.
All that faith doth, pleaseth God: all that incredulity doth, displeaseth God.
Faith only maketh a man good and righteous: incredulity only maketh him unjust and evil.
Faith maketh a man a member of Christ: incredulity maketh him a member of the devil.
Faith maketh a man the inheritor of heaven: incredulity maketh him inheritor of hell.
Faith maketh a man the servant of God: incredulity maketh him the servant of the devil.
Faith showeth us God to be a sweet father: incredulity showeth him a terrible judge.
Faith holdeth stiff by the word of God: incredulity wavereth here and there.
Faith counteth and holdeth God to be true: incredulity holdeth him false and a liar.
Faith knoweth God: incredulity knoweth him not.
Faith loveth both God and his neighbour: incredulity loveth neither of them.
Faith only saveth us: incredulity only condemneth us.
Faith extolleth God and his deeds: incredulity extolleth herself and her own deeds.

OF HOPE.

Hope is a trusty looking after the thing that is promised us to come, as we hope after the everlasting joy, which Christ hath promised unto all that believe in him. What hope is

We should put our hope and trust in God alone, and in no other thing.

'It is good to trust in God and not in man.' Psalm cxviii.
'He that trusteth in his own heart is a fool.' Prov. xxviii.
'It is good to trust in God, and not in princes.' Psalm cxviii.
'They shall be like unto the images which they make, and all that trust in them.' Psalm cxv.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1528.

'He that trusteth in his own thoughts doth ungodly.' Prov. xii.

'Cursed is he that trusteth in man.' Jer. xvii.

'Bid the rich men of this world, that they trust not in their unstable riches, but that they trust in the living God.' 1 Tim. vi.

'It is hard for them that trust in money, to enter into the kingdom of heaven.'[1]

Moreover we should trust in him only, that may help us: God only may help us, therefore we should trust in him only.

'Well are they that trust in God, and woe to them that trust not in him.'[2]

'Well is that man that trusteth in God, for God shall be his trust.'[3]

'He that trusteth in him, shall understand the verity. Wis. iii.

'They shall rejoice that trust in thee; they shall ever be glad, and thou wilt defend them.' Psalm v.

OF CHARITY.

The rule of charity.

Charity is the love of thy neighbour. The rule of charity is this: Do as thou wouldst be done to: for Christ holdeth all alike, the rich, the poor, the friend and the foe, the thankful and unthankful, the kinsman and stranger.

A Comparison between Faith, Hope, and Charity.

Faith cometh of the word of God; hope cometh of faith; and charity springeth of them both.

Faith believeth the word; hope trusteth after that which is promised by the word; charity doth good unto her neighbour, through the love that she hath to God, and gladness that is within herself.

Faith looketh to God and his word; hope looketh unto his gift and reward; charity looketh on her neighbour's profit.

Faith receiveth God; hope receiveth his reward; charity loveth her neighbour with a glad heart, and that without any respect of reward.

Faith pertaineth to God only; hope to his reward; and charity to her neighbour.

THE DOCTRINE OF WORKS.

No manner of Works make us righteous.

'We believe that a man shall be justified without works.' Rom. iii.

'No man is justified by the deeds of the law, but by the faith of Jesus Christ; and we believe in Jesus Christ, that we may be justified by the faith of Christ, and not by the deeds of the law; for if righteousness come by the law, then died Christ in vain.' Gal. ii.

'That no man is justified by the law is manifest; for a righteous man liveth by his faith, but the law is not of faith.' Acts xvii.

Works do not make us righteous.

Moreover, since Christ the maker of heaven and earth, and all that is therein, behoved to die for us, we are compelled to grant that we were so far drowned and sunken in sin, that neither our deeds, nor all the treasures that ever God made or might make, could have holpen us out of them: therefore no deeds or works may make us righteous.

No Works make us unrighteous.

Argumentum à contrario sensu.

If any evil works make us unrighteous; then the contrary works should make us righteous. But it is proved that no works can make us righteous: therefore no works make us unrighteous.

Works make us neither good nor evil.

Works make us neither good nor evil before God.

It is proved that works neither make us righteous nor unrighteous: therefore no works make us either good or evil. For righteous and good are one thing, and unrighteous and evil likewise one.

Good works make not a good man, nor evil works an evil man: but a good man bringeth forth good works, and an evil man evil works.

Good fruit maketh not the tree good, nor evil fruit the tree evil: but a good tree beareth good fruit, and an evil tree evil fruit.

(1) Luke xviii. (2) Psalm ii. Jer. xvii. (3) Psalm xiv. Eccl. xxxiv.

A good man cannot do evil works, nor an evil man good works: for a good tree cannot bear evil fruit, nor an evil tree good fruit.

A man is good ere he do good works, and evil ere he do evil works: for the tree is good, ere it bear good fruit, and evil, ere it bear evil fruit.

Every man, and the works of man, are either good or evil.

The goodness of the tree goeth before his fruit.

Every tree, and the fruits thereof, are either good or evil. 'Either make ye the tree good, and the fruit good also, or else make the tree evil, and the fruit of it likewise evil.' Matt. xii.

A good man is known by his works: for a good man doth good works, and an evil man evil works. 'Ye shall know them by their fruit; for a good tree beareth good fruit, and an evil tree evil fruit.' A man is likened to the tree, and his works to the fruit of the tree.

'Beware of the false prophets, which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves: ye shall know them by their fruits.' Luke vii.

None of our Works either save us or condemn us.

Objection.

'If works make us neither righteous nor unrighteous,' then thou wilt say, 'it maketh no matter what we do.' I answer, If thou do evil, it is a sure argument that thou art evil, and wantest faith. If thou do good, it is an argument that thou art good, and hast faith; for a good tree beareth good fruit, and an evil tree evil fruit. Yet good fruit makes not the tree good, nor evil fruit the tree evil; so that man is good ere he do good deeds, and evil ere he do evil deeds.

Answer.

The man is the tree, his works are the fruit.

Faith maketh the man good.

Faith maketh the good tree, and incredulity the evil tree: such a tree, such fruit; such a man, such works. For all things that are done in faith, please God, and are good works; and all that are done without faith, displease God, and are evil works.

A good man maketh good works.

Whosoever believeth or thinketh to be saved by his works, denieth that Christ is his Saviour, that Christ died for him, and that all things pertain to Christ. For how is he thy Saviour, if thou mightest save thyself by thy works, or whereto should he die for thee, if any works might have saved thee?

To say that our works do save us, is to deny that Christ is our Saviour.

What is this to say, Christ died for thee? Verily that thou shouldest have died perpetually; and Christ, to deliver thee from death, died for thee, and changed thy perpetual death into his own death; for thou madest the fault, and he suffered the pain; and that, for the love he had to thee before thou wast born, when thou hadst done neither good nor evil.

Now, seeing he hath paid thy debt, thou needest not, neither canst thou pay it; but shouldst be damned if his blood were not. But since he was punished for thee, thou shalt not be punished.

Finally, He hath delivered thee from thy condemnation and all evil, and desireth nought of thee, but that thou wilt acknowledge what he hath done for thee, and bear it in mind; and that thou wouldst help others for his sake, both in word and deed, even as he hath holpen thee for nought, and without reward.

O how ready would we be to help others, if we knew his goodness and gentleness towards us; he is a good and a gentle Lord, for he doth all for nought. Let us, I beseech you therefore, follow His footsteps, whom all the world ought to praise and worship. Amen!

He that thinketh to be saved by his Works calleth himself Christ:

No Saviour but Christ.

For he calleth himself the Saviour; which pertaineth to Christ only.

What is a Saviour, but he that saveth? and he saith, I saved myself; which is as much to say as, 'I am Christ;' for Christ only is the Saviour of the world.

We should do no good Works for the intent to get the Inheritance of Heaven, or Remission of Sin:

For whosoever believeth to get the inheritance of heaven, or remission of sin, through works, he believeth not to get the same for Christ's sake; and

Henry VIII. A. D. 1528.

they that believe not that their sins are forgiven them, and that they shall be saved, for Christ's sake, they believe not the gospel: for the gospel saith, 'You shall be saved for Christ's sake;' 'your sins are forgiven for Christ's sake.'

No remission but in Christ.

He that believeth not the gospel, believeth not God. So it followeth, that those who believe to be saved by their works, or to get remission of their sins by their own deeds, believe not God, but account him as a liar, and so utterly deny him to be God.

Objection.

Thou wilt say, 'Shall we then do no good deeds?'

Answer.

Good works excluded; not to be left undone, but not to justify us, when they are done.

I say not so, but I say we should do no good works to the intent to get the inheritance of heaven, or remission of sin: For if we believe to get the inheritance of heaven through good works, then we believe not to get it through the promise of God: or if we think to get remission of our sins by our deeds, then we believe not that they are forgiven us, and so we count God a liar. For God saith, 'Thou shalt have the inheritance of heaven for my Son's sake; thy sins are forgiven thee for my Son's sake:' and you say it is not so, 'But I will win it through my works.'

Not the doing of good works, but the trusting in good works condemned.

Thus you see I condemn not good deeds, but I condemn the false trust in any works; for all the works wherein a man putteth any confidence, are therewith poisoned, and become evil. Wherefore thou must do good works, but beware thou do them not to deserve any good through them; for if thou do, thou receivest the good not as the gifts of God, but as debt to thee, and makest thyself fellow with God, because thou wilt take nothing of him for nought. And what needeth he any thing of thine, who giveth all things, and is not the poorer? Therefore do nothing to him, but take of him, for he is a gentle Lord; and with a gladder will giveth us all that we need, than we can take it of him: if then we want aught, let us blame ourselves.

Press not therefore to the inheritance of heaven through presumption of thy good works; for if thou do, thou countest thyself holy, and equal to God, because thou wilt take nothing of him for nought; and so shalt thou fall as Lucifer fell for his pride.

FINIS.

Certain brief Notes or Declarations upon the aforesaid Places of Master Patrick.

The law and the gospel, how they are to be joined, and how to be separated.

This little treatise of Master Patrick's Places, albeit in quantity it be short, yet in effect it comprehendeth matter able to fill large volumes, declaring to us the true doctrine of the law, of the gospel, of faith, and of works, with the nature and properties, and also the difference of the same: which difference is thus to be understood: that in the cause of salvation, and in the office of justifying, these are to be removed and separated asunder, the law from the gospel, and faith from works: otherwise, in the person that is justified, and also in order of doctrine, they ought commonly to go necessarily together.

Grace free. Promise simple. Faith alone.

Particularly.

The body of Christ is the efficient cause of our redemption in general.

Therefore, whereseever any question or doubt ariseth of salvation, or our justifying before God, there the law and all good works must be utterly excluded and stand apart, that grace may appear free, the promise simple, and that faith may stand alone; which faith alone, without law or works, worketh to every man particularly, his salvation, through mere promise, and the free grace of God. This word 'particularly,' I add, for the particular certifying of every man's heart, privately and peculiarly, that believeth in Christ. For as the body of Christ is the cause efficient of the redemption of the whole world in general; so is faith the instrumental cause, by which every man applieth the said body of Christ particularly to his own salvation. So that in the action and office of justification, both law and works here be utterly secluded and exempted, as things having nothing to do in this behalf. The reason is this, for seeing that all our redemption universally springeth only from the body of the Son of God crucified, then is there nothing that can stand us in stead, but that only wherewith this body of Christ is apprehended. Now, forasmuch as neither the

law nor works, but faith only, is the thing which apprehendeth the body and death of Christ, therefore faith only is that matter which justifieth every soul before God, through the strength of that object which it doth apprehend. For the only object of our faith is the body of Christ, like as the brazen serpent was the only object of the eyes of the Israelites looking, and not of their hands' working: by the strength of which object, through the promise of God, immediately proceeded health to the beholders. So the body of Christ, being the object of our faith, striketh righteousness to our souls, not through working, but believing only.

Faith is the instrumental cause of every man's particular salvation.

Thus you see how faith, being the only eye of our soul, standeth alone with her object in case of justifying; but yet, nevertheless, in the body she standeth not alone: for besides the eye, there be also hands to work, feet to walk, ears to hear, and other members more, every one convenient for the service of the body, and yet there is none of them all that can see, but only the eye. So in a christian man's life, and in order of doctrine, there is the law, there is repentance, there is hope, charity, and deeds of charity; all which, in life and in doctrine, are joined, and necessarily do concur together: and yet, in the action of justifying, there is nothing else in man, that hath any part or place, but only faith apprehending the object, which is the body of Christ Jesus for us crucified, in whom consisteth all the worthiness and fulness of our salvation, by faith; that is, by our apprehending and receiving of him: according as it is written in John i., 'Whosoever received him, he gave them power to be made the sons of God, even all such as believed in his name,' &c. Also in Isaiah liii., 'This just servant of mine, in the knowledge of him shall justify many,' &c.

Note the object of faith.

Faith is only the eye of the soul, which looketh to Christ.

Argument.

Da- Apprehending and receiving of Christ only maketh us justified before God.[1]
ti- Christ only is apprehended and received by faith.
si. Ergo, faith only maketh us justified before God.

Argument.

Ba- Justification cometh only by apprehending and receiving of Christ.[2]
ro- The law and works do nothing pertain to the apprehending of Christ.
co. Ergo, the law and works pertain nothing to justification.

Argument.

Ce- Nothing which is unjust of itself, can justify us before God, or help any thing to our justifying.
sa- Every work we do, is unjust before God.[3]
re. Ergo, no work that we do, can justify us before God, or help any thing to our justifying.

Argument.

Ca- If works could any thing further our justification, then should our works something profit us before God.
me- No works, do the best we can, do profit us before God.[4]
stres. Ergo, no works that we do, can any thing further our justification.

Argument.

Ba- All that we can do with God, is only by Christ.[5]
ro- Our works and merits be not Christ, neither any part of him.
co. Ergo, our works and merits can do nothing with God.

(1) 'As many as received him, to them he gave power,' &c. John i.
(2) 'And he, by the knowledge of him, shall justify many,' &c. Isa. liii.
(3) 'All our righteousness is as filthy clouts.' Isa. lxiv.
(4) 'When ye have done all that is commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants.' Luke xvii.
(5) 'Without me ye can do nothing.' John xv.

Henry VIII. A. D. 1528.

Argument.

Da- That which is the cause of condemnation, cannot be the cause of justification.

ri- The law is the cause of condemnation.[1]

i. Ergo, it is not the cause of justification.

A Consequent.

We are quit and delivered from the law.[2]

Ergo, we are not quit and delivered by the law.

Forasmuch therefore as the truth of the Scripture, in express words, hath thus included our salvation in faith only, we are enforced necessarily to exclude all other causes and means in our justification, and to make this difference between the law and the gospel, between faith and works; affirming, with Scripture and the word of God, that the law condemneth us, our works do not avail us, and that faith in Christ only, justifieth us. And this difference and distinction ought diligently to be learned and retained of all Christians; especially in conflict of conscience between the law and the gospel, faith and works, grace and merits, promise and condition, God's free-election, and man's free-will: so that the light of the free grace of God in our salvation may appear to all consciences, to the immortal glory of God's holy name. Amen.

The Order and Difference of Places.

Antitheta. The law to be discerned from the gospel

The Gospel and the Law; Faith and Works;
Grace and Merits; Promise and Condition;
God's Free-Election and Man's Free-Will.

The difference and repugnance of these aforesaid 'Places' being well noted and expended, it shall give no small light to every faithful Christian, both to understand the Scriptures, to judge in cases of conscience, and to reconcile such places in the Old and New Testament as else may seem to repugn; according to the rule of St. Augustine, saying, 'Distingue tempora, et conciliabis Scripturas,' &c. 'Make distinction of times, and thou shalt reconcile the Scriptures,' &c. Contrariwise, where men be not perfectly in these places instructed to discern between the law and the gospel, between faith and works, &c., so long they can never rightly establish their minds in the free promises of God's grace, but walk confusedly, without order, in all matters of religion; example whereof we have too much in the Romish church, which, confounding these places together without distinction, following no method, hath perverted the true order of christian doctrine, and hath obscured the sweet comfort and benefit of the gospel of Christ, not knowing what the true use of the law, nor of the gospel, meaneth.

The ignorance and blindness of the pope's church in confounding these places.

In the Doctrine of the Law three things to be noted.

The first point. The strength of the law.

In the law therefore, three things are to be considered. First, what is the true rigour and strength of the law, which is, to require full and perfect obedience of the whole man, not only to restrain his outward actions, but also his inward motions and inclinations of will and affection, from the appetite of sin: and therefore saith St. Paul, 'The law is spiritual, but I am carnal,'[3] &c. Whereupon riseth this proposition, That it is not in our nature and power to fulfil the law. Item, the law commandeth that which is to us impossible, &c.

The second. The due time and place of the law.

The second thing to be noted in the doctrine of the law, is, to consider the time and place of the law, what they be, and how far they extend. For, as the surging seas have their banks and bars to keep them in, so the law hath its times and limits, which it ought not to pass. If Christ had not come and suffered, the time and dominion of the law had been everlasting: but now, seeing Christ hath come, and hath died in his righteous flesh, the power of the law against our sinful flesh doth cease. 'For the end of the law is Christ;'[4]

(1) 'The law worketh anger.' Rom. iv.
(2) 'Now are we quit and delivered from the law, being dead to that wherein we were once holden.' Rom. vii.
(3) Rom. vii. (4) Rom. x.

that is, the death of Christ's body is the death of the law to all that believe in him: so that whosoever repent of their sins, and flee to the death and passion of Christ, the condemnation and time of the law to them are expired. Wherefore this is to be understood as a perpetual rule in the Scripture, that the law with all its sentences and judgments, wheresoever they are written, either in the Old Testament or in the New, doth ever include a privy exception of repentance and belief in Christ, to which always it giveth place, having there its end; and can proceed no further: according as St. Paul doth say, 'The law is our schoolmaster until Christ, that we might be justified by faith.'[1]

The death of Christ is the death of the law, that is, of the condemnation of the law.

Moreover, as the law hath its time how long to reign, so also it hath its proper place, where to reign. By the reign of the law here is meant the condemnation of the law: for as the time of the law ceaseth, when the faith of Christ, in a true repenting heart, beginneth, so hath the law no place in such as be good and faithful; that is, in sinners repenting and amending, but only in them that be evil and wicked. Evil men here I call such as walking in sinful flesh, are not yet driven by earnest repentance to flee to Christ for succour. And therefore saith St. Paul, 'To the just man there is no law set, but to the unjust and disobedient,'[2] &c. By the just man here is meant, not he who never had disease, but he who, knowing his disease, seeketh out the physician; and, being cured, keepeth himself in health, as much as he may, from any more surfeits. Notwithstanding he shall never so keep himself, but that his health (that is, his new obedience) shall always remain frail and imperfect, and shall continually need the physician. Where, by the way, these three things are to be noted; first, the sickness itself: secondly, the knowing of the sickness: thirdly, the physician. The sickness is sin: the knowing of the sickness is repentance, which the law worketh: the physician is Christ. And therefore, although in remission of our sins repentance is joined with faith, yet it is not the dignity or worthiness of repentance, that causeth remission of sins, but only the worthiness of Christ, whom faith only apprehendeth: no more than the feeling of the disease is the cause of health, but only the physician. For else, when a man is cast and condemned by the law, it is not repentance that can save or deserve life, but if his pardon come, then is it the grace of the prince, and not his repentance that saveth.

How long the time of the law lasteth.

In remission of sins three things to be noted.

Repentance is joined with faith, yet is it no cause of salvation.

The third point to be noted.

The third point of the doctrine of the law, is this: that we mark well the end and purpose why the law is given, which is, not to bring us to salvation, nor to work God's favour, nor to make us good; but rather to declare and convict our wickedness, and to make us feel the danger thereof, to this end and purpose, that we, seeing our condemnation, and being in ourselves confounded, may be driven thereby to have our refuge in Christ the Son of God, and to submit ourselves to him, in whom only is to be found our remedy, and in none other. And this end of the law ought discreetly to be pondered by all Christians: otherwise they that consider not this end and purpose of the law, fall into manifold errors and inconveniences. First, they pervert all order of doctrine: secondly, they seek that in the law which the law cannot give: thirdly, they are not able to comfort themselves, nor others: fourthly, they keep men's souls in an uncertain doubt and dubitation of their salvation: fifthly, they obscure the light of God's grace: sixthly, they are unkind to God's benefits: seventhly, they are injurious to Christ's passion, and enemies to his cross: eighthly, they stop christian liberty: ninthly, they bereave the church, the spouse of Christ, of her due comfort, as taking away the sun out of the world: tenthly, in all their doings they shoot at a wrong mark; for where Christ only is set up to be apprehended by our faith, and so freely to justify us, they, leaving this justification by faith, set up other marks, partly of the law, partly of their own devising, for men to shoot at. And here come in the manifest and manifold absurdities of the bishop of Rome's doctrine, which (the Lord willing) we will rehearse, as in a catalogue here following.

Inconveniences that rise from not knowing the true end of the law.

Errors and Absurdities of the Papists, touching the Doctrine of the Law and of the Gospel.

I. They erroneously conceive opinion of salvation in the law, which only is to be sought in the faith of Christ, and in no other.

(1) Gal. iii. (2) 'Justis non est lex posita, sed injustis, et inobsequentibus.' 1 Tim. i.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1528.

II. They erroneously do seek God's favour by works of the law; not knowing that the law, in this our corrupt nature, worketh only the anger of God.[1]

III. They err also in this, that whereas the office of the law is diverse from, and contrary to the gospel, they, without any difference, confound the one with the other, making the gospel to be a law, and Christ to be a Moses.[2]

IV. They err in dividing the law unskilfully into three parts: into the law natural, the law moral, and the law evangelical.

V. They err again in dividing the law evangelical into precepts and counsels, making the precepts to serve for all men, the counsels only to serve for them that be perfect.

VI. The chief substance of all their teaching and preaching resteth upon the works of the law, as may appear by their religion, which wholly consisteth in men's merits, traditions, laws, canons, decrees, and ceremonies.[3]

VII. In the doctrines of salvation, remission, and justification, either they admix the law equally with the gospel, or else, clean secluding the gospel, they teach and preach the law, so that little mention is made of the faith of Christ, or none at all.[4]

VIII. They err, in thinking that the law of God requireth nothing in us under pain of damnation, but only our obedience in external actions: as for the inward affections and concupiscence, they esteem them but light matters.

IX. They, not knowing the true nature and strength of the law, do erroneously imagine that it is in man's power to fulfil it.[5]

X. They err in thinking it not only to be in man's power to keep the law of God, but also to perform more perfect works than be in God's law commanded; and these they call the works of perfection. And hereof rise the works of supererogation, of satisfaction, of congruity and condignity, to store up the treasure-house of the pope's church, to be sold out to the people for money.[6]

XI. They err in saying, that the state monastical is more perfect for keeping the counsels of the gospel, than other states be in keeping the law of the gospel.[7]

XII. The counsels of the gospel they call the vows of their religious men, as profound humility, perfect chastity, and wilful poverty.

XIII. They err abominably, in equalling their laws and constitutions with God's law; and in saying, that man's law bindeth, under pain of damnation, no less than God's law.

XIV. They err sinfully, in punishing the transgressors of their laws more sharply than the transgressors of the law of God; as appeareth by their inquisitions, and their canon-law, &c.[8]

XV. Finally they err most horribly in this, that where the free promise of God ascribeth our salvation only to our faith in Christ, excluding works; they, on the contrary, ascribe salvation only, or principally, to works and merits, excluding faith: whereupon ariseth the application of the sacrifice of the mass, 'ex opere operato,' for the quick and dead, application of the merits of Christ's passion in bulls, application of the merits of all religious orders, and such others above specified more at large in the former part of this history.[9]

Here follow three Cautions to be observed and avoided in the true understanding of the Law.

The first caution: that we, through the misunderstanding of the Scriptures, do not take the law for the gospel, nor the gospel for the law; but skilfully dis-

(1) Rom. iii.

(2) This article repugneth against this place of John i., 'The law is given by Moses: grace and verity by Jesus Christ.'

(3) What is the whole service of God in the pope's church, but only a heap of ceremonies?

(4) This article repugneth against this Scripture, 'Go and preach the gospel to every creature. He that believeth,' &c. But they preach as though Christ had said, 'Go and preach the law to every creature.'

(5) This article is contrary to the place Rom. viii., 'That which the law could not perform in the behalf of our weak flesh,' &c.

(6) This article repugneth against the place, Gal. ii., 'For if righteousness come by the law, then Christ died in vain.'

(7) This article savoureth of the pride of the pharisee, who said, 'I am not like this publican.'

(8) This article repugneth against this place, 'They bind heavy burdens and grievous to bear, and lay them on men's shoulders,' Matt. xxiii.

(9) 'Woe to you, scribes and pharisees! which for the doctrines of men, transgress the commandments of God.'

cern and distinguish the voice of the one from the voice of the other. Many there be, who, reading the book of the New Testament, do take and understand whatsoever they see contained in the said book, to be only and merely the voice of the gospel. And contrariwise, whatsoever is contained in the compass of the Old Testament; that is, within the law, histories, psalms, and prophets, to be only and merely the word and voice of the law. Wherein many are deceived; for the preaching of the law, and the preaching of the gospel, are mixed together in both the Testaments, as well the Old as the New; neither is the order of these two doctrines to be distinguished by books and leaves, but by the diversity of God's Spirit speaking unto us. For sometimes in the Old Testament God doth comfort, as he comforted Adam, with the voice of the gospel: sometimes also in the New Testament he doth threaten and terrify, as when Christ threatened the Pharisees. In some places again, Moses and the prophets play the Evangelists; insomuch that Jerome doubteth whether he should call Isaiah a prophet or an evangelist. In some places likewise Christ and the apostles supply the part of Moses; and as Christ himself, until his death, was under the law (which law he came not to break, but to fulfil), so his sermons made to the Jews, run all, for the most part, upon the perfect doctrine and works of the law, showing and teaching what we ought to do by the right law of justice, and what danger ensueth in not performing the same: all which places, though they be contained in the book of the New Testament, yet are they to be referred to the doctrine of the law, ever having in them included a privy exception of repentance and faith in Christ Jesus. As for example, where Christ thus preacheth, 'Blessed be they that be pure of heart, for they shall see God,'[1] &c. Again, 'Except ye be made like these children, ye shall not enter,'[2] &c. Item, 'But he that doth the will of my Father, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven,'[3] &c. Item, the parable of the unkind servant, justly cast into prison for not forgiving his fellow,[4] &c. The casting of the rich glutton into hell,[5] &c. Item. 'He that denieth me here before men, I will deny him before my Father, &c.:[6] with such other places of like condition. All these, I say, pertaining to the doctrine of the law, do ever include in them a secret exception of earnest repentance, and faith in Christ's precious blood. For else, Peter denied, and yet repented. Many publicans and sinners were unkind, unmerciful, and hard-hearted to their fellow-servants; and yet many of them repented, and by faith were saved, &c. The grace of Christ Jesus work in us earnest repentance, and faith in him unfeigned. Amen!

The voice of the gospel soundeth sometimes in the Old Testament, and the voice of the law is sometimes used in the New Testament.

What places of the Scripture are to be referred to the law.

Briefly, to know when the law speaketh, and when the gospel speaketh, and to discern the voice of the one from the voice of the other, this may serve for a note, that when there is any moral work commanded to be done, either for eschewing of punishment, or upon promise of any reward temporal or eternal, or else when any promise is made with condition of any work commanded in the law, there is to be understood the voice of the law. Contrary, where the promise of life and salvation is offered unto us freely, without all our merits, and simply, without any condition annexed of any law, either natural, ceremonial, or moral: all those places, whether they be read in the Old Testament, or in the New, are to be referred to the voice and doctrine of the gospel. And this promise of God, freely made to us by the merits of Jesus Christ, so long before prophesied to us in the Old Testament, and afterwards exhibited in the New Testament, and now requiring nothing but our faith in the Son of God, is called properly the voice of the gospel, and differeth from the voice of the law in this, that it hath no condition adjoined of our meriting, but only respecteth the merits of Christ the Son of God; by whose faith only we are promised of God to be saved and justified: according as we read in Rom. iii. 'The righteousness of God cometh by faith of Jesus Christ, in all, and upon all, that do believe,' &c.

The promise of the gospel is without condition. Free without merits. Simple without condition. What is the gospel properly.

The second caution or danger to be avoided is, that we now, knowing how to discern rightly between the law and the gospel, and having intelligence not to mistake the one for the other, must take heed again that we break not the order between these two, taking and applying the law, where the gospel is to be applied, either to ourselves or towards others. For albeit the law and the gospel many times are to be joined together in order of doctrine, yet the case may fall sometimes, that the law must be utterly sequestered from the gospel: as when

The second caution.

(1) Matt. v. (2) Matt. xviii. (3) Matt. vii. (4) Matt. xviii. (5) Luke xvi. (6) Luke xii.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1528.

any person or persons do feel themselves, with the majesty of the law and judgment of God, so terrified and oppressed, and with the burden of their sins overweighed and thrown down into utter discomfort, and almost even to the pit of hell; as happeneth many times to soft and timorous consciences of God's good servants. When such mortified hearts do hear, either in preaching or in reading, any such example or place of the Scripture which pertaineth to the law, let them think the same nothing to belong to them, no more than a mourning weed belongeth to a marriage-feast: and therefore, removing utterly out of their minds all cogitation of the law, of fear, of judgment, and condemnation, let them only set before their eyes the gospel, the sweet comforts of God's promise, free forgiveness of sins in Christ, grace, redemption, liberty, rejoicing, psalms, thanks, singing, and a paradise of spiritual jocundity, and nothing else; thinking thus with themselves, that the law hath done his office in them already, and now must needs give place to his better, that is, must needs give room to Christ the Son of God, who is the lord and master, the fulfiller, and also the finisher of the law; for the end of the law, is Christ.[1]

Who they be, to whom the gospel only belongeth.

Christ the fulfiller and also the finisher of the law.

The third danger to be avoided is, that we do not use or apply on the contrary side, the gospel instead of the law. For as the other before, was even as much as to put on a mourning gown in the feast of a marriage, so is this but even to cast pearls before swine; wherein is a great abuse among many. For commonly it is seen that these worldly epicures and secure Mammonists, to whom the doctrine of the law doth properly appertain, do receive and apply to themselves most principally the sweet promises of the gospel: and, contrariwise, the other contrite and bruised hearts, to whom belong only the joyful tidings of the gospel, and not the law, for the most part receive and retain to themselves the terrible voice and sentences of the law. Hereby it cometh to pass that many do rejoice where they should mourn; and on the other side, many do fear and mourn where they need not: wherefore, to conclude, in private use of life, let every person discreetly discern between the law and the gospel, and aptly apply to himself that which he seeth convenient.

The third caution. How to separate the law from the gospel.

And again, in public order of doctrine, let every discreet preacher put a difference between the broken heart of the mourning sinner, and the unrepentant worldling, and so conjoin both the law with the gospel, and the gospel with the law, that in throwing down the wicked, ever he spare the weak-hearted; and again, so spare the weak, that he do not encourage the ungodly.

How to join both the law and the gospel.

And thus much concerning the conjunction and difference between the law and the gospel, upon the occasion of Mr. Patrick's Places.

Henry Forest, martyred at St. Andrews, in Scotland. Persecuted by James Beton, Archbishop of St. Andrews; and by Friar Walter Laing, betrayer of the Confession of this Henry Forest.

Within a few years after the martyrdom of Master Patrick Hamelton, one Henry Forest, a young man born in Linlithgow, who, a little before, had received the orders of Benet and Collet (as they term them), affirmed and said, that Master Patrick Hamelton died a martyr, and that his articles were true. For this he was apprehended, and put in prison by James Beton, archbishop of St. Andrew's, who, shortly after, caused a certain friar, named Walter Laing, to hear his confession: to whom when Henry Forest in secret confession had declared his conscience, how he thought Master Patrick to be a good man, and wrongfully to be put to death, and that his articles were true, and not heretical, the friar came and uttered to the bishop the confession that he had heard, which before was not thoroughly known. Hereupon it followed, that his confession being brought as sufficient probation against him, he was therefore convented before the council of the clergy and doctors, and there concluded to be a heretic, equal in iniquity with Master Patrick Hamelton, and there decreed to be given to the secular judges, to suffer death.

Henry Forest, martyr.

The friar uttereth the confession of Henry Forest.

When the day came for his death, and that he should first be degraded, he was brought before the clergy in a green place, being between the castle of St.

(1) Rom. x.

Andrew and another place called Monymaill. As soon as he entered in at the door, and saw the faces of the clergy, perceiving whereunto they tended, he cried with a loud voice, saying, 'Fie on falsehood! Fie on false friars, revealers of confession! After this day let no man ever trust any false friars, contemners of God's word, and deceivers of men!' And so they proceeding to degrade him of his small orders of Benet and Collet, he said with a loud voice, 'Take from me not only your own orders, but also your own baptism!' meaning thereby whatsoever is besides that which Christ himself instituted, whereof there is a great rabblement in baptism. Then, after his degradation, they condemned him as a heretic equal with Master Patrick aforesaid. And so he suffered death for his faithful testimony of the truth of Christ and of his gospel, at the north church-stile of the abbey church of St. Andrew, to the intent that all the people of Forfar might see the fire, and so might be the more feared from falling into the like doctrine which they term by the name of heresy.[1]

Henry VIII. A. D. 1528.

Fie on false friars.

James Hamelton, Brother to Master Patrick; Katharine Hamelton; a Wife of Leith; David Straton, and Master Norman Gurley: the two last burned. Persecuted by James Hay, Bishop of Ross, Commissioner of King James the Fifth; by Beton, Archbishop of St. Andrews; and by Master John Spens, Lawyer.

Within a year after the martyrdom of Henry Forest, or thereabout, was called James Hamelton, of Linlithgow; his sister Katharine Hamelton, the spouse of the captain of Dunbar; also another honest woman of Leith; David Straton, of the house of Lawristone; and Master Norman Gurley. These were called to the abbey church of Holyrood House in Edinburgh, by James Hay, bishop of Ross, commissioner to James Beton, archbishop, in presence of king James the Fifth of that name; who, upon the day of their accusation, was altogether clad in red apparel. James Hamelton was accused as one that maintained the opinion of Master Patrick his brother; to whom the king gave counsel to depart, and not to appear: for in case he appeared, he could not help him; because the bishops had persuaded the king, that the cause of heresy did in no wise appertain unto *him*. And so Hamelton fled, and was condemned as a heretic, and all his goods and lands confiscated and disposed unto others.

Katharine Hamelton, his sister, appeared upon the scaffold, and being accused of a horrible heresy, to wit, that her own works could not save her, she granted the same; and after a long reasoning between her and Master John Spens, the lawyer, she concluded in this manner, 'Work here, work there; what kind of working is all this? I know perfectly, that no kind of works can save me, but only the works of Christ my Lord and Saviour.' The king, hearing these words, turned him about and laughed, and called her unto him, and caused her to recant, because she was his aunt; and she escaped.

A great heresy in the pope's church, that no works can save us, but the works of Christ.

The woman of Leith was detected hereof, that when the midwife, in time of her labour, bade her say, 'Our lady help me!' she cried, 'Christ help me! Christ help me, in whose help I trust!' She also was caused to recant, and so escaped without confiscation of her goods, because she was married.

A great heresy.

Master Norman Gurley, for that he said there was no such thing as purgatory, and that the pope was not a bishop but Antichrist, and had no jurisdiction in Scotland.

Purgatory.

Also David Straton, for that he said, there was no purgatory, but the passion of Christ, and the tribulations of this world. And because, when Master Robert Lawson, vicar of Eglesgrig, asked his tithe-fish of him, he did cast them to him out of the boat, so that some of them fell into the sea; therefore he accused him, as one that should have said, that no tithes should be paid. These two, because, after great solicitation made by the king, they refused to abjure and recant, were therefore condemned by the bishop of Ross as heretics, and were burned upon the green side, between Leith and Edinburgh, to the intent that the inha-

(1) Ex Scripto Testimonio Scotorum.

Henry VIII. bitants of Fife, seeing the fire, might be struck with terror and fear, not to fall into the like.[1]

A. D. 1530. And thus much touching those martyrs of Scotland that suffered under James Beton, archbishop of St. Andrew's; after whom succeeded David Beton, in the same archbishopric, under whom divers others were also martyred; as hereafter (God willing) in their order shall appear.

Thomas Harding, an aged Father, dwelling at Chesham in Buckinghamshire, burned A. D. 1532. Persecuted by John Longland, Bishop of Lincoln, and by Rowland, Vicar of Great Wycombe, the Bishop's Chaplain.

Thomas Harding, dwelling at Chesham, in the county of Buckingham, with Alice his wife, was first abjured by William Smith, bishop of Lincoln, A.D. 1506, with divers others, who, the same time, for speaking against idolatry and superstition, were taken and compelled, some to bear faggots, some were burned in the cheeks with hot irons, some condemned to perpetual prison, some thrust into monasteries, and spoiled clean of all their goods, some compelled to make pilgrimage to the great block, otherwise called our Lady of Lincoln, some to Walsingham, some to St. Romuld of Buckingham, some to the rood of Wendover, some to St. John Shorne, &c.: of whom mention is made in the table before.

Of this Thomas Harding much rehearsal hath been made before. First, this Thomas Harding, with Alice his wife, being abjured and enjoined penance, with divers others, by William Smith, bishop of Lincoln; afterwards: by the said bishop was released again, A. D. 1515, of all such penance as was enjoined him and his wife at their abjuration, except these three articles following; and were discharged of their badges or signs of their faggots, &c. Only this penance following the bishop continued 'sub pœna relapsus:'

First, That neither of them during their life, should dwell out of the parish of Amersham.

Item, That both of them, during their lives, should fast bread and ale every Corpus Christi even.[2]

Item, That both of them should during their lives, upon Corpus Christi day, every year go on pilgrimage to Ashridge, and there make their offerings, as other people did; but not to do penance. Also they were licensed by the said bishop to do their pilgrimage at Ashridge on Corpus Christi even, or Corpus Christi day, or some other, upon any cause reasonable.

This penance, being to them enjoined, A. D. 1515, they observed till the year 1522, save that in the last year only, the aforesaid Alice, his wife, omitted her pilgrimage, going to Ashridge upon Corpus Christi day. Also the said Thomas Harding, being put to his oath to detect others, because he, contrary to his oath, dissembled, and did not disclose them, was therefore enjoined, in penance for his perjury, to bear upon his right sleeve, both before and behind, a badge or patch of green cloth, or silk, embroidered like a faggot, during his whole life, unless he should be otherwise dispensed withal. And thus continued he from the year 1522, until the year 1532.

The taking of Thomas Harding. At last the said Harding, in the year abovesaid (1532), about the Easter holidays, when the other people went to the church to commit their wonted idolatry, took his way into the woods, there solitarily to worship the true living God, in spirit and in truth; where, as he was occupied in a book of English prayers, leaning or sitting upon a stile by the wood's side, it chanced that one did espy him where he was, and came in great haste to the officers of the town, declaring, that he had seen Harding in the woods looking on a book: whereupon immediately a rude rabble of them, like mad men, ran desperately to his house to search for books, and in searching went so nigh, that under the boards of his floor they found certain English books of holy Scripture. Hereupon this godly father,

(1) Ex Scripto Testimonio Scotorum.
(2) It was happy that they were not put to taste bread and water.

with his books, was brought before John Longland, bishop of Lincoln, then lying at Woburn; who, with his chaplains, calling father Harding to examination, began to reason with him, proceeding rather with checks and rebukes, than with any sound arguments. Thomas Harding, seeing their folly and rude behaviour, gave them but few words, but fixing his trust and care in the Lord, did let them say what they would. Thus at last they sent him to the bishop's prison, called Little-ease, where he did lie with hunger and pain enough for a certain space, till at length the bishop, sitting in his tribunal-seat like a potestate, condemned him for relapse to be burned to ashes, committing the charge and oversight of his martyrdom to Rowland Messenger, vicar of Great Wycombe. This Rowland, at the day appointed, with a rabble of others like to himself, brought father Harding to Chesham again; where, the next day after his return, the said Rowland made a sermon in Chesham church, causing Thomas Harding to stand before him all the preaching time; which sermon was nothing else, but the maintaining of the jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome, and the state of his apostolical see, with the idolatry, fantasies, and traditions belonging unto the same. When the sermon was ended, Rowland took him up to the high altar, and asked, whether he believed that in the bread, after the consecration, there remained any other substance than the substance of Christ's natural body, born of the Virgin Mary? To this Thomas Harding answered, 'The articles of our belief do teach us, that our Saviour Christ was born of the Virgin Mary, and that he suffered death under Pilate, and rose from death the third day; that he then ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God, in the glory of his Father.'

Henry VIII. A.D. 1530.

Harding put in Little-ease, the bishop's prison.

Harding condemned.

The faith and confession of Harding.

Then was he brought into a man's house in the town, where he remained all night in prayer and godly meditations. So the next morning came the aforesaid Rowland again, about ten o'clock, with a company of bills and staves, to lead this godly father to his burning; whom a great number both of men and women did follow, of whom many bewailed his death, and contrary, the wicked rejoiced thereat. He was brought forth, having thrust into his hands a little cross of wood, but no idol upon it. Then he was chained unto the stake, and desiring the people to pray for him, and forgiving all his enemies and persecutors, he commended his spirit to God, and took his death most patiently and quietly, lifting up his hands to heaven, saying, 'Jesus, receive my spirit.'

His patient death and martyrdom.

When they had set fire on him, there was one that threw a billet at him, and dashed out his brains: for what purpose he so did, it is not known, but, as it was supposed, that he might have forty days of pardon, as the proclamation was made at the burning of William Tylsworth above mentioned; where proclamation was made the same time, that whosoever did bring a faggot or a stake to the burning of a heretic, should have forty days of pardon: whereby many ignorant people caused many of their children to bear billets and faggots to their burning.

Forty days of pardon for bringing faggots to burn good men.

In fine, when the sacrifice and burnt-offering of this godly martyr was finished, and he burnt to ashes, in the dell, going to Botley, at the north end of the town of Chesham, Rowland, their ruler of the roast, commanding silence, and thinking to send the people away with an 'Ita, missa est,' with a loud voice said to the people these words, not advising belike, what his tongue did speak, 'Good people! when ye come home, do not say that you have been at the burning of a heretic, but of a good true christian man;' and so they departed to dinner, Rowland, with the rabble of other priests, much rejoicing at the burning of this good man. After dinner they went to church to evensong, because it was Corpus Christi even, where they fell to singing and chanting, with ringing, and piping of the organs. Well was he that could reach the highest note, so much did they rejoice at this good man's burning. He should have been burned on the Ascension even, but the matter was deferred unto the even of Corpus Christi, because they would honour their 'bready Messias' with a bloody sacrifice. Thus Thomas Harding was consumed to ashes, he being of the age of sixty years and above.[1]

I find in the records of Lincoln, about the same time, and in the same county of Buckinghamshire, in which the aforesaid Thomas

(1) Ex Testimon. Scrip. civium Amarshemensium.

Henry VIII. A. D. 1529.

Harding did suffer, that divers others, for the like doctrine, were molested and troubled, whose names with their causes hereunder follow:

Mistress Alice Dolly, accused by Elizabeth Wighthill, her own servant, and by Dr. London.

Alice Dolly accused.

Elizabeth Wighthill, being brought before Dr. London in the parsonage at Staunton Harecourt, and there put to her oath, deposed against Mistress Alice Dolly, her mistress, that the said Mistress Dolly, speaking of John Hacker, of Coleman-street, in London, water-bearer, said, that he was very expert in the gospels, and all other things belonging to divine service, and could express and declare them, and the Paternoster in English, as well as any priest, and it would do one good to hear him; saying moreover, that she would in no case that this were known, for hurting the poor man: commanding moreover the said Elizabeth, that she should tell no man hereof; affirming at that same time, that the aforesaid Hacker could tell by divers prophecies, what should happen in the realm.

Against pilgrimage.

Over and besides, the aforenamed Elizabeth deposed, that the said Mistress Dolly, her mistress, showed unto her, that she had a book which held against pilgrimages; and after that, she caused Sir John Booth, parson of Britwel, to read upon a book which he called 'Legenda Aurea;' and one saint's life he read, which did speak against pilgrimages. And after that was read, her mistress said unto her, 'Lo, daughter! now ye may hear, as I told you, what this book speaketh against pilgrimages.'

Against images.

Furthermore, it was deposed against Mistress Dolly, by the said Elizabeth, that she, being at sir William Barenten's place, and seeing there in the closet images new gilded, said to the said Elizabeth, 'Look, here be my lady Barenten's gods:' to whom the said Elizabeth answered again, that they were set for remembrance of good saints. Then said she, 'If I were in a house where no images were, I could remember to pray unto saints as well as if I did see the images.' 'Nay,' said the other, 'images do provoke devotion.' Then said her mistress, 'Ye should not worship that thing that hath ears and cannot hear, and hath eyes and cannot see, and hath mouth and cannot speak, and hath hands and cannot feel.'

Item, The said mistress Dolly was reported by the said party to have a book containing the twelve articles of the creed, covered with boards and red covering. Also another black book, which she set most price by, which book she kept ever in her chamber, or in her coffer, with divers other books. And this was about A.D. 1520.[1]

Note here, good reader! in this time, which was above forty-six years ago, what good matter here was, to accuse and molest good women.

Roger Hachman, accused at North Stoke, in Oxfordshire, A.D. 1525. Persecuted by William Smith of North Stoke, in Oxfordshire; and by Thomas Ferrar.

Against this Roger Hachman it was laid, by depositions brought in, that he, sitting at the church aisle at North Stoke, said these words, 'I will never look to be saved for any good deed that ever I did, neither for any that ever I will do, unless I may have my salvation by petition, as an outlaw shall have his pardon of the king; and said, that if he might not have his salvation so, he thought he should be lost.[2]

Robert West, Priest of St. Andrew Undershaft, accused at London, A.D. 1529. Persecuted by Dr. Wharton, Chancellor to Tonstal, Bishop of London.

Against this Robert West, priest, it was objected, that he had commended Martin Luther, and thought that he had done well in many things, as in having a wife and children, &c.

(1) Ex Regist. Lincoln. (2) Ibid.

Item, For saying, that whereas the doctors of the church have commanded priests to say matins and even-song, they had no authority so to do: for which he was abjured, and was enjoined penance.[1] *Henry VIII.* A. D. 1530.

John Ryburn, accused at Roshborough, A.D. 1530. Persecuted by Doctor Morgan.

It was testified against John Ryburn, by his sister Elizabeth Ryburn, being put to her oath, that she, coming to him upon the Assumption even, found him at supper with butter and eggs, and being bid to sit down and eat with him, she answered, that it was no convenient time then to eat: to whom he said again, that God never made such fasting days; 'but you,' quoth he, 'are so far in *limbo patrum*, that you can never turn again.' And in further communication, when she said that she would go on pilgrimage to the holy cross at Wendover, he said again, that she did wrong, 'for there is never a step,' said he, 'that you set, in going on pilgrimage, but you go to the devil: and you go to the church to worship what the priest doth hold above his head, which is but bread; and if you cast it to the mouse it will eat it:' and further he said, that he would never believe that the priest hath power to make his Lord.

Item, It was testified by another sister, named Alice Ryburn, that she, being with her brother in a close called Brimmer's Close, heard him say these words, 'That a time shall come, when no elevation shall be made.' Whereunto she answering again, asked, 'And what service shall we have then?' He said, 'That service that we have now.' Furthermore, the said John Ryburn was accused upon these words, for saying that the service of the church was nought, because it was not in English: 'For,' said he, 'if we had our Paternoster in English, we would say it nine times against once now,' &c.[2] A prophecy.

Note here, out of the records of the register, that in this examination of John Ryburn, first his two sisters, then his own wife, and at last his own father, were called before John Longland, bishop of Lincoln, and compelled by oath to depose against him. Sister against brother, wife against husband.

John Eaton, and Cecily his wife, accused at Roshborough, A.D. 1530. Persecuted by John Longland, Bishop of Lincoln, and by Richard Ryburn.

John Eaton, and Cicily his wife, of the parish of Speen, were detected by Richard Ryburn, that they were marked of certain in the parish on the Sunday then last past, in the sacring time, to hold down their heads, and that they would not look upon the sacrament.

Item, In the feast of the exaltation of the holy cross, when the bells did ring solemnly, between matins and high mass, for saying, in a butcher's house, 'What a clampering of bells is here!'

Item, The said John Ryburn was detected by Richard his father, for saying these words, 'The priests do wrong, for they should say their service in English, that every man may know it.'

Item, For these words, speaking to one of his sisters, 'The sacrament of the altar is not as they take it to be: but if it be, as I trust, we shall see none of them holden up, one of these days, over the priest's head,' &c. A prophecy.

Item, For saying that the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ hath made satisfaction for all ill deeds that were done, or should be done; and therefore it was no need to go on pilgrimage. It was also laid to his charge, and confessed by himself, that he had the gospels of Jesus in English, and that he was present in the house of John Taylor, when one John Simons read to them a lecture out of the gospel of the passion of Christ, the space of two hours.

Item, For saying that images were but idols, and that it was idolatry to pray to them.

For saying moreover, that at sacring time he kneeled down, but he had no devotion, nor believed in the sacrament.

(1) Ex Regist. Lincoln. (2) Ex Regist. Lincoln, fol. 300.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1530.

Item, That the pope's authority and pardon cannot help man's soul, and it was but casting away money, that is given for pardon; for if we ask pardon of our Lord Jesus Christ, he will give us pardon every day.

Thomas Lound, priest, who had been with Luther two years, being afterwards cast into the Fleet at London, was a great instructor of this John Ryburn.

John Simonds accused.

It was laid against John Simonds, for saying that men do walk all day in purgatory in this world, and when they depart out of this world, there are but two ways, either to hell or to heaven.

Item, He said, that priests should have wives.

It was reported by the confession of the said John Simonds, that he had converted to his doctrine eight priests, and had holpen two or three friars out of their orders.[1]

William Wingrave, Thomas Hawks of Hichenden, Robert Hawes, of West Wycombe, John Taylor, John Hawks, Thomas Hern of Cobshil, Nicholas Field, Richard Dean, Thomas Clerk the Younger, William Hawks of Chesham; accused A.D. 1530. Persecuted by John Longland, Bishop of Lincoln.

Divers accused for hearing the Scriptures read in English.

These persons with others were examined, excommunicated, and abjured, for being together in John Taylor's house at Hichenden, and there hearing Nicholas Field, of London, read a parcel of Scripture in English unto them, who there expounded to them many things; as that they that went on pilgrimage were accursed: that it booted not to pray to images, for they were but stocks made of wood, and could not help a man: that God Almighty biddeth us work as well one day as another, saving the Sunday; for six days he wrought, and the seventh day he rested: that they needed not to fast so many fasting days, except the ember days; for he was beyond the sea in Almany, and there they used not so to fast, nor to make such holy days.

Item, That offerings do no good, for they have them, that have no need thereof. And when it was answered again by one, that they maintained God's service: 'Nay,' said Nicholas, 'they maintain great houses, as abbeys and others.'

Item, That men should say their Paternoster, and Ave Maria in English, with the Creed; and declared the same in English.

Item, That the sacrament of the altar, was not, as it was pretended, the flesh, blood, and bone of Christ; but a sacrament, that is, a typical signification of his holy body.'

To William Wingrave moreover it was objected, that he should say, that there was no purgatory: and if there were any purgatory, and every mass that is said should deliver a soul out of purgatory, there should be never a soul there; for there be more masses said in a day, than there be bodies buried in a month.[2]

Simon Wisdom, of Burford. Persecuted by John Longland, Bishop of Lincoln.

Simon Wisdom abjured.

Simon Wisdom, of Burford, was charged in judgment, for having three books in English, one was the gospels in English, another was the psalter, the third was the Sum of the Holy Scripture in English.

James Algar, or Ayger, accused A.D. 1530. Persecuted by Dr. Prin, Commissary to the Bishop of Lincoln.

James Algar abjured.

It was articulated and objected to James Algar, first, that he, speaking to a certain doctor of divinity, named Aglonby, said, that every true christian man, living after the laws of God, and observing his commandments, is a priest as well as he, &c.

Item, That he said that he would not have his executors to deal any penny for his soul after his death, for he would do it with his own hands while he was

(1) Ex Regist. Longland. (2) Ex cod. Regist. fol. 213.

alive; and that his conscience gave him, that the soul, as soon as it departeth out of the body, goeth straight either to heaven or to hell. *Henry VIII.*

Item, When Dr. Aglonby aforesaid had alleged to him the place in St. Matthew [chap. xvi.] 'Thou art Peter,' &c., he answered him again with that which followeth in the gospel after, 'Get thee after me Satan,' &c. A. D. 1530.

Item, The said James, hearing of a certain church to be robbed, said openly, it made no great matter, for the church had enough already.

John French, of Long Witham. Persecuted there A. D. 1530.

Against John French likewise these three articles were objected.

First, that he believed not the body of Christ, flesh, blood, and bone, to be in the sacrament. Secondly, that he was not confessed to any priest of long time. Thirdly, that priests had not power to absolve from sins, &c.: for which he likewise, with the others was troubled, and at length compelled also with them to kneel down, and to ask a blessing of his holy catholic father and mother of Rome. J. French abjured.

*Here[1] followeth a brief table or catalogue, containing the names of all such as were forced to abjure in king Henry's days, after the first beginning of Luther.

John Hacker, alias Richardson.
Johan Picas, of Colchester.
Sebastian Harris, priest, of Kennington.
Richard Foster, of London.
Thomas Topley, a friar, of Clare.
William Gardiner, Friar-Augustine, of Clare.
Sir Richard Foxe, parish priest, of Bumpstead.
John Tybault.
John Cranforde, of Bumpstead.
Edmund Tybault, of Bumpstead.
Robert Beast.
Robert Wigge, of London.
William Bull, of London.
George Cowper, of London.
John Toy, of the parish of St. Faith's, in London.
Harry Railland, of Colchester.
Richard Chapman, of Witham.
Robert Faire, of Banstead.
Abraham Water, of Colchester.
Christopher Raven, tailor, of Witham.
William Russel, tailor, of London.
John Smith, of Banstead.
Thomas Bowyas, of Colchester.
Dorothy Long, of Colchester.
Rose Bate, of Colchester.
William, butcher, of Banstead.
Robert Hemsted.
Thomas Hemsted, of Banstead.
John Turke.
John Sirling.
Denby, widow, of Colchester.
Nicholas White, of Rye.
Richard Kitchen, curate of Ligh.
William Wiggen, priest.
William Haille, parish-clerk of Tottenham.
Paul Luther, warden of the Grey Friars, in Ware.
William Barlow, priest.
William Bromfeld, alias Rackelsdone, monk of Bury.
William Woorsley, priest and hermit.
John Stacy Siler.
Thomas Geffery, tailor, of London.
Thomas Philips, pointer, of London.
William Curzon, alias Felde.
Humphrey Mummouth, draper, of London, whose story for the notableness thereof shall be partly recited.
Lawrence Swarfe, tailor, of London.
William Russel, tailor, of London.
Thomas Foxe, and Dorothy, his wife.
Lawrence Marwel, bricklayer, of London, who was thrice imprisoned: first, for charging a priest with a lie, who preached at Paul's cross 'that the blood of Christ was not sufficient for man's redemption without works.' The second time he was again imprisoned, with his other brethren, when Barnes was burned, and about two years after, at the coming in of Queen Anne, of Cleves, he, with his brethren, was pardoned by a general pardon.
Robert Goldstone, glazier.
Lawrence Staple.
John Periman, skinner.
Henry Thompson, tailor, for his penance condemned to perpetual prison.
John Wetsel, of Cullen.
Sir Robert Cooper, priest.
Henry Feldone.
Thomas Row, of Baromsted.
Robert Man, of Cornard Much.
William Waltam, of Colchester.
Grace Palmer, of St. Osyth.
Philip Brasier, of Boxted.
Henry Fersted, of Colchester.

(1) See Edition 1563, p. 418; also Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials, vol. i. part i. p. 113.—Ed.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1530.

George Bull, of Hadham Much.
John Hammond, of Colchester.
John Hewes, of London.
Thomas Potmar, of London.
Simon Smith, Master of Arts.
Thomas Patmar, of Hadham Much.
William Nelson, priest.
Thomas Eve, clerk of Hadham Much.
Robert Hudson.
James Benham, a knight's son, of Gloucestershire.
Edward Hewet.
Water Kirrie.
Michael Lobley, servant to Master Pepwell.
Margaret Bowegrace.
Thomas Matthew, of Colchester.
John Wyly, senior.
Edward Wentworth, alias Painter.
John Tirrell, of Billericay, in Essex, tailor.
William Lancester, tailor.
John Medwell, a scrivener's servant.
Andrew Hewett, tailor, of Feversham.
John Woodcock.
John Fourd, of Dedham.
John Allin, of Colchester.
Henry Golder, shoemaker.
James Locke, of Elemsted.
Thomas Dacres, and John Coates.
Hugh Morris was detected, cited, and afterwards excommunicated, for lack of appearing at Windsor.

UNCERTAIN YEARS.

Robert West, parson of St. Andrew.
Roger Waplode.
Seger Nicholson.
Thomas Gerarde, priest.
Galfride Lome.
John Petit, alias Petye.
William Smith.
Christopher Fulman.
John George, of Cressing.
John Whigby, the younger, of Dedham.
John Morris.
William Blackman, of Colchester.
John Hariedaume.
John Cole, of Boxted.

After all these whose years we have expressed, there were also divers others of whom, although we have no certain time or year expressed, yet because we find them in the fragments of old registers, we thought not good to omit or leave them out.

John Coygnes, alias Lyveland, was detected for contemning the sacrament of the altar, and because he did not receive at Easter; and died at St. Martynes.

Robert Warde, shoemaker, of St. Bride's parish in Fleet-street, taken at Isleworth, and detected by three witnesses of the same town, for holding opinions against the sacrament of the altar; and died in the comptre in Bread-street.

Friar Ward, otherwise called Matthew Ward, merchant-adventurer, was committed to the comptre at Bread-street, for that he, being priest, contracted matrimony and was married, and kept company with his wife; and for suspicion that he was a sacramentary (as then they called them), a despiser of auricular confession and private masses, a defender that the communion ought to be ministered unto the lay people under both kinds; and for upholding that priests ought to have wives.

Hermon Peterson and James Cosson, tailors, Dutchmen, were committed to prison in the comptre at Bread-street; for that the said James was neither confessed in Lent, nor received at Easter, which he said came through the counsel of Hermon, who counselled him, rather to give three or four pence in alms to poor men, than to be housled or shriven.

Thomas Lancaster, priest; imprisoned in the comptre in the Poultry, for bringing in certain prohibited books.

John Nillock, Scottish friar, was committed to the Fleet for preaching against confession; against holy water; against praying to saints; and against purgatory; that priests might have wives, and that the priests ought not to pray for souls departed.

John Goodale, prisoner also in the Fleet.

Nicholas South was committed to prison at Newgate, detected by two witnesses, that he was not shriven in Lent nor received at Easter.

Thus, gentle reader, we have briefly drawn out unto you, as we could collect and gather them out of the registers, the most part of the names of all such as have been forced to abjure, and by the bishop to recant, during the time of the reign of the most famous and worthy king Henry VIII.; of which number some died in several prisons,

and of others, some were put into the monastery of St. Bartholomew, some were forced to bear faggots embroidered upon their sleeves, by the space of seven years after; the example whereof we have to show, with other sundry most shameful and cruel punishments; and many were delivered by general pardon; desiring you to hold us excused, that we have not here declared their several causes with their abjurations and sundry kinds of penance and punishment, which, in this place, for avoiding of prolixity we have omitted: and partly for that their causes were nothing at all discrepant from such as were at the same time burned. Albeit they had not like force and constancy to persevere in the truth; the great number of whom, with their articles, examinations, proofs, and condemnations, because they are matters of more weight and effect, have moved me with the more haste and speed to pass over these aforesaid in such sort, and so to come unto their histories.* Henry VIII. A. D. 1530.

For why stand I here numbering the sand? for if all the register books were sought, it would be an infinite thing to recite all them that through all the other dioceses of the realm in these days, before and since, were troubled and pursued for these and such like matters. But these I thought for example's sake here to specify, that it might appear what doctrine it is, and long hath been in the church, for which the prelates and clergy of Rome have judged men heretics, and so wrongfully have molested poor simple Christians.

Now, passing from the abjurations of those poor men, we will something speak (God willing) of the life and doings of the contrary part, who were their persecutors, and chief rulers then of the church, to the intent that by those rulers it may better be discerned and judged, what manner of church that was, which then so persecuted the true doctrine of Christ, and members of his church.

A brief Discourse concerning the Story and Life of Thomas Wolsey, late Cardinal of York, by way of digression;

WHEREIN IS TO BE SEEN AND NOTED THE EXPRESS IMAGE OF THE PROUD, VAIN-GLORIOUS CHURCH OF ROME, HOW FAR IT DIFFERETH FROM THE TRUE CHURCH OF CHRIST JESUS.

Although it be not greatly pertinent unto this our history, nor greatly requisite, in these so weighty matters, treating of Christ's holy martyrs, to discourse much of Thomas Wolsey, cardinal of York; notwithstanding, forasmuch as there be many, who, being carried away with a wrong opinion and estimation of that false glittering church of Rome, do think that holiness to be in it, which indeed is not: to the intent therefore, that the vain pomp and pride of that ambitious church, so far differing from all pure Christianity and godliness, more notoriously may appear to all men, and partly also to refresh the reader with some variety of matter, I thought compendiously to express the ridiculous and pompous qualities and demeanour of this aforesaid Thomas Wolsey, cardinal and legate of Rome, in whom alone the image and life of all other such-like followers and professors of the same church, may be seen and observed. For like as the Lacedemonians, in times past, were accustomed to show and

Henry VIII. A. D. 1527 to 1530.

demonstrate drunken men unto their children, to behold and look upon, that through the foulness of that vice, they might inflame them the more to the study and desire of sobriety; even so it shall not be hurtful sometimes to set forth the examples which are not honest, that others might thereby gather the instructions of better and more upright dealing.

Wherefore thou shalt note here, good reader! in this history, with all judgment, the great difference of life and christian conversation between this church and the other true humble martyrs and servants of God, whom they have and do yet persecute. And first, to begin with the first meeting and coming in of this cardinal, and his fellow-cardinal, Campeius, to England; it was about the time when pope Leo, intending to make war against the Turks, sent three legates together from Rome, whereof one went into Germany, another into France; Laurentius Campeius was appointed to come into England. When he was come to Calais, and that the cardinal of York had understanding thereof, he sent certain bishops and doctors, with as much speed as he could, to meet the legate, and to show him, that if he would have his embassage take effect, he should send in post to Rome, to have the said cardinal of York made legate, and to be joined with him in commission: which thing he much affected, misdoubting lest his authority thereby might perhaps be diminished through the coming of the legate, and therefore required to be joined with him in like degree of the embassage. Campeius, being a man light of belief, and suspecting no such matter, gave credit unto his words, and sent unto Rome with such speed, that within thirty days after, the bull was brought to Calais, wherein they were both equally joined in commission; during which time the cardinal of York sent to the legate at Calais, red cloth to clothe his servants withal, who at their coming to Calais were but meanly apparelled.[1]

Campeius sent into England.

Cardinal Wolsey seeketh to be joined in equal commission with Campeius.

When all things were ready, Campeius passed the seas and landed at Dover, and so kept on his journey toward London. At every good town as they passed, he was received with procession, accompanied by all the lords and gentlemen of Kent. And when he came to Blackheath, there met him the duke of Norfolk, with a great number of prelates, knights, and gentlemen, all richly apparrelled; and in the way he was brought into a rich tent of cloth of gold, where he shifted himself into a cardinal's robe, furred with ermines; and so took his mule, riding toward London. Now mark the great humility in this church of the pope, and compare the same with the other church of the martyrs, and see which of them is more gospel-like.

The receiving of the pope's legate into England.

This Campeius had eight mules of his own, laden with divers fardels and other preparation. The cardinal of York, thinking them not sufficient for his state, the night before he came to London, sent him twelve mules more (with empty coffers), covered with red, to furnish his carriage withal. The next day these twenty mules were led through the city, as though they had been laden with treasures, apparel, and other necessaries, to the great admiration of all men, that they should receive a legate as it were a god, with such and so great treasure and riches; for so the common people do always judge and esteem the majesty of the clergy, by no other thing than by their

Ambition and pomp in the cardinal.

(1) Note the state and pride of the pope's clergy.

outward shows and pomp. But in the midst of this great admiration, there happened a ridiculous spectacle, to the great derision of their pride and ambition: for as the mules passed through Cheapside, and the people were pressing about them to behold and gaze (as the manner is), it happened that one of the mules, breaking his collar that he was led in, ran upon the other mules, whereby it happened, that they, so running together, and their girths being loosed, overthrew divers of their burdens; and so there appeared the cardinal's gay treasure, not without great laughter and scorn of many, especially of boys and girls, whereof some gathered up pieces of meat, some, pieces of bread and roasted eggs; some found horse-shoes and old boots, with such other baggage, crying out, 'Behold! here is my lord cardinal's treasure.' The muleteers, being therewithal greatly ashamed, gathered together their treasure again as well as they could, and went forward.

The cardinal's twenty great mules laden with roasted eggs, and rotten shoes, and such other treasure.

About three o'clock in the afternoon, July 29th, the cardinal himself was brought through the city, with great pomp and solemnity, unto Paul's church, where, when he had blessed all men with the bishop's blessing, as the manner is, he was guided forth unto the cardinal of York's house, where he was received by the said cardinal; and by him on the next day, being Sunday, was conducted unto the king, to fulfil his embassage against the Turk, who might have destroyed all Hungary in the mean time, while they were studying with what solemnity to furnish out their embassage.[1]

When the cardinal of York was thus a legate, he set up a court, and called it the court of the legate, and proved testaments, and heard causes, to the great hinderance of all the bishops of the realm. He visited bishops, and all the clergy, exempt and not exempt; and, under colour of reformation, he got much treasure, and nothing was reformed, but came to more mischief; for, by example of his pride, priests and all spiritual persons waxed so proud, that they wore velvet and silk, both in gowns, jackets, doublets, and shoes; kept open lechery; and so highly bore themselves, by reason of his authorities and faculties, that no man durst once reprove any thing in them, for fear to be called heretic, and then they would make him smoke, or bear a faggot: and the cardinal himself was so elated, that he thought himself equal with the king; and when he had said mass, he made dukes and earls to serve him of wine, with assay taken, and to hold the bason at the lavatories.

Furthermore, when he was sent ambassador to the emperor at Brussels, he had over with him the great seal of England; and was served with his servitors kneeling on their knees; and many noblemen of England waiting upon him, to the great admiration of all the Germans that beheld it: such was his monstrous pomp and pride.[2]

The climbing of cardinal Wolsey.

This glorious cardinal, in his tragical doings, did exceed so far all measure of a good subject, that he became more like a prince than a priest; for although the king bare the sword, yet he bare the stroke, making (in a manner) the whole realm to bend at his beck, and to dance after his pipe. Such practices and fetches he had, that when he had well stored his own coffers, first he fetched the greatest part of the king's treasure out of the realm, in twelve great barrels full of

(1) Ex Edovar. Hallo. (2) Ex Paralip. Ab. Ursp.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1527 to 1530.

gold and silver, to serve the pope's wars; and as his avaricious mind was never satisfied with getting, so his restless head was so busy, ruffling in public matters, that he never ceased before he had set both England, France, Flanders, Spain, and Italy, together by the ears.

Thus this legate, well following the steps of his master the pope, and both of them well declaring the nature of their religion, under the pretence of the church, practised great hypocrisy; and under the authority of the king he used great extortion, with excessive taxes and loans, and valuation of every man's substance, so pilling the commons and merchants, that every man complained, but no redress was had. Neither yet were the churchmen altogether free from the pill-axe and poll-axe, from the pilling and polling, I mean, of this cardinal, who, under his power legantine, gave by preventions all benefices belonging to spiritual persons; by which, hard it is to say, whether he purchased to himself more riches or hatred of the spiritualty. So far his license stretched, that he had power to suppress divers abbeys, priories, and monasteries; and so he did, taking from them all their goods, movables and unmovables, except it were a little pension, left only to the heads of certain houses. By the said power legantine he kept also general visitations through the realm, sending doctor John Alein, his chaplain, riding in his gown of velvet, and with a great train, to visit all religious houses; whereat the friars observant much grudged, and would in no wise condescend thereunto: wherefore they were openly accursed at Paul's cross, by friar Forest,[1] one of the same order; so that the cardinal at length prevailed both against them and all others. Against whom great disdain arose among the people, perceiving how, by visitations, making of abbots, probates of testaments, granting of faculties, licenses, and other pollings in his courts legantine, he had made his treasure equal with the king's, and yet every year he sent great sums to Rome. And this was their daily talk against the cardinal.[2]

The pilling and polling of the cardinal.

The friars observant accursed of the cardinal.

Besides many other matters and grievances which stirred the hearts of the commons against the cardinal, this was one which much pinched them, for that the said cardinal had sent out certain straight commissions in the king's name, that every man should pay the sixth part of his goods. Whereupon there followed great muttering amongst the commons; in such sort, that it had almost grown to some riotous commotion or tumult, especially in the parts of Suffolk, had not the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, with wisdom and gentleness, stepped in and appeased the same.[3]

Another thing that rubbed the stomachs of many, or rather which moved them to laugh at the cardinal, was this; to see his insolent presumption, so highly to take upon him, as the king's chief councillor, to set a reformation in the order of the king's household, making and establishing new ordinances in the same. He likewise made new officers in the house of the duke of Richmond, which was then newly begun. In like manner he ordained a council, and established another household for the lady Mary, then being princess; so that all things were done by his consent, and by none other. All this, with

(1) Friar Forest, vide infra. (2) Ex Hallo. an. 17. Reg. Henric. VIII.
(3) Ex Hallo. an. 19 Reg. Henric. VIII.

much more, took he upon him, making the king believe, that all should be to his honour, and that he needed not to take any pains; insomuch that the charge of all things was committed unto him: whereat many men smiled, to see his great folly and presumption.

At this time, the cardinal gave the king the lease of the manor of Hampton Court, which he had of the lord of St. John's, and on which he had done great cost. Therefore the king again, of his gentle nature, licensed him to lie in his manor of Richmond; and so he lay there certain times. But when the common people, and especially such as were king Henry the Seventh's servants, saw the cardinal keep house in the royal manor of Richmond, which king Henry VII. so much esteemed, it was a marvel to hear how they grudged, saying, "See, a butcher's dog lies in the manor of Richmond!" These, with many other opprobrious words, were spoken against the cardinal, whose pride was so high, that he regarded nothing: yet was he hated of all men.

Hampton court given to the king.

And now, to express some part of the ruffling practices and busy intermeddlings of this cardinal in princes' wars, first, here is to be noted, that after long wars between England and France, 1524 (in which wars king Henry, taking the emperor's part against Francis, the French king, had engaged with his money the duke of Bourbon, and a great part of the emperor's army, to invade and disturb certain parts of France), it happened that the French king, coming with his army towards Milan at the siege of Pavia, was there taken by the duke of Bourbon, and the viceroy of Naples, and so led prisoner into Spain.

The cardinal ruffling in matters and wars of princes.

Here note by the way, that all this while the cardinal held with the emperor, hoping by him to be made pope; but when that would not be, he went clean from the emperor to the French king, as, the Lord willing, you shall hear.

Francis the French king taken prisoner.

After this victory gotten, and the French king being taken prisoner, who remained in custody about a year and a half; at length, through great labour and solicitation, as well of others as especially of the cardinal and king Henry, an order was taken, and conditions propounded, between the French king and the emperor; among which other divers conditions it was agreed, that they should resist the Turks, and oppress the Lutherans; and so was the king set at liberty, leaving behind him his two eldest sons for pledges. But shortly after he revoked his oath, being absolved by the bishop of Rome, and said that he was forced to swear, or else he should never have been delivered. This was A. D. 1526.

Pope Clement VII., seeing the French king restored to liberty, and misdoubting the puissance and domination of the emperor in Italy, so near under his nose, absolved the French king from his oath; also joined together a confederacy of Venetians and other princes against the emperor, bearing great hatred against all them that any thing favoured the emperor's part, especially the family of Columna in Rome, which family was then imperial; and therefore, to show his hatred against them, he said to Pompey, cardinal of the same family, in threatening words, that he would take away his cardinal's hat: to whom it was answered again by the cardinal, that if he so did, he would put on a helmet to overthrow the pope's triple

The pope absolveth him from his oath.

Answer of the cardinal to the pope.

Henry VIII. crown: whereby it may appear here by the way, what holiness and virtue lie in the pope and cardinals of that catholic see of Rome.

A.D. 1527 to 1530. Thus the false pope, under the lying title of holiness, was the father of much mischief and of great wars, which after ensued; for the duke of Bourbon, and others of the emperor's captains, having intelligence of the pope's purpose and confederacy, gathered their army together, and after much bloodshed and fighting about Milan, Hawd, and Cremona, at length they approached and bent their siege against Rome, and after three sharp assaults, obtained the city, with the whole spoil thereof: where also they besieged the aforesaid pope with his cardinals, in the mount of Adrian, and took him prisoner, A. D. 1527. As touching the cause of the besieging of Rome, now you have heard: for the manner of the taking of Rome, and of the pope, the order thereof is thus described in Hall and others.

The pope stirreth up wars.

The Sacking of Rome, and taking of Pope Clement.[1]

The emperor's army, departing from Florence to the city of Sienna, where they lost their ordnance, took counsel there to go to Rome, and so much they travelled by night and day, commonly passing forty miles day and night (their good will was such), that on the sixth day of May, with banners displayed, they came before the city of Rome, the same day being Saturday; and on Sunday, the Romans made bulwarks, ramparts, and other defences, and laid ordnance on the walls, and shot at them without fiercely.[2]

The duke of Bourbon. The duke of Bourbon determined that it was not best to lie still without, and be slain with ordnance, considering that they were all naked people, and without great ordnance; wherefore he determined to take the chance, and to give the assault, and so manfully they approached the walls between the Burgo Novo and old Rome. But the Romans valiantly defended them with hand-guns, pikes, stones, and other weapons, so that the enemies were fain to retreat. Then the Romans were glad, and set many fair banners on their towers and bulwarks, and made great shouts; which the duke of Bourbon seeing, he cried, "To a new assault." Then the drumflades blew, and every man with a ladder mounted; and, at the first encounter, the Romans put them a little back again, which the duke of Bourbon perceiving, cried "God and the emperor!" Then every man manfully set on. There was a sore fight, many an arrow shot, and many a man felled; but at last the emperor's men got the wall: and between every assault fell a mist, so that they within could not see what part they without would assail; which was profitable to the emperor's party. At the three assaults were slain three hundred Switzers of the pope's guard. In this last assault was the duke of Bourbon struck in the thigh with a hand-gun, of which he shortly after died in a chapel of St. Sist, whither his soldiers had brought him; and this chance notwithstanding, the army entered into Rome, and took the pope's palace, and set up the emperor's arms.

Three assaults against Rome.

The duke of Bourbon wounded.

The same day that these three assaults were made, pope Clement passed little on the emperor's army; for he had accursed them on

(1) See Della Istoria di Fr. Guicciardine, tom. iv, p. 240. Edit. Friburgo. 1776.—Ed.
(2) Ex Paralip. Abba. Ursp.

the Saturday before, and in his curse he called the Almains, Lutherans; and the Spaniards, Murreins or Moors: and when he was hearing of mass, suddenly the Almains entered into the church, and slew his guard and divers others. He, seeing that, fled in all haste by a privy way to the castle of St. Angelo; and all they that followed him that way, and could not enter, were slain, and if he in that fury had been taken, he had been slain. The cardinals and other prelates fled to the castle of St. Angelo, over the bridge, where many of the common people were overpressed and trodden down, as they gave way to the cardinals and other estates, that passed towards the castle for succour.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1527 to 1530.

The pope curseth his enemies, and fleeth.

The cardinal of Senes, of Sesarine, of Todi, of Jacobace, and of the Valle, tarried so long, that they could not get to the castle for the multitude of the people; wherefore they were compelled to take another house, called the palace of St. George, where they kept themselves for awhile as secretly as they might. You must understand, that through the city of Rome runneth a famous river called Tibur, and on the one side of the river standeth the castle of St. Angelo, or the borough of St. Angelo; and the other side is called Burgo Novo, or the New Borough. This bridge is called the bridge of Sixtus, which lieth directly before the castle. At the end of this bridge was a wonderful strong bulwark, well ordnanced and well manned. The emperor's men, seeing that they could do nothing either to the pope, or to that part of the city, but by the bridge, determined to assault the bulwark; and so, as men without fear, came on the bridge, and the Romans so well defended themselves, that they slew almost four thousand men. Seeing this, the prince of Orange, and the marquis of Gnasto, with all speed gave the assault, and notwithstanding that the Romans shot great ordnance, hand-guns, quarels, and all that might be shot; yet the imperial persons never shrank, but manfully entered the bulwark, and slew and threw down out of the loops all the Romans that they found, and after rased the bulwark to the ground. The pope was in the castle of St. Angelo, and beheld this fight; and with him were four-and-twenty cardinals, of whom one, called the cardinal 'Sanctorum Quatuor,' or the cardinal of 'Pouch,' was slain, and with him were one thousand prelates and priests, five hundred gentlemen, and five hundred soldiers: wherefore immediately the captains determined to lay siege to the castle of St. Angelo, lest they within might issue out, and turn them to damage; wherefore suddenly a siege was planted round about the castle. In the mean season, the soldiers fell to spoil. Never was Rome so pillaged, either by the Goths or Vandals; for the soldiers were not content with the spoil of the citizens, but they robbed the churches, brake up the houses of close religious persons, and overthrew the cloisters, and spoiled virgins, and maltreated married women. Men were tormented if they had not to give to every new asker or demander: some were strangled, some were punished by dreadful mutilation, to cause them to confess their treasure. This woodness continued a great while, and some men might think that when they had gotten so much, then they would cease and be quiet, but that was not so, for they played continually at dice, some five hundred, some a thousand ducats at a cast; and he that came to play

The cardinals besieged.

The bulwark of the Romans besieged and taken.

Castle of St. Angelo besieged.

Rome spoiled.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1527 to 1530.

laden with plate, went away almost naked, and then fell to rifling again. Many of the citizens, who could not patiently suffer that vexation, drowned themselves in the Tibur. The soldiers daily, that lay at the siege, made jests of the pope. Sometimes they had one riding like the pope, with a base woman behind him; sometimes he blessed, and sometimes he cursed, and sometimes they would with one voice call him Antichrist: and they went about to undermine the castle, and to have thrown it down on the pope's head; but the water that environeth the castle disappointed their purpose.

† The pope mocked and scorned openly in Rome.

In this season the duke of Urbino, with fifteen thousand men, came to aid the pope; but hearing that Rome was taken, he tarried forty miles from Rome, till he heard other word. The marquis of Saluzzo, and sir Frederic de Bodso, with fifteen thousand footmen, and a thousand horsemen, were at Viturbo the 10th day of May, where they, hearing that the city of Rome was taken, also tarried. The cardinal of Colume came with an army of Neapolitans to help the emperor's men, but when he saw the cruelty of the soldiers, he did little to help them, but he hated them much.

The pope besieged and taken.

War and pestilence.

The bishop of Rome was thus besieged till the eighth of the ides of July; at which day he yielded himself for necessity, and penury of all things in the castle; and then he was restored to give graces, and grant bulls as he did before; but he tarried still in the castle of St. Angelo, and had a great number of Almains and Spaniards to keep him; but the Spaniards bare most rule in the castle, for no man entered, nor came out of the castle but by them. When the month of July came, corn began to fail in Rome, and the pestilence began to wax strong; wherefore the great army removed to a place called Narvia, forty miles from Rome, leaving behind them such as kept the bishop of Rome.

When they were departed, the Spaniards never were contented till they had gotten the Almains out of the castle of St. Angelo, and so they had the whole custody of the pope. And thus much for the sacking of Rome.[1]

The cardinal bestirreth him for the pope.

When the cardinal here in England heard how his father of Rome was taken prisoner, he began to stir coals, and hearing of his captivity, he laboured with the king all that he might, to stir him up to fight with the said pope against the emperor, and to be a defender of the church; which if he would do, the cardinal persuaded him that he should receive great reward at God's hand. To whom the king answered again, and said in this manner: "My lord! I more lament this evil chance, than my tongue can tell; but whereas you say I am the defender of the faith, I assure you that this war between the emperor and the pope, is not for the faith, but for temporal possessions and dominions. And now, since pope Clement is taken by men of war, what should I do? neither my person nor my people can rescue him; but if my treasure may help him, take that which seemeth to you most convenient."

The pope fighteth for temporal possessions.

Twelve score thousand pounds conveyed out of

Thus the cardinal, when he could not obtain at the king's hands what he would, in stirring him up to mortal war, made out of the king's treasure twelve score thousand pounds, which he carried over the sea with him. After this, the cardinal sent his commission as

(1) Ex Paralip. Abb. Ursp.

legate, to all the bishops, commanding fastings and solemn processions to be had, wherein they did sing the Litany after this sort, 'Sancta Maria! ora pro Clemente papa; Sancte Petre, ora pro Clemente papa;'[1] and so forth all the Litany. *Henry VIII.* A.D. 1527 to 1530.

This cardinal, passing the seas with the aforesaid sums of money, departed out of Calais, accompanied by Cuthbert Tonstal bishop of London, the lord Sandes the king's chamberlain, the earl of Derby, sir Henry Guildford, and sir Thomas More, with many other knights and squires, to the number of twelve hundred horse; having in his carriage fourscore waggons, and threescore mules and sumpter horses. England, by the cardinal.

It were long to discourse in this place the manifold abuses and treasons which he practised when he came to the French court at Amiens, converting the great sums of money, which, you heard before, he had obtained of the king for the relief and ransom of pope Clement (who at that time was prisoner in the emperor's army), and bestowing the same in the hiring of soldiers, and furnishing out the French king's army; appointing also certain English captains, in the king of England's name, to go against the emperor, to rescue the pope; all which army was paid with the king of England's money. War waged by the cardinal.

Besides that, he privily, by his letters, caused Clarence king at arms, to join with the French herald, and openly to defy the emperor; whereby there began great displeasure to arise between the emperor and the king, but that the emperor, of his politic nature, would take no occasion of displeasure against the king of England.

Now again he uttered another of his practices; for, upon the said defiance, the cardinal, surmising and whispering in the king's ear that the emperor had evil treated and imprisoned the king's ambassadors in Spain, caused Hugo de Mendoza, the emperor's ambassador in England, to be attached, and put in safe keeping, and his house with all his goods to be seized. This so remained, until manifest letters came of the gentle entreaty of the king's ambassadors in Spain; and then he was again set at liberty. When the ambassador complained hereof to the cardinal, he laid all the fault upon Clarence; saying also, that Clarence had defied the emperor, without the king's knowledge, at the request of the herald of France: wherefore at his return he should lose his head at Calais. Of this, Clarence, being advertised by the captain of Bayonne, in his return took shipping at Boulogne, and so privily came into England; and by means of certain of his friends of the king's privy-chamber, he was brought into the king's presence, before the cardinal knew of it; where he showed unto the king the cardinal's letters of commission, and declared the whole order and circumstance of their gentle entreaty. When the king heard the whole circumstance thereof, and had a while mused thereupon, he said, "O Lord Jesus! he that I trusted most, told me all these things contrary. Well, Clarence! I will no more be so light of credence hereafter; for now I see well, that I have been made believe the thing that was never done:" and from that time forward the king never put any more confidence or trust in the cardinal. Crafty practice of the cardinal. The cardinal sets Clarence to defy the emperor, and afterwards would be excused by his death.

The cause why the cardinal should bear the emperor all this malice

(1) A new-found Litany of the lord cardinal's making.

Henry VIII. A. D. 1527 to 1530.

and grudge, after some writers, appeareth to be this: At what time pope Clement was taken prisoner (as is before said), the cardinal wrote unto the emperor, that he should make him pope. But when he had received an answer that pleased him not, he waxed furious mad, and sought all means to displease the emperor, writing very sharply unto him many menacing letters, that if he would not make him pope, he would make such a ruffling betwixt christian princes, as was not this hundred years before, to make the emperor repent; yea though it should cost the whole realm of England.

Proud threats against the emperor.

Hereunto the emperor made answer in a little book, imprinted both in Spanish and Dutch, answering unto many menacings of the cardinal, and divers of his articles; but especially to that his ruffling threat, wherein he menaced him, that if he would not make him pope, he would set such a ruffling betwixt christian princes as was not this hundred years, though it should cost the whole realm of England: whereunto the emperor, answering again, biddeth him look well about him, lest through his doings and attempts he might bring the matter in that case, that it should cost him the realm of England indeed.

The emperor's answer unto the cardinal's threats.

You have heard before, how that when pope Clement was prisoner in the emperor's army, the cardinal required the king, because he did bear the title of 'Defender of the Faith,' that he would rescue the pope: also what the king's answer was thereunto, and what sums of money he had obtained of the king. Now, because you shall not also be ignorant, by what means, and upon what occasion this title of 'Defender of the Faith' was given unto the king, we think it good somewhat to say in this place. When Martin Luther had uttered the abomination of the pope and his clergy, and divers books were come into England, our cardinal here, thinking to find a remedy for that, sent immediately unto Rome for this title of Defender of the Faith: which afterwards the vicar of Croydon preached, that the king's grace would not lose it for all London and twenty miles about it. Neither is it any marvel, for it cost more than London and forty miles about it, considering the great sums which you have heard the cardinal obtained of the king for the pope's relief, besides the effusion of much innocent blood.

The title of Defender of the Faith.

When this glorious title was come from Rome, the cardinal brought it unto the king's grace at Greenwich; and though the king had it already, and had read it, yet against the morning were all the lords and gentlemen that could in so short space be gathered, sent for, to come and receive it with honour. In the morning the cardinal gat him through the backside, unto the Friars observant, and part of the gentlemen went round about, and welcomed him from Rome; part met him half way, and some at the court gate. The king himself met him in the hall, and brought him up into a great chamber, where was a seat prepared on high for the king and the cardinal to sit on, while the bull was read; which pomp all men of wisdom and understanding laughed to scorn.

The glorious vanity of the cardinal laughed to scorn.

This done, the king went to his chapel to hear mass, accompanied by many nobles of his realm, and ambassadors of sundry princes. The cardinal being revested to sing mass, the earl of Essex brought the bason of water, the duke of Suffolk gave the assay, and the duke of Norfolk held the towel; and so he proceeded to mass. When

mass was done, the bull was again published, the trumpets blew, the shawms and sackbuts played in honour of the king's new style. Then the king went to dinner, in the midst whereof the king of heralds and his company began the largess, crying, "Henricus, Dei Gratia, Rex Angliæ et Franciæ, Defensor Fidei, et Dominus Hiberniæ." Thus were all things ended with great solemnity. *Henry VIII.* A. D. 1527 to 1530.

Not much unlike to this was the receiving of the cardinal's hat; which when a ruffian had brought unto him to Westminster under his cloak, he clothed the messenger in rich array, and sent him back again to Dover; appointing the bishop of Canterbury to meet him, and then another company of the lords and gentlemen, I wot not how often before it came to Westminster; where it was set upon a cupboard, and tapers round about it, so that the greatest duke in the land must make courtesy thereunto, and to his empty seat, he being away. The king's style augmented. The receiving of the cardinal's hat.

And forasmuch as we are in hand with the acts and doings of cardinal Wolsey, among many other things which of purpose we overpass, this is not to be exempted out of memory, touching his uncourteous, or rather churlish handling of Richard Pacy, dean of Paul's. This Pacy, being the king's secretary for the Latin tongue, was of such ripeness of wit, of learning and eloquence, also in foreign languages so expert, that for the one he was thought most meet to succeed after John Colet, in the deanery of Paul's; besides which he was also preferred to the deanery of Exeter. For the other he was sent in the king's affairs ambassador to Venice; which function there he so discharged, that it is hard to say whether he procured more commendation or admiration among the Venetians, both for dexterity of his wit, and especially for his singular promptness in the Italian tongue, wherein he seemed nothing inferior, either to Peter Vanne here in England, the king's secretary for the Italian tongue, or yet to any others, who were the best in that tongue in all Venice. For opinion and fame of learning, he was so notoriously accepted, not only here in England with Linacre, Grocine, More, and others, but also known and reported abroad in such sort, that in all the great heap of Erasmus's Epistles, he wrote almost to none so many, as he wrote to this Richard Pacy. The cruel dealing of the cardinal against Richard Pacy, dean of Paul's.

As the said Pacy was resident ambassador at Venice, the king, having war the same time with Francis the French king (as is afore rehearsed) through the conducting of the duke of Bourbon, whom he then charged with his expenses, sent commandment to Pacy to give attendance to the duke of Bourbon, concerning the receipt of that money, and other necessities and exploits to that expedition appertaining. In the mean while, as the French king with his army, and the duke of Bourbon were approaching in battle together, near about the city of Pavia, it so happened (some think through the crafty packing of the cardinal) that the king's money was not so ready as it was looked for: by reason whereof the duke of Bourbon, perceiving his soldiers about to shrink from him to the French king for lack of payment, called to him the ambassador, complaining unto him, how the king of England had deceived him, and broken promise with him, to his great dishonour and utter undoing, &c. Pacy then, being The duke of Bourbon wageth war with the king of England's money. Disappointed of it.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1527 to 1530.

sure of the king's will, and suspecting the crafty fetch of the cardinal, desired the duke not to take discomfort, nor any diffidence of the king's assured promise, excusing the delay of the money as well as he could, by interception, or other causes by the way incident, rather than for any lack of fidelity on the king's behalf: adding, moreover, that if it would please him happily to proceed, as he had courageously begun, he should not stay for the king's money. So sure he was of the king's mind therein, that he would supply the lack of that payment upon his own credit, among his friends at Venice: and so he did; whereupon the soldiers being sufficiently satisfied with payment of their wages, proceeded forth with the duke unto the battle. In that battle the aforesaid French king, the same time, before the city of Pavia, was taken prisoner, as is before declared. This being eftsoons known to the king of England, Pacy had both condign thanks for his faithful service, and also his money repaid again with the uttermost, as he well deserved. But as the laud and the renowned praise of men for their worthy prowesses, commonly in this world never go unaccompanied with some privy canker of envy and disdain following after, so the singular industry of Pacy, as it won much commendation with many, so it could not avoid the secret sting of some serpents. For the conceived hatred of this cardinal so kindled against him, that he never ceased, till first he brought him out of the king's favour, and at last also out of his perfect wits.

Richard Pacy helpeth the duke.

The means why the French king was taken.

The cardinal hateth Pacy.

The occasion how he fell beside himself was this, for that the cardinal, after the death of pope Adrian, hoping no less but that he should have been advanced unto the papacy, and yet missing thereof, supposed with himself the fault chiefly to rest in Pacy's negligence, by whose great wit and learning, and earnest means and suit, he thought easily he might have achieved and compassed the triple crown. Wherefore, he, seeing it otherwise come to pass, and inflamed against Pacy for the same, wrought such ways and means, that by the space almost of two years, Pacy, continuing at Venice, had neither writing from the king, nor his council, what he should do; nor yet any manner of allowance for his diet, although he wrote, and sent letters for the same to England very often: for the cardinal had altogether incensed the king against him. Whereupon the said Pacy took such an inward thought and conceit, that his wits began to fail him; he being notwithstanding in sure favour among the senators of Venice, that neither for gold nor silver he could there have lacked. By some it was reported that the Venetian legate here in England, coming to the cardinal, required if he would command any thing to the English ambassador at Venice? To whom he should answer again in high words, saying, "Paceus decepit regem." These words coming to Pacy's ears, so deeply pierced his stomach, that he fell quite beside himself. I heard it moreover of another thus testified, who had a brother at the same time dwelling with Pacy: that the cardinal, about the returning of Pacy from Venice, sent him a letter so powdered (with what spices I cannot tell), that at the reading thereof Pacy, being then in the fields, fell suddenly in such a mighty running for the space of two miles, that his servants had much ado to take him, and bring him home.

Practiseth against him.

Pacy in great credit with the Venetians.

Pacy bestraught of his wits.

This piteous case of Pacy was not a little lamented by the whole

senate and chief learned men in Venice; insomuch that the king was not only certified thereof by Thomas Lupset (who then was chief man about Pacy, and his secretary for that embassage), but also the said senate of Venice wrote in such sharp and vehement wise unto their ambssador, then being in England, that he should signify unto the king, touching Pacy's case, that thereby the king, knowing the truth, and the whole circumstance of the matter, was not a little sorrowful therefore. Hereupon Pacy was forthwith sent for home, and when he came to England, he was commanded by the king to be specially well tended, and to lack no keeping: insomuch that within a small process of time he was pretty well come again to his wits, and began to study the Hebrew tongue with Wakefield; so that (the cardinal then being absent) such ways were found by his friends, that he was brought to the king, lying then at Richmond, where he and the king secretly communed together by the space of two hours and more, not without great rejoicing to the king, as it was perceived, to see him so well amended, and returned to himself again; giving likewise strait charge and commandment, that he should lack nothing. The cardinal being then not present, when he heard of this, fearing lest he had disclosed somewhat to the king, which he would not have known, and doubting that the king should cast his favour again unto Pacy, began within a while after to quarrel, and pick matters, and to lay certain things to Pacy's charge; whereas he rather should have cleared himself of those things which Pacy laid unto him before the king, which was contrary to all good form and order of justice. For where the king had willed the cardinal to purge himself of those things which Pacy had rightly charged him withal, he, sitting in judgment, with the duke of Norfolk, and other states of the realm, not as a defendant, but as a judge in his own cause, so bare out himself and weighed down Pacy, that Pacy was commanded to the Tower of London as prisoner, where he continued by the space of two years, or thereabouts, and afterwards, by the king's commandment, was discharged. But he, being there prisoner, was therewith so deadly wounded and stricken, that he fell worse from his wits than ever he was before, being in such a frenzy or lunacy, that to his dying day he never came perfectly to himself again. Notwithstanding this in him was no perpetual frenzy, but came by fits; and when the fit was past, he could look on his book, and reason and talk handsomely, but that now and then he showed his disease. And thus much between the cardinal and Pacy.

Pacy prettily recovered.

Brought to the king's speech.

Commanded to the Tower, but discharged.

By this story of Pacy, and also by other passages above-mentioned, ye may partly conceive how greedy this cardinal was to be made pope. Touching which matter here by the way something to treat, first it is to be understood, that forasmuch as Pacy either would not, or could not, serve the cardinal's purpose herein, he thought to accomplish his desire by other means, and namely by Stephen Gardiner, who was then shortly after sent ambassador to Rome by the king and the cardinal, in the time of pope Clement VII.; and that for two special causes, one was about the divorcement, the other for promoting the cardinal to be pope. As touching the divorcement we will speak (the Lord willing) hereafter. In the mean time, as con-

The cardinal labours to be pope.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1527 to 1530.

cerning the advancement of the cardinal, great labour was made, as in letters may appear, sent from the cardinal to the said Stephen Gardiner; in which letters he did solicit the said Gardiner, by all means, to pursue the suit, willing him to stick for no cost, so far as six or seven thousand pounds would stretch; for more, he said, he would not give for the triple crown. Mark here, christian reader! what a holy catholic church this is, which rather may be called a bourse, or mart of merchants, 'ne quid dicam durius,' than any true form of a church.

Stephen Gardiner ambassador at Rome for the king and the cardinal.

Many both of his, and also of the king's letters, I could here insert; but, for growing of the volume, I let them pass. One, for example's sake, sent by the cardinal to Gardiner, another also from the king to the said Gardiner, shall at this time suffice concerning this matter. And first the copy of the cardinal's ambitious letter here in form followeth.

The Copy of an ambitious Letter written by Thomas Wolsey, Cardinal of York, unto Stephen Gardiner, one of King Henry's Orators in the Court of Rome, for the procuring of the Papal dignity to the said Cardinal.

Master Stephen, albeit ye shall be sufficiently, with your colleagues, by such instructions as be given to Monsieur Vincent, informed of the king's mind and mine, concerning my advancement unto the dignity papal, not doubting but that for the singular devotion which you bear towards the king and his affairs, both general and particular, and perfect love which ye have toward me, ye will omit nothing that may be excogitated to serve and conduce to that purpose; yet I thought convenient, for the more fervent expression of my mind in that behalf, to write unto you (as to the person whom I do most entirely trust, and by whom this thing shall be most pithily set forth) these few words following of mine own hand.

I doubt not but ye do profoundly consider, as well the state wherein the church and all Christendom doth stand now presently, as also the state of this realm, and of the king's secret matter; which if it should be brought to pass by any other means than by the authority of the church, I account this prince and realm utterly undone. Wherefore it is expedient to have such a one to be pope and common father of all princes, as may, can, and will, give remedy to the premises. And albeit I account myself much unable,[1] and that it shall be now incommodious in this mine old age to be the said common father; yet when all things be well pondered, &c. the qualities of all the cardinals well considered, 'absit verbum jactantiæ,' there shall be none found that can and will set remedy in the aforesaid things, but only the cardinal of York,[2] whose good will and zeal is not to you of all men unknown. And were it not for the re-integration of the state of the church and see apostolic to the pristine dignity, and for the conducing of peace amongst christian princes, and especially to relieve this prince and realm from the calamities that the same be now in, all the riches or honour of the world should not cause me, 'ne dum aspirare, sed ne consentire,' to accept the said dignity, although the same with all commodities were offered unto me.[3]

Crafty pretences to serve ambitious purposes.

Nevertheless, conforming myself to the necessity of the time, and the will and pleasure of these two princes, I am content to appone all my wit and study, and to set forth all means and ways, 'ut bene faciam, rebus Christianitatis,' for the attaining of the said dignity: for the achieving and attaining whereof, forasmuch as thereupon dependeth the health and wealth, not only of these two princes and their realms, but of all Christendom, nothing is to be omitted that may conduce to the said end and purpose. Wherefore, Master Stephen, since

(1) O feigned hypocrisy!
(2) Belike the cardinal here lacketh good neighbours, seeing he is compelled to praise himself.
(3) You may long say so, before we will believe you.

you be so plainly advertised of my mind and intent, I shall pray you to extend omnes nervos ingenii tui, ut ista res ad effectum produci possit, nullis parcendo sumptibus, pollicitationibus, sive laboribus: ita ut hominum videris ingenia et affectiones, sive ad privata, sive ad publica, sic accommodes actiones tuas. Non deest tibi et collegis tuis amplissima potestas, nullis terminis aut conditionibus, limitata seu restricta; et quicquid feceris, scito omnia apud hunc regem et me esse grata et tuta. Nam omnia (ut paucis absolvam) in tuo ingenio et fide reposuimus. Nihil superest aliud scribendum, nisi quod supplex orem, ut omnes actiones tuas secundet Deus optimus maximusque, et, ex corde, vale.

Ex ædibus meis Westmonast. vii. Febr.

Tuæ salutis et amplitudinis cupidissimus,

T. Ebor.

Stephen Gardiner the cardinal's trusty factor.

After this letter of the cardinal, consequently here ensueth another letter of the king, to the aforesaid Stephen Gardiner, and other his orators at Rome; containing such instructions and documents as they should practise with the cardinals of Rome, in canvassing for the said Thomas Wolsey, cardinal of York, to be elected pope, if pope Clement were dead; or, if he were not dead, yet at least to instruct them what to do, when he should die.

The contents of the letter, albeit they include no great matter worthy our knowledge, nor greatly necessary for our story, yet for the ridiculous manner of the handling, and curious secretaryship thereof, full of glorious affectation, I thought it not here unmeet for the studies and appetites of some, to exemplify the same, or at least to make the reader some pastime by the way, in beholding the glorious style of this vain-glorious cardinal, being suit-like to his glorious life. The copy of the letter bearing the name of the king, but indeed savouring altogether of the cardinal's device and swelling vein, doth thus proceed in form and style as followeth.

Instructions sent by the King's Highness, to his trusty Councillors and Servants, Master Stephen Gardiner, Doctor of both Laws; Sir Francis Brian, Sir Gregory de Cassalis, Knights; and Mr. Peter Vanne, the King's Secretary for the Italian Tongue; his Ambassadors in the Court of Rome, for the Election of the Cardinal of York to the Papacy, if Pope Clement were dead.[1]

First, whereas a good season since the depeach of Master Stephen Gardiner, an ambassiate towards the court of Rome, the king's highness, by sundry ways, hath been advertised of the death of our holy father the pope Clement of that name the Seventh, whose soul Jesu pardon! by means whereof the charge heretofore committed by his grace unto his orators, to have been now executed with the said late pope, cannot at his hands take effect; his highness, pondering and profoundly considering the present state of Christendom, miserably and piteously afflicted with the intestine wars, dissensions, and discords, reigning amongst the princes of the same, and how the dignity of the see apostolic, by such trouble and persecution as hath been inferred thereunto these years passed, is not a little diminished and impaired, and like to come to a total ruin; if, by the help and assistance of good and virtuous princes, the ambition of those which study the extermination thereof, be not in time repressed: considering furthermore, that as well to conduce to the rest and tranquillity in Christendom, as to restore, repair, and re-integrate the state, authority, and reputation of the said see apostolic, nothing is more requisite and necessary, than that such a head and

The total ruin of the apostolic papacy, God send it!

(1) Mark the style, and you shall see that it is all one with the cardinal's former letter, which, he saith, he wrote with his own hand.

Henry VIII. A. D. 1527 to 1530.

common father be now at this time of vacation of the dignity papal, provided and elected to succeed in the same, as both may, can, and will, purvey to the restoration of the said see, and that hath, and may have the assistance of such virtuous and puissant princes as tender the defence, maintenance and increase of the dignity aforesaid; and that may meet with the inordinate ambition of the emperor, who nothing more studieth, than for his own exaltation to suppress the church and see apostolic: remembering also the high importance of the king's great and weighty cause of matrimony,[1] committed to the charge of the said orators, and how manifold dangers, and irreparable damages depend upon the tract, delay, or disappointment thereof, which by no way or mean can be conduced to the king's purpose and desire by the authority of the church, but only by special, assured, and perfect favour of the head of the same church: his highness also being as loth as any living prince or person may be, to recur unto other refuge, succour or remedy in the said cause, than to the authority of the see apostolic, if his grace may there find the favour and benignity that to his merits towards the same be correspondent; of which favour his highness should be clearly deprived and frustrate, in case the election of the future pope should pass upon any person, of whom his grace were not perfectly assured: his highness for the respects and considerations before specified, perceiving his good brother and perpetual ally the French king, in the said intention, to be united, knit, and, in all actions and doings of importance, assuredly combined, unto his grace, proceeding together in one will, mind, purpose, and conformity, hath by good and mature deliberation, studied, devised, and excogitated with himself, who were and might be the most able, meet, and convenient person, having the qualities before specified, to be advanced at this time unto the said dignity papal.

And finally, when his grace hath well revolved with himself all the respects and considerations aforesaid, noting also all things meet to be regarded in every of the cardinals of the church of Rome, both present now in the court there, and absent from the same; it cannot be found that there is any person sufficiently furnished with the requisites before specified, but only the most reverend father in God, and his most trusty councillor, the lord legate, cardinal, archbishop of York, primate and chancellor of this realm: who, being well known to have as fervent a zeal, study, mind, and desire, to the universal weal, repose, and tranquillity of Christendom, to the re-integration and restoration of the dignity, authority, reputation, and rights of the church and see apostolic, to the surety, weal, and exaltation of the king's highness, the French king and other their confederates; and, finally, to the perfection of the king's said great and weighty cause, whereupon dependeth the surety of his royal person, succession, realm, people, and dominions, as any person living can or may have: and that the said most reverend father, who hath the fast assured favour herein of the French king (who of his own mere motion, hath frankly and liberally offered unto him, all that by himself, his friends, his power, his agents, or otherwise, he may or can possibly do for his advancement to the said dignity papal), is the person who for his singular virtue; his entire devotion to peace and restoration of the said see; the excellency of his wisdom, learning, and experience; the magnanimity in his actions and doings; the dignity wherein he is already constituted; the promotions which he hath attained; the substance that he is of; his reputation, his conduct, his diligence, his dexterity, his discretion, his policy; and, finally, the notable and high favour that the king's highness, and the said French king bear unto him: is only he, that being called unto the said dignity papal, may, can, and will, meet with the inordinate ambition of the said emperor,[2] and consequently with establishment of tranquillity amongst christian princes; and is, by the assistance of his friends, meet, convenient and able to succour, relieve, and clearly to repair, the piteous jacture and decay, that the church and see apostolic hath so long suffered, and to defend the same from the eminent danger now apparent to ensue if the said emperor, who (as the king's highness is ascertained) determined in the beginning of January now passed to take his journey towards Rome, should upon this vacation of the said see (chanced, as it is upon many evident presumptions to be thought, by

See how this prelate is all his exaltation.

The Thrasonical praise of the cardinal.

(1) He meaneth the matrimony between king Henry VIII. and queen Katharine, his brother Arthur's wife, whether it was lawful or no.

(2) Note this cause, the cardinal is most meet to be pope, because he can best bridle the emperor.

some detestable act committed for the said late pope's destruction), now by force, violence, cautele, blandishing, promises, or otherwise, have the election to proceed at his will, favour, and devotion; whereby, having a pope at his arbitre,[1] either he should not fail to usurp and take upon him the rights, provents, and patrimony of the church, using him as his chaplain and vassal, or else by little and little utterly to exclude and extinguish him and his authority.

For this cause, if ever it were expedient that good christian princes look to the tuition, maintenance, defence, and continuance of Christ's church, faith, and religion, now is it the time, above all others, to provide and beware by all ways possible; lest the same neglected, forgotten, and not in time relieved, be brought unto extreme ruin.[2] And therefore the king's highness, having singular and special trust and confidence in the wisdoms, discretions, fidelities, diligences and circumspections of his said orators (to whom no part of the premises is unknown, nor how necessary and in any wise expedient it shall be, for the perfection of the king's said great and weighty matter to them committed, to have the said lord legate of York and none other, advanced to the said dignity papal) willeth, desireth, ordaineth, and expressly chargeth and commandeth his said orators, and every of them, no less to employ, endeavour, and determine themselves, to solicit, set forth, further, promote, labour, and conduce, the advancement of the said lord legate of York to that dignity, than they would that thing which the king's highness most highly, next God and his soul, with all earnestness and fervent mind doth, above all other things, covet and desire; and also no less than they would the speedy obtaining and perfection of all such things, touching the king's said weighty matter committed to their charges: the making or marring whereof, the said late pope being now deceased, consisteth only in the advancement of the said lord legate of York to the dignity papal.

By this weighty matter here, is meant the cause of the king's divorce.

For (as the king's said ambassadors may, by their wisdom, well think and consider) the same must of necessity come, and fortune either to one that is an assured friend to his grace and the French king; or to one that is a manifest enemy to them, favouring the emperor's part; or to one indifferent and mean between both. And if it should chance upon a manifest enemy, it is evident that the king's desire at his hand were merely impossible to be had, and never were to be attained that way. If it should come to one being indifferent and mean between both, it is more than notorious that his grace, at the least, should be contained with fair words and promises; and yet such respect should be had to the emperor, that finally, under hope of obtaining something, there should be no more, but tract and delay, and finally, no manner of fruit nor effect: whereof experience hath already been seen in one that had cause to be more friendly to the king, than indifferent or mean between both, and yet how long the matter hath depended, is to the king's said ambassadors well known; so that of necessity this thing must be conduced to one that is an assured friend. Then, noting substantially the things necessary to concur in such a friend, both for the weal of Christendom, the relief of the church, the firm adhering to the king's highness and the French king, with other their confederates, and the perfect conducing of the king's great matter, which suffereth no tract, delay, or negative, it shall be found that there is none other for this purpose, but only the said lord legate of York.

The king's said ambassadors shall therefore plant the foundation of all their study, labour, and solicitation, only to that purpose. And for the better introduction of the ways and means, how this thing shall be solicited; they shall receive herewith a schedule, wherein is mentioned and noted by name, how many, and what cardinals of likelihood, shall be present at the election, and how many and which of the others shall be absent. Semblably, how many of them that be like to be present, may be thought to be friends to the king's highness, and the French king, whose names in the said schedule be noted with A,[3] and how many are thought to be imperial, whose names be noted with B.[4] In the same schedule be also set out the number and names of those that be thought

(1) That is, after his own desire.

(2) If his usurped authority were clean extinct, the faith and religion of Christ should stand and flourish much better.

(3) A signifieth the cardinals of the king's, and the French king's side.

(4) B signifieth the cardinals of the emperor's side. But here is never a C, to signify any cardinals on Christ's side.

Henry VIII.

A.D. 1527 to 1530.

to be neutral or indifferent, marked with N, and furthermore, they be first mentioned therein, who be thought most likely to aspire to that dignity.

Herein be many things well to be regarded: first, the number of the cardinals that are like to be present, which (as is thought here) shall not exceed nine and thirty: secondly, that to have election to the king's purpose, it shall be requisite to have two parts of the three of the said number, which two parts must be twenty-six. Then is it to be noted, that they who be thought to be friends to the king's highness and the French king, be in number twenty: so that if they may be made sure to the king's devotion, there shall lack but six of the number, which shall suffice to make the election: which number the king's said ambassadors shall move, win, and attain, either of them that be thought to be indifferent, or some others.

As though the pope's election had any thing to do with the Holy Ghost!

In the conducing hereof two ways be specially to be remembered. One is, if the cardinals present, having God and the Holy Ghost before them, shall be minded (as to their duty appertaineth) to have respect to the present calamity of the church and all Christendom, intending the relief, succour, and restoration of the same, and to preserve themselves, and the dignity of the see apostolic; then, looking profoundly upon the state of the things, they cannot fail facily[1] of themselves to find and perceive, that to conduce their purpose there is only the said lord legate of York. And in this case it is verily to be thought, that very reason itself, and their own conscience shall lead them, like virtuous fathers, to have their principal respect hereunto; and (particular affections set apart) to accord and agree without difficulty to that which so manifestly is known to be the thing above all other expedient. Nevertheless, because percase human fragility suffereth not all things to be pondered, trutinate, and weighed in just balance, but that (as we be men) errors may run; unless then remedy be provided, it appertaineth, in matter of so high importance, to the comfort and relief of all Christendom, to succour the infirmity that may chance, not for corruption, or to any perverse, unlawful, or evil intent, but rather to help to the lacks and defaults, which, by such fragility, might else take place: and therefore expedient it shall be, that the king's said orators, to so notable a purpose, when they shall perceive the consideration and respect whereunto reason leadeth to be in any part to be aided or supplied, do the same with pollicitations of promotions, spiritual offices, dignities, rewards of money, or other things,[2] such as to them shall seem meet to the purpose: inculkting into the minds of such persons as shall be requisite, first what things the said lord legate of York shall leave, if he should be advanced to the said dignity; which be such as, the establishment of his state considered, be far more to his commodity (if he should regard his private weal) than to enter into this dangerous storm, and troublous tempest, for the relief of the church and all Christendom; whereunto (his said private weal set apart) he is totally devoted and dedicate, to the exposition of his body, blood, and life; glad and ready, with the sacrifice thereof to do service to God, his church, his faith and religion: which said promotions, the king's highness, finding cause given unto him by the gratitude and conformity of his friends, will not fail to bestow to their benefit, besides large rewards, to have this so virtuous an act brought to perfection. For pollicitation whereof, the king's said ambassadors be furnished at this time with ample commission, as by the same they shall perceive; the effect whereof they shall execute without exception, as by their wisdoms shall be thought convenient; so always as it be done with such circumspection, as that there may be appearance of good fruit to ensue. And semblably they be furnished with letters, as well to the college of cardinals in general, as to them all that be like to be present in particular, which they shall now deliver, to the best furtherance and advancement of their purpose, not sparing to declare unto them the liberality of the said lord legate of York; the substance that he is of; the assured assistance that he shall have of these princes and their confederates, whereby he shall be able above any other that they can devise, to reward, promote, advance, and recompense his friends to the uttermost: assuring them that these two princes will not fail also highly, and in the best sort, to consider

(1) He might as well have said 'easily,' as 'facily,' if it had pleased him, but our gross terms are too low for this high prelate, as here commonly you may see.

(2) Yea, Sir! now ye speak to the purpose. Now we begin to feel you, when ye bring your bribes and rewards of money.

their gratitudes, with any thing that they may excogitate to their profits and promotions, or any of their friends. So that by this mean, and with such good pollicitations, grounded upon a lawful, honourable, and just cause (and not upon any corrupt or indue intent, to conduce things to sinister purpose), the king's said orators, by their good policies, shall attain the perfect and sure good will of a great many of them; and, by that way, shall, with good dexterity, combine and knit those who will adhere hereunto, in a perfect fastness, and in an indissoluble knot, firmly to stick and hold together, without variation or declining from their purpose, for any persuasion, practice, or mean, that can be made to the contrary.[1] Which thing surely to be provided, and such a knot of twenty, eighteen, or at the least (if it may be) of sixteen cardinals to be had, is in any wise expedient. For they, persisting in their determination, shall not fail to impeach, that no adverse part can have a full number to make a due and lawful election. And yet they, being found in a constantness to this good purpose, shall, by little and little, allure and bring other unto them, so as the residue, perceiving so great a towardness, and fearing a sufficient number to accede[2] without them, and thereby the election to pass against their wills, shall percase be the more prone and ready to come unto that party: whereunto nothing should of reason sooner move them, than the very respect to the infinite goodness, that thereby to themselves in particular, and the universal church and religion in general, is apparent to ensue.

Well bid, and like a good chapman!

Nevertheless, if, leaving the direct way, they will be abused with any other incantations, or for private ambition persist in contending for themselves, then is it evident, they search nothing more than the ruin of the see apostolic; in which case other ways it is to be devised, and their indue[3] demeanor to be remedied and resisted. For this cause, and to be sure in all events, the king's said orators shall, by their wisdoms, find the means to have some fast and sure persons in the conclave, such as may not only practise and set forth things there to the purpose, but also give such knowledge outward, as the king's said orators may thereby the better know how to order their proceedings. And amongst others it is thought that Monsieur de Vaulx, one of the French ambassadors (whom the French king hath commanded expressly to further this matter by all the means to him possible), should be one to enter the said conclave, not as an ambassador, but as the minister of some cardinal, friend of the French king. And semblably Sir Gregory de Cassalis, who for his wisdom, conduct, language, acquaintance, and other good qualities, may do excellent good in that behalf.

Another shift, if the worst fail.

And in this matter it is to be considered, that since this election in the person of the said lord legate of York, by one way or other, suffereth no negative, albeit the king's highness trusteth that the same shall have its course directly; yet, if for lack of grace or intendment, there should be any despair thereof, other ways be to be provided. And for that cause to show the said orators secretly, there is a protestation passed by the cardinals being in England and in France, according to a copy which the said orators shall receive herewith, which is and shall be kept secret, unless then, by the indue proceeding used in the election, the same shall need to be published. So that the king's said orators, now advertised thereof, shall note for a special ground, that if it shall appear that the election cannot be had in the person of the said lord legate of York; the band and number, unite and knit together to the king's devotion, in finding none other remedy, must be instructed beforehand in that case to persist in their determination; and when time shall be, by reason of such despair, to protest, grounding the same their protestation upon such respects, as cannot lack to be introduced for the avoiding of the extreme danger, by the pertinacity and wilfulness of the adverse cardinals, eminent to the ruin of the church, and of all Christendom. Which protestation may beforehand be couched and devised by the said Master Stephen Gardiner, and by the policy of the said Monsieur de Vaulx, and Sir Gregory, be set forth in time convenient: and thereupon the cardinals of the king's, and the French king's adherents, to depart the conclave; whereby, repairing to some other sure place, they, with the residue of the cardinals absent, may proceed to such an election as may be to God's pleasure, the weal of his church and faith, and of all Christen-

The case of the cardinal must have no negative, so eager he is of his gain.

Secret threatenings to the cardinals to cause them to consent with cardinal Wolsey.

Proviso against the cardinals, if they will not condescend to the cardinal of York.

(1) Thou must imagine here, good reader! to be no corruption, but honourable pollicitation.
(2) To accede, that is, to come. (3) That is, not due.

Henry VIII. A. D. 1527 to 1530.

dom: any election that thus, by pertinacity, may ensue at Rome notwithstanding.

And to the intent the cardinals may be the better animated to finish the said election to the king's desire, the king's said orators shall, as they see good, offer them a presidie of two or three thousand men, to be in the city of Rome for the time of the same election; which if they will accept, the said orators shall see furnished, taking money by exchange and otherwise, for their entertainment, as shall be requisite. Which money, or any other that they shall take for conducing this the king's purpose, shall be truly repaid, with impesse,[1] and all requisites that they shall assign. And semblably, lest terrors or dread of the imperials in Naples should induce the cardinals to any error, the French king hath ordained, that seignior Renzio shall lie in a presidie between the army of Naples and the city of Rome. Like as the viscount of Turin is also commanded to lie on the other side, and, semblably, the Venetians. So that by those means not only they shall be out of all fear of the imperials, but also, in the more devotion of these two princes: which shall much confer to the king's purpose, and embolden the cardinal's favouring the desire of these two princes, both to persist in their deliberation, and also, in time of extreme despair, to protest and depart, as is aforesaid.

Note these proceedings in choosing popes.

And because nothing should withdraw the minds of the cardinals from this purpose, who percase might think that the said lord legate of York, being elected, would not repair to the court of Rome, but demore[2] in Avignon, or some other place out of Italy, the king's said ambassadors shall remove all such suspicions, by two evident arguments and reasons. One is, that the said cardinal of York, advanced to that dignity, must thereby leave all other his promotions, and consequently should be dispurveyed of any habitation, place, or convenient living, if, remaining in another strange country, he should defer to come unto Rome, where should be the place of his see and entire living. Wherefore it were far from reason to think that he, which hitherto for his estate had lived in such abundance, should be so pusillanim[3] for this promotion to bring himself into condign penury and poverty, or to live in place private, to the hinderance of his honour, profit, or reputation. Secondly, the thing principally moving him to be contented, at these princes' requests, to change his state present, is the fervent zeal he hath to expone his study, travail, labour, substance, wit, body, blood, and life, in the quarrel of God's church, faith, and of Christendom, which is too high an exception, and a ground to be taken to remain and lie in a corner or private place; but that rather than he would suffer so high an exception to be found in him, he would expone all that he might do: who, having the assistance of these two princes, should not fail (God willing) to pass directly to his see, with honour and comfort unto all Italy, and the discourage of the party that would be adverse thereunto. And therefore the cardinals should not need to fear any such thing, but might be well assured to have his presence there to their comfort, in all celerity and diligence possible.

The first reason.

The second reason.

The cardinal dreameth that he is pope already.

He casteth all his nets to catch the triple crown.

Furthermore, to the intent the king's said ambassadors may have all the friends that may be to this purpose, expedient it shall be, that they, with the Venetians, the Florentines, the duke of Ferrara, and other whom they shall think good to win unto their party, use the ways that may best conduce thereunto. And amongst other, forasmuch as they which depended upon the cardinal de Medices shall doubt in this case to be reject, the king's said orators shall inculke unto them the singular devotion and special favour that the said lord legate of York hath always borne unto their family; assuring them that he will take them in no further distance of entire love, than they were with pope Leo, Clement, or any other. And semblably, they shall put the Florentines in comfort of the exclusion of the governance of the said family De Medices in Florence, and of their enjoying of their liberty: likewise putting the cardinals in perfect hope of recovery of the patrimonies of the church; to contain the Venetians in good trust of a reasonable way to be taken for Servia and Ravenna, to their contentment: and also to show the duke of Ferrara, how the said lord legate was the mean of the conjunction of him in league with the French king, with assured promise of his continuance in as much love and favour as he may bear unto him, in all his causes and affairs. And thus, having those folks

Two faces in one cardinal's hat.

(1) Search here thy dictionaries, good reader! for this eloquence passeth my intelligence.
(2) 'Demorari,' that is to say, 'tarry.'
(3) 'Pusillanime. i. e. Pusillo animo:' that is, 'weak hearted.'

to their friends, whose orators shall have the uttermost custody of the conclave, and the king's ambassadors and the French ambassadors being in the interior parts thereof, they being so amply instructed and furnished, shall not fail (God willing) by one or other of the said two ways, and especially by the direct election of Rome, if it be possible, or at the least, by the way of the said protestation and departure of the cardinal, to conduce the king's purpose in the said election to the desired end. In the doing whereof, albeit there is no doubt but that the French orators will join with them sincerely, to the perfection of the premises in omnem eventum, it shall be well done, that the king's said orators have a substantial and politic regard to the proceedings of the same French orators; lest that if percase they should find any despair in the election to pass in the person of the said lord legate of York, they, making some other cardinals to their side for the advancement of any of them to the said dignity, should be the more strange, alien, or peradventure refuse to come unto the said protestation and departure out of the conclave: which is the only remedy and refuge (the cardinals persisting in their wilfulness) to interrupt, disappoint, infringe and make void their election.

How politic the children of this world be in their generation.

One other thing there is to be well noted by the said ambassadors, and by them to be inculcate in the minds of the cardinals, that if any manner of difficulty shall be made by the imperials to condescend unto this election upon the said lord legate of York; and that they of the emperor's part would refuse all ways of good order and reason, proceeding to any election without the consent of the residue that would protest, they may be sure that under their sinister and indue way they should have no prince or potentate adherent, but only the emperor and his brother; and that the other part should have the rest of all Christendom, that is to say, the king's highness, the French king, the king of Hungary, Poland, Scotland, and Denmark, with the Venetian, the dukes of Ferrara, Milan, the Florentines, and the rest of all Italy, besides the merchants of the Almains or Hans, and other leagues being in the dominion of the said king of Poland: and over, that the king of Portugal, who is loth and sorry to see the emperor to come to so great a height as he aspireth unto. So that, having these mighty and noble puissances to their assistance and the corroboration of their act, it is facile to think the other could be of no validity, nor have or take any manner of place: which is no small grounds whereupon the said cardinals may be the better animate to the king's, and the French king's devotion, and therefore it is better to be imprinted in their minds accordingly.

Is not here a holy election, meet for such a holy seat?

Sides against the emperor.

Finally, if the king's said orators, endeavouring themselves to the conducing of the said election in the person of the said lord legate of York, should at the last find, that there were none other difficulty, but only that the election in his person being totally desperate, the same were conducible to the cardinal Campeius: then, rather than all should fail, if the other could by no means be brought to pass, the king's pleasure is, that being assured it may, the other lacking, be conduced to the same cardinal Campeius, they take such way as in that case the protestation be suborne: and, for the last refuge, if the other may not be, the election at the least to pass in the person of the said cardinal Campeius; whereof there is no appearance, considering that the respects, for the which the said lord legate of York should, by the king's, and the French king's means, be brought hereunto, do for the greatest part fail and cease by the election of any other than himself, which is in this case to be remembered accordingly.

Thus be the king's said orators instructed, as far as men's reason can here devise, what is to be done for conducing the king's purpose to effect, knowing well of what importance the thing is, and what consequences depend upon it; namely, for the perfection of the king's high and weighty matter, which, otherwise than by election [1] of the said lord legate of York, hath no manner of way to be conduced by authority of the see apostolic. There resteth no more but that they who well know the same great matter, do suffer no nay ne repulse; but by the election of the person of the said lord legate, do employ the uttermost that in their hearts, powers, wits, bodies, and minds may be, to the perfection thereof: whereby they shall do the greatest service that can be for this time excogitate to do, unto their prince, deserve immortal laud, thanks, and praise, and be sure to consecute thereby such reward, as shall be to their comforts, rejoice, and honour, besides manifold other notable goodnesses, whereof they shall be

(1) By this one election, note the common order of Rome in canvassing for the popedom.

Henry VIII. the procurers and solicitors, to their merit perpetual. All which they may be sure shall be considered accordingly.

Out of the original, subscribed by king Henry the Eighth's own hand.

A. D. 1527 to 1530.

In these so great labours, pursuits, and travails of the king and of the cardinal, as in these their instructions above inserted may appear, thou hast for thine instruction, loving reader, to note and learn, how man purposeth one thing, and how God disposeth another. For the king's purpose was to have the cardinal and legate of York placed in the see papal, thinking by that means, if this cardinal had been pope, the cause of his divorce more easily might be compassed, which, otherwise, he thought impossible to contrive. But God Omnipotent, who only is director of all affairs, brought it otherwise to pass, not as the king devised, but after his own wisdom; so that both the divorcement was concluded, and yet neither cardinal Wolsey made pope, nor yet pope Clement was dead. Yea, so he ruled the matter, that notwithstanding pope Clement was alive, yet both the divorce proceeded, and also the pope's authority was thereby utterly extinct and abolished out of this realm of England, to the singular admiration of God's wondrous works, and perpetual praise to his merciful goodness: of which divorcement, and suppressing of the pope's authority, we have likewise to make declaration; but first, as we have begun with the cardinal of York, so we will make an end of him. That done, we will (God willing) address ourselves to other matters of more importance.

Man purposeth, and God disposeth.

As the ambassadors were thus travailing in Rome to promote the cardinal to be pope, although the pope was not yet dead, in the mean time the cardinal played the popish persecutor here at home. For first, sitting in his pontificalibus in the cathedral church of Paul's, under his cloth of estate of rich cloth of gold, he caused friar Barnes, an Augustin friar, to bear a faggot, for certain points which he called heresy. Also he caused at the same time two merchants of the Stilyard likewise to bear faggots for eating flesh on a Friday; at which time the bishop of Rochester made a sermon in reproof of Martin Luther, who had before written against the power of the bishop of Rome. This bishop in his sermon spake so much of the honour of the pope and his cardinals, and of their dignity and preeminence, that he forgot to speak of the gospel which he took in hand to declare; which was about A.D. 1526.

Friar Barnes with two merchants of the Stilyard, caused by the cardinal to bear faggots.

After this, the said cardinal likewise, A.D. 1528, and in the month of November, sitting at Westminster as legate, called before him the whole clergy, and there promised that all abusions of the church should be amended; but there nothing else was done, save only he caused to be abjured, Arthur Bilney, Geffery Lome, and Garret, for speaking against the pope's authority, and his pompous pride: of whom more shall be said (the Lord assisting us) hereafter. And this was A.D. 1528.

The year next following, which was A.D. 1529, began the question of the king's marriage to be revived;[1] whereupon cardinal Campeius was sent again into England from Rome, for the hearing and debating

The occasion of the cardinal's fall.

(1) The cause of the king's marriage with his brother's wife, was dangerous to the pope for this: if it were unlawful, then the dispensation of pope Julius was void: if it were lawful, then the judgments of so many universities were false.

of the matter: who then, with cardinal Wolsey, consulting with the king, although at first he seemed with his fellow-cardinal to incline unto the king's disposition, yet afterwards, perceiving the sequel of the case, whether it tended so far as peradventure might be the occasion of a blot to the court of Rome, and might shake perhaps the chair of the pope's omnipotent authority, as well in other like cases, if this case were thoroughly decided by learning and truth of God's word: he therefore, slipping his neck out of the collar, craftily shifted himself out of the realm before the day came appointed for determination, leaving his subtle fellow behind him, to weigh with the king in the mean time, while the matter might be brought up to the court of Rome. The king, thus seeing himself disappointed, foded with false promises, and craftily doubled withal by the cardinals, and at last, after so many delays and long expectation, nothing to be concluded, was so aggrieved in his mind with them, but especially with cardinal Wolsey, whom he had before so highly exalted, and promoted to so many great dignities, as to the archbishopric of York, the bishopric of Winchester, of Durham, the abbey of St. Alban's; besides the chancellorship of England, and many other high rooms and preferments in the realm; which caused him clearly to cast him out of his favour, so that after that time he never came more to the king's presence.[1]

The king deluded by the two cardinals.

Then followed first a council of the nobles, called the 1st of October; during which council all the lords and other the king's council, agreeing together, resorted to Windsor to the king, and there informed the king, that almost all things which he had done, by his power legantine, were in the case of Præmunire, and Provision; and that the cardinal had forfeited all his lands, tenements, goods and chattels to the king: wherefore the king, willing to order him according to the order of his laws, caused his attorney, Christopher Hales, to sue out a writ of Præmunire against him, in the which he licensed him to make an attorney.

Council of the nobles.

The cardinal cast in the præmunire.

And further, on the 17th of November, he sent the two dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk to his place at Westminster, to fetch away the great seal of England; which he was loth to deliver, if there had been any remedy; but in conclusion, he delivered it to the two dukes, who delivered the same to Dr. Taylor, master of the rolls, to carry it to the king; which he so did the next day.

Deprived of the chancellorship.

Besides this, the king sent Sir William Fitzwilliams, knight of the garter, and treasurer of his house, and Dr. Stephen Gardiner, newly made secretary, to see that no goods should be embezzled out of his house; and further ordained, that the cardinal should remove to Esher beside Kingston, there to tarry the king's pleasure, and to have all things delivered unto him which were necessary for him, but not after his old pompous and superfluous fashion; for all his goods were seized to the king's use. When the seal was thus taken from the cardinal, the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, with many earls, bishops, and barons, came unto the Star-Chamber, the 19th of October; where the duke of Norfolk declared, that the king's highness, for diverse and sundry offences, had taken from him his great seal, and deposed him from all offices; and lest men might complain for lack of

Stephen Gardiner, the king's secretary.

The cardinal's goods seized.

(1) Ex Hallo.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1530.

justice, he had appointed him and the duke of Suffolk, with the assent of the other lords, to sit in the Star-Chamber, to hear and determine causes indifferently; and that of all things the king's pleasure and commandment was, that they should keep their hands close from any rewards-taking, or maintenance: and so that week they sat in the Star-Chamber, and determined causes.

He removeth from York-place.

A few days after, in the same month, the cardinal removed out of his house called York-place, with one Cross, saying, that he would he had never borne more; meaning by that his cross which he bare as legate, which degree-taking was his confusion, as you see openly; and so he took his barge, and went to Putney by water, and there took his horse and rode to Esher, where he remained till Lent after.

During that time, he, being called on for an answer in the King's Bench to the Præmunire, for giving benefices by prevention, in disturbance of men's inheritance, and divers other open causes in the Præmunire, according to the king's license, constituted John Scute and Edmond Jenney, apprentices of the law, his attorneys, who, by his own warrant, signed with his own hand, confessed all things concerning the said suit, for they were too open to be cloaked or hidden; and so judgment was given, that he should forfeit all his lands, tenements, goods, and chattels, and should be out of the king's protection: but for all that, the king sent him a sufficient protection, and of his gentleness left to him the bishoprics of York and Winchester, and gave to him plate and stuff convenient for his degree; and the bishopric of Durham he gave to Dr. Tonstal, bishop of London, and the abbey of St. Alban's he gave to the prior of Norwich: and to London he promoted Dr. John Stokesley, then ambassador to the universities for the marriage, as you heard before. For all this kindness showed to the cardinal, yet still he maligned against the king, as you shall hereafter perceive: but first we will proceed in the course of these matters, as they passed in order.

Tonstal bishop of Durham, Stokesley of London.

A.D. 1530. A parliament called.

The next year following, which was A. D. 1530, in the month of November, was summoned a general parliament, to be holden at Westminster. In that year, about the 23d of October, the king came to his manor of Greenwich, and there much consulted with his council, for a meet man to be his chancellor, so that in no wise he were a man of the spiritualty; and so, after long debate, the king determined upon sir Thomas More, knight, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, a man well learned in the tongues, and also in the common law; whose wit was fine, and full of imaginations; by reason whereof he was a little too much given to mocking, more than became the person of Master More. And then on the Sunday, the 24th of the same month, the king made him his chancellor, and delivered him the great seal; which lord chancellor, the next morrow after, was led into the chancery by the two dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and there sworn, and then the mace was borne before him.

Sir Tho. More chancellor.

Of this fall of the cardinal, and of the placing of sir Thomas More in the chancellorship, Erasmus, in an epistle to John Vergera, thus writeth:

'The cardinal of York hath so offended the king's mind, that he, being turned out of his goods and all his dignities, is committed, not to prison, but to a certain lordship of his, with thirty servants or keepers to give attendance upon

him. Many and sundry complaints are commenced against him, so that he is not like to escape with his life. Such is the dalliance of fortune, of a schoolmaster to be made a king: for so he reigned, more like a king than the king himself. He was dreaded of all men; he was loved but of a few, almost of none. A little before he was apprehended, he caused Richard Pacy to be cast into the Tower: also he threatened my lord archbishop[1] of Canterbury. Solomon saith, that before the fall of man his spirit shall be elevated. The archbishop of Canterbury was called or restored to be chosen lord chancellor, which is the chiefest office in all that realm; but he excused himself by his age, as being not able to wield such a function: wherefore the said office was bestowed upon Thomas More, no less to the rejoicing of many, than that the other was displaced from it. These news my servant brought me out of England,' &c.[2]

Henry VIII. A.D. 1530.

You heard before how a council of the nobles was appointed by the king in the month of October, to assemble in the Star-Chamber, about the cardinal's matter; and also how a parliament was summoned to begin in the month of November, in the year following, A.D. 1530. At the beginning of that parliament, after Master More, the new chancellor, had finished his oration, the commons were commanded to choose them a speaker, who was Thomas Audley, esquire, and attorney to the duchy of Lancaster. Thus the parliament, being begun the sixth day of the aforesaid month of November, at Westminster, where the king with all the lords were set in the parliament chamber, the commons, after they had presented their speaker, assembling in the nether house, began to commune of their griefs, wherewith the spiritualty had before-time grievously oppressed them, contrary both to all right, and to the law of the realm; and especially were sore moved with these six great causes:

A parliament.

Thomas Audley, speaker.

Grievances objected against the Clergy of England.

I. The first, for the excessive fines which the ordinaries took for probates of testaments, insomuch that sir Henry Guilford, knight of the garter, and comptroller of the king's house, declared in the open parliament, of his fidelity, that he and others being executors to sir William Compton, knight, paid for the probate of his will, to the cardinal and the archbishop of Canterbury, a thousand marks sterling. After this declaration, were showed so many extortions done by ordinaries for probates of wills, that it were too much to rehearse.

Excessive fines for probates.

II. The second cause was, the great polling and extreme exaction which the spiritual men used, in taking of corpses, presents, or mortuaries: for the children of the dead should all die for hunger and go a-begging, rather than they would of charity give to them the silly cow which the dead man owed, if he had but only one; such was the charity of them!

Unreasonable exaction for mortuaries.

III. The third cause was, that priests, being surveyors, stewards, and officers to bishops, abbots, and other spiritual heads, had and occupied farms, granges, and grazing, in every country, so that the poor husbandmen could have nothing but of them; and yet, for that, they should pay dearly.

Farms and granges in priests' hands.

IV. The fourth cause was, that abbots, priors, and spiritual men, kept tan-houses, and bought and sold wool, cloth, and all manner of merchandise, as other temporal merchants did.

Monks and priests, merchants.

V. The fifth cause was, because the spiritual persons, promoted to great benefices, and having their livings of their flock, were lying in the courts of lords' houses, and took all of their parishioners, and nothing spent on them at all: so that for lack of residence, both the poor of the parish lacked refreshing, and universally all the parishioners lacked preaching and true instructions of God's word, to the great peril of their souls.

Beneficed men take of their flock, but give nothing.

VI. The sixth cause was, because one priest, being little learned, had ten or

(1) By the archbishop he meaneth William Warham.

(2) Ex Epist. Erasm. et Johan. Vergaræ. [Epistol. 1151, col. 1347, Edit. Lug. Bat. 1706.—Ed.]

Henry VIII. twelve benefices, and was resident on none, and many well-learned scholars in the university, who were able to preach and teach, had neither benefice nor exhibition.

A. D. 1530.

These things before this time might in no wise be touched, nor yet talked of by any man, except he would be made a heretic, or lose all that he had: for the bishops were chancellors, and had all the rule about the king, so that no man durst once presume to attempt any thing contrary to their profit or commodity.

Three bills drawn out against the mis-order of the clergy.

But now, when God had illuminated the eyes of the king, and the time so served that men more boldly durst express with voice, such grudges as they had long conceived in their heart against the clergy, the burgesses of the parliament appointed certain of the commons' house, men learned in the law, to draw one bill of the probates of testaments; another for mortuaries; and the third for non-residence, pluralities, and taking farms by spiritual men.

The first bill for mortuaries.

And first, to the bill of mortuaries being drawn, and being also passed the commons' house, and sent up to the higher, the spiritual lords showed a fair face, saying, that assuredly priests and curates took more than they should, and therefore it were well done to take some reasonable order. Thus they spake, because it touched them but little.

The second for probates.

After this, within two days, was sent up the second bill, concerning probates of testaments; which bill, because it touched their profit somewhat near, both the archbishop of Canterbury, and all other bishops in general, began to frown and grunt, insomuch that Dr. John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, standing up in the parliament chamber, openly protested, that such bills were sent up from the commons' house, tending to no other thing, but to the destruction of the church; which church being down, the glory then of the whole kingdom (said he) must needs fall: desiring therefore the lords, for God's sake, to take example by the kingdom of Bohemia. For as it was then with the people there, so now what say the commons here, but "Down with the church?" And all this (said he) seemeth to be only for lack of faith. When these words were reported to the commons of the lower house (what the bishop had said, in noting all their doings to be for lack of faith), they took the matter grievously, so to be esteemed of the bishop for no better than heretics; understanding, moreover, how that he, by those slanderous words, went about to persuade the lords temporal against them, and so to overthrow the two bills by them passed before, as ye have heard.

Dr. Fisher chargeth the commons with lack of faith. Their grudge against him.

Whereupon, after long debate, it was at length agreed by the said commons, that Thomas Audley, their speaker, with thirty of the chief of that house, should be sent to the king, being then in his palace at Westminster, before called York-place; where they eloquently declared, what a dishonour to the king and the realm it was, to say that those who were elected for the wisest men of all the shires, cities, and boroughs, within the realm of England, should be declared in so noble and open presence, to lack faith, which was equivalent to say that they were infidels, and no Christians; as ill as Turks or Saracens: so that what pain or study soever they took for the commonwealth, or what acts or laws soever they made or established, should be taken as laws made by paynims and heathen people,

and not worthy to be kept by christian men: wherefore they most humbly besought the king's highness to call the said bishop before him, and to cause him to speak more discreetly of such a number as were in the commons' house. *Henry VIII.* A.D. 1530.

The king, not being well-contented with the saying of the bishop, yet gently answered the speaker, and sent them away; and immediately sent for the archbishop of Canterbury, and six other bishops, and Rochester also, signifying unto them the grudge of the commons. The bishop of Rochester, excusing himself, answered, that he, in so saying, meant only the doings of the Bohemians to be for lack of faith, and not the doings of them that were in the commons' house: which saying was confirmed by the bishops there present, who had him in great reputation. And so by that only saying the king accepted his excuse, and therefore sent word to the commons, by sir William Fitzwilliams, knight, treasurer of his household: which blind excuse pleased the commons nothing at all.

The king not contented with him.

The bishop's excuse.

After this, divers assemblies were kept between certain of the lords, and certain of the commons, for the bills of the probates of testaments, and mortuaries. The temporalty laid to the spiritualty their own laws and constitutions; and the spiritualty sore defended them by prescription and usage: to whom it was thus answered by a gentleman of Gray's Inn; "The usage hath ever been of thieves, to rob on Shooter's Hill:[1] ergo, is it lawful?" With this answer the spiritual men were so offended, because their doings were called robberies; but the temporal men stood still by their sayings, insomuch that the said gentleman said to the archbishop of Canterbury, that both the exaction of probates of testaments, and the taking of mortuaries, as they were used, were open robbery and theft. After long disputation, the temporal lords began to lean to the commons; but, for all that, the bills remained unconcluded awhile.

Difference between the laity and spiritualty.

Mortuaries, as they were used, differed but little from theft.

It followeth shortly after in the parliament, that a bill was assented to by the lords of the higher house, and sent down to the commons in the lower house, and by them also with much labour agreed unto, of whom the most part were the king's servants. In that bill it was required and concluded, that the king should be released of all such loan of money which he had borrowed of his subjects in the fifteenth year of his reign. The passing of this bill went sore against the stomachs of the poor commons; for many rested upon it, counting and passing it over, one to another, for good debt, as if it had been ready money in their purses. Wherefore the king, to gratify them again, granted to them a general pardon of all offences, only certain great offences and debts excepted. Also he aided them for the redress of their griefs against the spiritualty, and caused two new bills to be made indifferently, both for the probates of the testaments, and mortuaries; which bills were so reasonable, that the spiritual lords assented to them all, though they were sore against their minds: and especially the probates of testaments sore displeased the bishops, and the mortuaries sore displeased the parsons and vicars.

Redress of the commons.

After these acts thus agreed, the commons made another act for pluralities of benefices, non-residence, buying and selling, and taking of farms by spiritual persons; which act so displeased the spiritualty,

(1) Long use maketh not evil things lawful.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1530.

that the priests railed on the commons of the lower house, and called them heretics and schismatics: for which divers priests were punished.

This act was sore debated above, in the parliament chamber, and the lords spiritual would in no wise consent. Wherefore the king, perceiving the grudge of his commons, caused eight lords and eight of his commons to meet in the Star-Chamber at an afternoon, and there was sore debating of the cause, insomuch that the temporal lords of the upper house, who were there, took part with the commons against the spiritual lords, and by force of reason caused them to assent to the bill, with a little qualifying: which bill the next day was wholly agreed to in the lords' house, to the great rejoicing of the lay-people, and to the great displeasure of the spiritual persons.

The third bill for pluralities.

And thus much concerning these bills against the clergy, by the way: now to return to the cardinal again. During the time of the said parliament, there was brought down to the commons the book of articles which the lords had put up to the king against the cardinal. The chief articles were these.

Articles objected against Cardinal Wolsey.

I. First, That he, without the king's assent, had procured himself to be legate, by reason whereof he took away the right of all bishops and spiritual persons.

II. In all writings that he wrote to Rome, or to any other prince, he wrote 'Ego et rex meus,' 'I and my king;' as who would say, that the king were his servant.

III. That he slandered the church of England to the court of Rome: for his suggestion to be legate, was to reform the church of England, which (as he wrote) was 'facta in reprobum sensum.'

IV. He, without the king's assent, carried the king's great seal with him into Flanders, when he was sent ambassador to the emperor.

V. Without the king's consent, he sent commission to sir Gregory de Cassalis, knight, to conclude a league between the king and the duke of Ferrara.

† VI. That he, having a French disorder, presumed to come and breathe on the king.

VII. That he caused the cardinal's hat to be put on the king's coin.

VIII. That he had sent innumerable substance to Rome, for the obtaining of his dignities, to the great impoverishment of the realm: with many other things which are touched more at large in chronicles.

These articles, with many more, being read in the commons' house, were confessed by the cardinal, and signed with his hand. Also there was showed another writing, sealed with his seal, by which he gave to the king all his movables and unmovables.

You have heard hitherto declared, how the cardinal was attainted in the Præmunire, and how he was put out of the office of the chancellor, and lay at Esher: which was A.D. 1530. The next year after, in the Lent season, the king, by the advice of his council, licensed him to go into his diocese of York, and gave him commandment to keep him within his diocese, and not to return southward, without the king's special license in writing.

So he made great provision to go northward, and apparelled his servants newly, and bought many costly things for his household.

But divers of his servants at this time departed from him to the king's service, and especially Thomas Cromwel, one of his chief council, and chief doer for him in the suppression of abbeys. After all things necessary for his journey were prepared, he took his journey northward, till he came to Southwell, which was in his diocese, and there he continued that year, ever grudging at his fall, as you shall hear hereafter: but the lands which he had given to his colleges in Oxford and Ipswich, were now come to the king's hands, by his attainder in the Præmunire; and yet the king, of his gentleness, and for favour that he bear to good learning, erected again the college in Oxford; and whereas it was named the Cardinal's College, he called it the King's College; and endowed it with fair possessions, and ordained new statutes and ordinances; and because the college of Ipswich was thought to be nothing profitable, therefore he left that dissolved.

The cardinal's college now called Christ's college in Oxford.

Notwithstanding that the cardinal of York was thus attainted in the Præmunire (as is above mentioned), yet the king, being good unto him, had granted him the bishoprics of York and Winchester, with great plenty of substance, and had licensed him to lie in his diocese of York, where he so continued the space of a year. But after, in the year following, which was 1531, he, being in his diocese, wrote to the court of Rome, and to divers other princes, letters in reproach of the king, and, as much as in him lay, he stirred them to revenge his cause against the king and his realm: insomuch that divers opprobrious words against the king were spoken to Doctor Edward Keerne, the king's orator at Rome; and it was said to him, that, for the cardinal's sake, the king should have the worse speed in the suit of his matrimony. The cardinal, also, would speak fair to the people, to win their hearts, and declared ever that he was unjustly and untruly ordered; which fair speaking made many men believe that he said true: and to gentlemen he gave great gifts to allure them unto him. And, to be had in more reputation among the people, he determined to be enstalled or enthronised at York with all the pomp that might be; and caused a throne to be erected in the cathedral church, in such a height and fashion, as was never seen; and sent to all the lords, abbots, priors, knights, esquires, and gentlemen of his diocese, to be at his manor of Cawood on the 6th of November, and so to bring him to York with all manner of pomp and solemnity.

The cardinal complaineth to the pope, of the king.

The cardinal's proud journey toward York.

The king, who knew his doings and privy conveyance, all this year dissembled the matter, to see what he would do at length, till that he (seeing his proud heart so highly exalted, that he would be so triumphantly enstalled, without making the king privy, yea, and in a manner in disdain of the king) thought it not meet nor convenient to suffer him any longer to continue in his malicious and proud purposes and attempts: wherefore he directed his letters to the earl of Northumberland, willing him with all diligence to arrest the cardinal, and to deliver him to the earl of Shrewsbury, great steward of the king's household. When the earl had seen the letters, he with a convenient number came to the manor of Cawood on the 4th of November; and when he was brought to the cardinal in his chamber, he said to him, "My lord! I pray you take patience, for here I arrest you." "Arrest me?" said the cardinal: "Yea," said the

Henry VIII. A.D. 1530.

earl, "I have a commandment so to do." "You have no such power," said the cardinal, "for I am both a cardinal, and a legate *de latere*, and a peer of the college of Rome, and ought not to be arrested by any temporal power; for I am not subject to that power: wherefore if you arrest me, I will withstand it." "Well," said the earl, "here is the king's commission (which he showed him), and therefore I charge you to obey." The cardinal somewhat remembered himself, and said: "Well, my lord! I am content to obey; but although that I, by negligence, fell into the punishment of the Præmunire, and lost by the law all my lands and goods, yet my person was in the king's protection, and I was pardoned that offence; wherefore I marvel why I should now be arrested, and especially considering that I am a member of the see apostolic, on whom no temporal man ought to lay violent hands. Well, I see the king lacketh good counsel." "Well," said the earl, "when I was sworn warden of the Marshes, you yourself told me that I might with my staff arrest all men under the degree of a king; and now I am stronger, for I have a commission so to do, which you have seen." The cardinal at length obeyed, and was kept in a privy chamber, and his goods seized, and his officers discharged; and his physician, called Doctor Augustine, was likewise arrested, and brought to the Tower by sir Walter Welsh, one of the king's chamber. On the 6th of November he was conveyed from Cawood to Sheffield Castle, and there delivered to the earl of Shrewsbury's keeping, till the king's pleasure were known. Of this attachment there was much communing among the common people, whereof many were glad; for he was not in the favour of the commonalty.

The cardinal arrested.

The cardinal brought up toward London.

When the cardinal was thus arrested, the king sent sir William Kingston, knight, captain of the guard, and constable of the Tower of London, with certain yeomen of the guard, to Sheffield, to fetch the cardinal to the tower. When the cardinal saw the captain of the guard, he was sore astonished, and shortly became sick; for then he perceived some great trouble towards him, and for that cause, men said, that he willingly took so much quantity of a strong purgation, that his nature was not able to bear it. Also the matter that came from him was so black, that the staining thereof could not be gotten out of his blankets by any means. But sir William Kingston comforted him, and by easy journeys brought him to the abbey of Leicester on the 27th of November; where, for very feebleness of nature, caused by purgations and vomits, he died the second night following, and in the same abbey lieth buried.

It is testified by one, yet being alive, in whose arms the said cardinal died, that his body, being dead, was black as pitch; also was so heavy, that six could scarce bear it. Furthermore, it did so stink above the ground, that they were constrained to hasten the burial thereof in the night season, before it was day. At that burial, such a tempest with such a stench there arose, that all the torches went out; and so he was thrown into the tomb, and there was laid.

The pride of the cardinal.

By the ambitious pride and excessive worldly wealth of this one cardinal, all men may easily understand and judge what the state and condition of all the rest of the same order (whom we call spiritual men) was in those days, as well in all other places of Christendom,

as especially here in England, where the princely possessions and great pride of the clergy did not only far pass and exceed the common measure and order of subjects, but also surmounted over kings and princes, and all other estates, as may well appear by his doings and order of his story, above described. *Henry VIII.* A. D. 1530.

Amongst other acts of the aforesaid cardinal, this is not to be forgotten, that he founded a new college in Oxford, for the furniture whereof he had gathered together all the best learned he could hear of, amongst which number were these: Clarke, Tyndale, Sommer, Frith, and Taverner, with others. These, holding an assembly together in the college, were accounted to be heretics (as they called them), and thereupon were cast into a prison of the college, where salt-fish lay, through the stink whereof the most part of them were infected; and the said Clark, being a tender young man, and the most singular in learning amongst them all, died in the same prison; and others in other places in the town also, of the same infection deceased. Clark dieth in the cardinal's college in prison.

And thus, having detained the reader enough, or rather too much, with this vain-glorious cardinal, now we will reduce our story again to other more fruitful matter, and, as the order of time requireth, we will first begin with Master Humphrey Mummuth, a virtuous and good alderman of London, who in the time of the said cardinal was troubled, as in the story here followeth.

The Trouble of Humphrey Mummuth, Alderman of London.

Master Humphrey Mummuth was a right godly and sincere alderman of London, who, in the days of Cardinal Wolsey, was troubled and put into the Tower, for the gospel of Christ, and for maintaining them that favoured the same.

Stokesley, then bishop of London, ministered articles unto him, to the number of four and twenty: as for adhering to Luther and his opinions; for having and reading heretical books and treatises; for giving exhibition to William Tyndale, Roy, and such others; for helping them over the sea to Luther; for administering privy help to translate, as well the Testament, as other books into English; for eating flesh in Lent; for affirming faith only to justify; for derogating from men's constitutions; for not praying to saints, not allowing pilgrimage, auricular confession, the pope's pardons: briefly, for being an advancer of all Martin Luther's opinions, &c. Articles ministered against Humphrey Mummuth, by bishop Stokesley.

He, being of these articles examined, and cast into the Tower, at last was compelled to make his suit or purgation, writing to the aforesaid cardinal, then lord chancellor, and the whole council, out of the Tower; in the contents whereof he answered to the criminous accusation of them that charged him with certain books received from beyond the sea; also for his acquaintance with Master Tyndale. Whereupon he said, that he denied not but that, four years then past, he had heard the said Tyndale preach two or three sermons at St. Dunstan's in the West; and afterwards, meeting with the said Tyndale, had certain communication with him concerning his living; who then told him that he had none at all, but trusted to be in the bishop of London's service: for then he laboured to be his chaplain. But, being refused of the bishop, he so came again to the said Mummuth, this examinate, and besought him to help him: who, the The purgation and answer of Humphrey Mummuth to the articles.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1530.

same time took him into his house for half a year; where the said Tyndale lived (as he said) like a good priest, studying both night and day. He would eat but sodden meat by his good will, nor drink but small single beer. He was never seen in that house to wear linen about him, all the space of his being there. Whereupon the said Mummuth had the better liking of him, so that he promised him ten pounds (as he then said) for his father's and mother's souls, and all christian souls; which money afterwards he sent him over to Hamburgh, according to his promise. And yet not to him alone he gave this exhibition, but to divers others likewise, who were no heretics: as to Dr. Royston, the bishop of London's chaplain, he exhibited forty or fifty pounds; to Dr. Wodiall, provincial of the Friars Augustine, as much or more; to Dr. Watson, the king's chaplain; also to other scholars, and divers priests: besides other charges bestowed upon religious houses, as upon the nunnery of Denny, above fifty pounds sterling bestowed, &c.

Tyndale refused of bishop Stokesley to be his chaplain.

The temperate conversation of William Tyndale.

And as touching his books, as 'Enchiridion,' the 'Pater Noster,' 'De Libertate Christiana,' and an English Testament: of which, some William Tyndale left with him; some he sent unto him; some were brought into his house, by whom he could not tell: these books (he said) did lie open in his house, the space of two years together, he suspecting no harm to be in them. And moreover the same books being desired by sundry persons, as by the abbess of Denny, by a friar of Greenwich, and by the father confessor of Sion, he let them have them, and yet never heard friar, priest, or lay-man, find any fault with the said books. Likewise to Dr. Watson, to Dr. Stockhouse, and to Master Martin, parson of Totingbecke, he committed the perusing of the books of 'Pater Noster,' and 'De Libertate Christiana,' who found no great fault in them; but only in the book 'De Libertate Christiana,' they said, there were things somewhat hard, except the reader were wise.

Thus he, excusing himself, and moreover complaining of the loss of his credit by his imprisonment in the Tower, and of the detriments of his occupying, who was wont yearly to ship over five hundred cloths to strangers, and set many clothiers awork in Suffolk, and in other places, of whom he bought all their cloths, who were now almost all undone; by this reason at length he was set at liberty, being forced to abjure, and after was made knight by the king, and sheriff of London.

A notable example of christian patience in an alderman.

Of this Humphrey Mummuth we read of a notable example of christian patience, in the sermons of Master Latimer, which the said Latimer heard in Cambridge from master George Stafford, reader of the divinity lecture in that university; who, expounding the place of St. Paul to the Romans, that we shall overcome our enemy with well doing, and so heap hot coals upon his head, &c., brought in an example, saying, that he knew in London a great rich merchant (meaning this Humphrey Mummuth) who had a very poor neighbour; yet for all his poverty, he loved him very well, and lent him money at his need, and let him come to his table whensoever he would. It was even at that time when Dr. Colet was in trouble, and should have been burned, if God had not turned the king's heart to the contrary. Now the rich man began to be a Scripture-man; he began to smell the gospel. The poor man was a papist still.

It chanced on a time, when the rich man talked of the gospel, sitting at his table, where he reproved popery, and such kind of things; the poor man, being there present, took a great displeasure against the rich man, insomuch that he would come no more to his house; he would borrow no more money of him, as he was wont to do before times, yea, and conceived such hatred and malice against him, that he went and accused him before the bishops. Now the rich man, not knowing of any such displeasure, offered many times to talk with him, and to set him at quiet. It would not be. The poor man had such a stomach, that he would not vouchsafe to speak with him. If he met the rich man in the street, he would go out of his way. One time it happened that he met him so in a narrow street, that he could not avoid, but come near him: yet for all that, this poor man (I say) had such a stomach against the rich man, that he was minded to go forward, and not to speak with him. The rich man, perceiving that, caught him by the hand, and asked him, saying, "Neighbour! what is come into your heart to take such displeasure with me? What have I done against you? Tell me, and I will be ready at all times to make you amends."[1]

Henry VIII. A.D. 1531.

Finally, he spake so gently, so charitably, so lovingly and friendly, that it wrought so in the poor man's heart, that by and by he fell down upon his knees, and asked him forgiveness. The rich man forgave him, and so took him again to his favour, and they loved as well as ever they did afore.[2]

Thomas Hitten, burned at Maidstone, A.D. 1530. Persecuted by William Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, and by Fisher, Bishop of Rochester.

Touching the memorial of Thomas Hitten remaineth nothing in writing, but only his name; save that William Tyndale, in his Apology against More, and also in another book, entitled 'The Practice of Prelates,' doth once or twice make mention of him, by way of digression. He was (saith he) a preacher at Maidstone, whom the bishop of Canterbury, William Warham, and Fisher, bishop of Rochester, after they had long kept him in prison, and tormented him with sundry torments, and that he notwithstanding continued constant; at last they burned him at Maidstone, for the constant and manifest testimony of Jesus Christ, and of his free grace and salvation, A. D. 1530.

Thomas Bilney, and Thomas Arthur, who abjured at Norwich.

PERSECUTED BY CARDINAL WOLSEY; NIXE, BISHOP OF NORWICH; THE FRIARS OF IPSWICH; FRIAR BIRD; FRIAR HODGKINS; DOCTOR STOKES; SIR THOMAS MORE; FRIAR BRUSIERD; FRIAR JOHN HUGGEN, PROVINCIAL OF THE DOMINICS; FRIAR JEFFREY JULLES; FRIAR JUGWORTH; MASTER WILLIAM JECKET, GENTLEMAN; WILLIAM NELSON; AND BY THOMAS WILLIAMS, A.D. 1531.

In the story above passed of cardinal Wolsey, mention was made of certain whom the said cardinal caused to abjure; as Bilney, Jeffrey Lome, Garret, Barnes, and such others, of whom we have now (the Lord directing us) specially to treat. *There[3] was never a more innocent and upright man in all England than he was, who, amongst many other martyrs that after ensued, the university of Cambridge first brought forth, and afterwards, as it were taking root upon this

(1) 'Agree with thine enemy while thou art in the way with him.' Matt. v.
(2) Ex concione Doct. Hugo. Latimeri.
(3) See Edition 1563, page 461.—Ed.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1531.

good man, after long barrenness, did begin to flourish and spring.* This Thomas Bilney was brought up in the university of Cambridge, profiting even from a child, in all kind of liberal science, even unto the profession of both laws. But at last, having gotten a better schoolmaster, even the Holy Spirit of Christ, who endued his heart, by privy inspiration, with the knowledge of better and more wholesome things, he came at last unto this point, that, forsaking the knowledge of man's laws, he converted his study to those things which tended more unto godliness than gainfulness.

Thomas Bilney a bachelor of both laws.

Finally, as he himself was greatly inflamed with the love of true religion and godliness, even so again was in his heart an incredible desire to allure many unto the same, desiring nothing more, than that he might stir up and encourage any to the love of Christ, and sincere religion. Neither were his labours vain; for he converted many of his fellows to the knowledge of the gospel, amongst which number were Thomas Arthur, and Master Hugh Latimer; which Latimer at that time was cross-keeper at Cambridge, bringing it forth upon procession-days. At last, Bilney, forsaking the university, went into many places, teaching and preaching, being associated with Arthur, who accompanied him from the university. The authority of Thomas Wolsey, cardinal of York, of whom ye have heard before, at that time was great in England, but his pomp and pride much greater; which did evidently declare unto all wise men the manifest vanity, not only of his life, but also of all the bishops and clergy: whereupon Bilney, with other good men, marvelling at the incredible insolency of the clergy, which they could now no longer suffer or abide, began to shake and reprove this excessive pomp of the clergy, and also to pluck at the authority of the bishop of Rome.

Master Latimer cross-keeper in the university of Cambridge.

Bilney against the pride of the pope, and of his cardinals.

* This[1] godly man, being a bachelor of law, was but of a little stature and very slender of body, and of a strait and temperate diet, given to good letters and very fervent and studious in the Scriptures, as appeared by his sermons; his converting of sinners; his preaching at the lazars cots,[2] wrapping them in sheets, helping them to what they wanted, if they would convert to Christ; laborious and painful to the desperates; a preacher to the prisoners and comfortless; a great doer in Cambridge, and a great preacher in Suffolk and Norfolk; and at last in London he preached many notable sermons. Before his last preaching in London, he, with Master Arthur, Master Stafford, and Master Thistel of Pembroke-hall, converted Dr. Barnes to the gospel of Jesus Christ our Saviour, with the assistance of Master Fooke, of Benet college, and Master Soud, master of the same college; to whom also were then associated Master Parker and Master Powry. The said Bilney, with Master Arthur, converted one Master Lambert, being a mass priest in Norfolk, and afterwards a martyr in London. This Lambert prospered mightily in the tongues, and specially in the Greek and Latin, and translated many books. After great persecutions in Antwerp, in the time of Warham archbishop of Canterbury, and in the time of Stokesley bishop of London, he was condemned to death and burned in Smithfield. And Dr. Barnes, his other disciple, assisted by him and Master Stafford and the residue, and thereby

(1) See Edition 1563, page 477.—Ed.
(2) 'Lazar cots,' cottages containing leprous or diseased persons.—Ed.

encouraged both by the Scriptures and continual prayers, was moved to preach a sermon for his declaration in Trinity church, in Cambridge; whose theme was, "Gaudete in Domino semper, et iterum dico gaudete;" much moved as well by Master Stafford as by Master Bilney. Because Dr. Barnes was doctor to the said Master Stafford, when he answered for his form in divinity, therefore this Dr. Barnes, emboldened in Christ, preached his sermon, and was accused by two of the King's Hall to be a heretic, as hereafter shall more appear. After the said Bilney had converted Master Latimer, he, proceeding forward in his journey towards London, preached, among many sermons, one especially at St. Magnus, against the new idolatrous rood newly erected, before it was gilded; and there was apprehended, and carried with Arthur, as is aforesaid, to Tonstal, and so to the coal-house, and from thence to the Tower, till they abjured and bare faggots at Paul's cross, as we have before specified. Concerning his diet which we spake of, it was so strait, that for the space of a year and a half, he took commonly but one meal a day; so that if he were disposed to sup, he would keep his commons; and likewise his supper, if he were disposed to dine; and would bear it to some prison; where he used commonly to frequent, and to exhort such as were infamed or imprisoned for evil life. Among whom there was a certain woman, one of the officers' wives, there cast in prison for adultery, whom he there converted with his daily exhortation, and brought to such repentance, and also sincerity of faith, that afterwards she offered herself ready to die for the same, in detesting of her former life. His scholar, who had daily conversation with him, told us, that, to his thinking, no night he slept above four hours; and yet we speak of more than he reported to us. He could abide no swearing nor singing. Coming from the church where singing was, he would lament to his scholars the curiosity of their dainty singing, which he called rather a mockery with God, than otherwise. And when Dr. Thurlby, afterwards bishop, then a scholar living in the chamber underneath him, would play upon his recorder (as he would often do), he would resort strait to his prayer.*

Henry VIII. A.D. 1531.

Then it was time for the cardinal to awake, and speedily to look about his business; neither lacked he in this point any craft or subtlety of a serpent, for he understood well enough, upon how slender a foundation their ambitious dignity was grounded, neither was he ignorant that their Luciferous and proud kingdom could not long continue against the manifest word of God; especially if the light of the gospel should once open the eyes of men. For otherwise he did not greatly fear the power and displeasure of kings and princes. Only this he feared, the voice of Christ in his gospel; lest it should disclose and detect their hypocrisy and deceits, and force them to come into an order of godly discipline: wherefore he thought good speedily, in time, to withstand these beginnings; whereupon he caused the said Bilney and Arthur to be apprehended and cast into prison, as before you have heard.

After this, on the 27th of November, 1527, the said cardinal, accompanied with a great number of bishops, as the archbishop of Canterbury, Cuthbert of London, John of Rochester, Nicholas of Ely, John of Exeter, John of Lincoln, John of Bath and Wells, Harry of St. Asaph, with many others, both divines and lawyers, came into the chapter-house of Westminster, where the said Master Thomas

Cardinal Wolsey with his complices against Bilney and Arthur.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1531.

Bilney, and Thomas Arthur, were brought before them; and the said cardinal there inquired of Master Bilney, whether he had, privately or publicly, preached or taught to the people the opinions of Luther or any others condemned by the church, contrary to the determination of the church: whereunto Bilney answered, that wittingly he had not preached or taught any of Luther's opinions, or any others contrary to the catholic church. Then the cardinal asked him, whether he had not once made an oath before, that he would not preach, rehearse, or defend any of Luther's opinions, but would impugn the same every where? He answered that he had made such an oath; but not lawfully. These interrogatories so administered, and answers made, the cardinal caused him to swear, to answer plainly to the articles and errors preached and set forth by him, as well in the city and diocese of London, as in the diocese of Norwich and other places, and that he should do it without any craft, qualifying, or leaving out any part of the truth.

Thomas Arthur examined.

After he was thus sworn and examined, the said cardinal proceeded to the examination of Master Thomas Arthur there present, causing him to take the like oath that Master Bilney did. This done, he asked him whether he had not once told sir Thomas More, knight, that in the sacrament of the altar there was not the very body of Christ? This interrogatory he denied. Then the cardinal gave him time to deliberate till noon, and to bring in his answer in writing. After noon the same day, what time the examination of the aforesaid Thomas Arthur was ended, the cardinal and bishops, by their authority ex officio, did call in for witnesses before Master Bilney, certain men, namely, John Huggen, chief provincial of the friars-preachers throughout all England, Jeffrey Julles, and Richard Jugworth, professors of divinity of the same order. Also William Jecket, gentleman, William Nelson, and Thomas William, who were sworn that, all favour, hate, love, or reward set apart, they should, without concealing any falsehood, or omitting any truth, speak their minds, upon the articles laid against him, or preached by him, as well within the diocese of London, as the diocese of Norwich: and because he was otherwise occupied about the affairs of the realm, he committed the hearing of the matter to the bishop of London, and to other bishops there present, or to three of them, to proceed against all men, as well spiritual as temporal, as also against schedules, writings, and books, set forth and translated by Martin Luther, lately condemned by pope Leo X., and by all manner of probable means to inquire and root out their errors and opinions; and all such as were found culpable, to compel them to abjuration according to the law, or if the matter so required, to deliver them unto the secular power, and to give them full power and authority to determine upon them.

Work they ever so secretly, yet God bringeth their practices to light at length.

On the 27th of November, in the year aforesaid, the bishop of London, with the bishops of Ely and Rochester, came unto the bishop of Norwich's house, where likewise, ex officio, they did swear certain witnesses against Master Thomas Arthur, in like sort as they had done before, against Master Thomas Bilney, and so proceeded to the examination of Master Arthur; which being ended upon certain interrogatories, the bishop of London warned him, by virtue of his oath, that he should not reveal his examinations, nor his answers, nor any part or parcel thereof.

On the 2d of December, the bishops assembled again in the same place, and swore more witnesses against Master Bilney: that done they called for Master Arthur, unto whose charge they laid these articles following:

Articles against Thomas Arthur.

I. Imprimis, That he exhorted the people, in his prayers, to pray especially for those that now be in prison.—This article he denied.

II. That he said, though men be restrained to preach now-a-days (which is against God's laws), yet I may preach; first, by the authority of my lord cardinal; for I have his license: secondly, by the authority of the university: thirdly, by the pope: fourthly, by the authority of God, where he saith, 'Euntes in mundum, prædicate evangelium omni creaturæ;' by which authority every man may preach, and there is neither bishop nor ordinary, nor yet the pope, that may make any law to hinder any man to preach the gospel.—This article he confessed that he spake. Authority to preach.

III. When he spake of laws, he brought a similitude of crosses, set up against the walls of London, that men should not offend there. When there was but one cross, or a few more, men did reverence them, and offended not there; but when there was in every corner a cross set, then men of necessity were compelled to offend upon the crosses. So, in like manner, when there were but a few holy and devout laws in the church, then men were afraid to offend them. Afterwards they made many laws for their advantage; and such as were pecuniary, those they do observe; and such as are not pecuniary, those they call 'palea,' and regard them not: and so now-a-days there are so many laws, that whether a man do ill or well, he shall be taken in the law.—He confessed that he spake the very same, or the like words. † The multitude of laws maketh laws to be contemned. 'Palea,' in the pope's decrees.

IV. He said, 'Good people! if I should suffer persecution for the preaching of the gospel of God, yet there are seven thousand more that would preach the gospel of God as I do now. Therefore, good people! good people! (which words he often rehearsed, as it were lamenting,) think not that if these tyrants and persecutors put a man to death, the preaching of the gospel therefore is to be forsaken.'—This article he confessed, that he spake in like words and sense, saving that he made no mention of tyrants. The preaching of the gospel is to be left for no persecution.

V. That every man, yea every layman is a priest.—He confessed that he spake such words, declaring in his sermon, that every christian man is a priest, offering up the sacrifice of prayer; and if they did murmur against the order of priesthood, they did murmur against themselves.

VI. That men should pray to no saints in heaven, but only to God; and they should use no other mediator for them, but Christ Jesu our Redeemer only.—This article he denied.

VII. He preached that they should worship no images of saints, which were nothing but stocks and stones.—This he also denied. Against images.

VIII. He did preach upon Whit Sunday last, within the university of Cambridge, these, or like words and sentences: that a bachelor of divinity, admitted of the university, or any other person having or knowing the gospel of God, should go forth and preach in every place, and let for no man, of what estate or degree soever he were: and if any bishop did accurse them for so doing, their curses should turn to the harm of themselves.—He confessed this.

These answers thus made and acknowledged, the said Master Arthur did revoke and condemn the said articles against him ministered, and submitted himself to the punishment and judgment of the church. Arthur submitteth himself.

On the 3d of December, the bishop of London, with the other bishops assembling in the place aforesaid, after that Bilney had denied utterly to return to the church of Rome, the bishop of London, in discharge of his conscience (as he said), lest he should hide any thing that had come to his hands, did really exhibit unto the notaries, in the presence of the said Master Bilney, certain letters, to wit, five letters or epistles, with one schedule in one of the epistles, containing his articles and answers folded therein, and another epistle folded in manner of a book, with six leaves; which, all and every one, he commanded to be written out and registered, and the originals to be delivered to him again.[1] Five letters of Bilney to the bishop of London.

(1) Ex Regist. Londinensi.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1531. This was done in the presence of Master Bilney, desiring a copy of them, and he bound the notaries with an oath, for the safe keeping of the copies, and true registering of the same: which articles and answers, with three of the same epistles, with certain depositions deposed by the aforesaid witnesses, here follow truly drawn; partly out of his own hand writing, and partly out of the register.

Interrogatories whereupon Master Thomas Arthur, and Master Bilney, were accused and examined.

I. Whether they did believe with their hearts, that the assertions of Luther, which are impugned by the bishop of Rochester, were justly and godly condemned; and that Luther, with his adherents, was a wicked and detestable heretic?

Constitutions. II. Whether they did believe that the general councils and ecclesiastical constitutions, once received, and not abrogated again, ought to be observed by all men, even for conscience' sake, and not only for fear?

III. Whether they did believe that the pope's laws were profitable and necessary to the preferment of godliness, not repugnant to the holy Scriptures, neither by any means to be abrogated, but to be reverenced by all men?

The church. IV. Whether they did believe that the catholic church may err in the faith or no? and whether they think that catholic church to be a sensible church, which may be demonstrated and pointed out as it were with a finger; or that it is only a spiritual church, intelligible, and known only unto God?

Images. V. Whether they think that the images of saints are christianly set in the churches, and ought to be worshipped by all true Christians?

Whether souls be already judged. VI. Whether a man may believe, without hurt to his faith, or note of heresy, the souls of Peter and Paul, and of our Lady, either to be, or not to be, in heaven; and that there is yet no judgment given upon the souls departed?

VII. Whether a man may believe, without spot of heresy, that our Lady remained not always a virgin?

Breaking of fasting-days sin. VIII. Whether holy-days and fasting-days, ordained and received by the church, may be broken by any private man, at his will and pleasure, without sin or obstinacy?

IX. Whether we are bound to be obedient unto prelates, bishops, and kings, by God's commandment, as we are unto our parents?

X. Whether they believe that the church doth well and godly in praying to the saints?

Christ not only to be prayed to. XI. Whether they think that Christ only should be prayed unto, and that it is no heresy, if any man affirm that saints should not be prayed unto?

XII. Whether they do think all true Christians to be by like right priests, and all those to have received the keys of binding and loosing at the hands of Christ, who have obtained the Spirit of God, and only such, whether they be laymen or priests?

XIII. Whether they believe with their hearts, that faith may be without works and charity?

Prayer in a learned tongue. XIV. Whether they believe that it is more agreeable to the faith, that the people should pray in their own tongue, than in a learned unknown tongue; and whether they commend the prayer in a strange tongue or no?

XV. Whether they would have the masses and gospels openly to be read in churches in the vulgar tongue, rather than in the Latin tongue?

XVI. Whether they commend that children should only be taught the Lord's Prayer, and not the Salutation of the Virgin, or Creed?

Beads. XVII. Whether they do think the wooden beads, which the common people do use, worthy to be denied or not?

XVIII. Whether they do think the whole Scripture ought to be translated into English, or that it should be more profitable for the people, than as it is now read?

Organs. XIX. Whether they would have the organs, and all manner of songs, to be put out of the church of God?

XX. Whether they do think that it pertaineth to the bishops to punish any man with bonds or imprisonment, or that they have any temporal power and authority?

XXI. Whether they think that constitution to be godly, that no man should preach in another man's diocese without letters of commendation and license obtained of the bishop? *Henry VIII.* A.D. 1531.

XXII. Whether they think the vows of religious men, and private religion, to be constituted and ordained by the Spirit of God; neither by any means to be repugnant to a free and perfect christian life?

XXIII. Whether they believe that we should pray for the dead, or believe that there is a purgatory; or that we are bound, by necessity of faith, to believe neither of them: but that it is free without sin, either to believe it, or not to believe it? Purgatory.

XXIV. Whether they believe that moral philosophy and natural, do prevail any thing for the better understanding of the Scriptures, and for the exposition and defence of the truth? Philosophy.

XXV. Whether they think that the pope's indulgences and pardons are rather to be rejected than received?

XXVI. Whether it be contrary to the doctrine of Christ and his apostles, that Christians should by any means contend in the law, to seek any manner of restitution?

XXVII. Whether they believe all things pertaining to salvation and damnation to come of necessity, and nothing to be in our own wills?

XXVIII. Whether they believe God to be the author of evil, as well of the fault, as of the punishment?

XXIX. Whether they think mass only to be profitable to him who saith it, and whether every man may alter or leave out the rite and order of the mass without hurt of faith? Mass.

XXX. Whether they believe that there can be any moral virtues without the grace of christian living; or that the virtues which Aristotle hath set out, are rather feigned?

XXXI. Whether they think it heresy to teach the people, that it is free to give tithes unto priests, or to any other poor man?

XXXII. Whether they do think it more christian-like to take away the images out of the churches, or to permit them to adorn them and honour them? Images.

XXXIII. Whether they think it the part of a christian man, that preachers should exhort men to pilgrimage, or to the worshipping of relics?

XXXIV. Whether that thou, Thomas Bilney! being cited upon heresy to appear before my lord cardinal, and, before the day of thy appearance, not having made thy purgation as to those points that thou wast cited upon, hast preached openly in divers churches of the city and diocese of London, without sufficient license from the bishop, or any other? Relics.

Concerning the answers unto these articles, gentle reader! forasmuch as in the most part of them, Bilney with Arthur seemed to consent and agree (although not fully and directly, but by way and manner of qualifying), yet because he did not expressly deny them, it shall not be needful here to recite them all, save only such, wherefrom he seemed to dissent.

Bilney's Answers to the Interrogatories aforesaid.

To the first and second articles he answered affirmatively. To the third he said, I believe that many of the pope's laws are profitable and necessary, and do prevail unto godliness, neither in any point are repugnant unto the Scriptures, nor by any means are to be abrogated, but by all men to be observed and reverenced. But touching all those laws, I cannot determine: for as for such as I have not read, I trust notwithstanding they are good also; and as for those that I have read, I did never read them to the end and purpose to reprove them, but, according to my power, to learn and understand them. And as touching the multitude of laws, St. Augustine in his time did much complain; and Gerson also, who marvelled, that he could by any means live in safety amongst so many snares of constitutions, when our forefathers, being pure before their fall, could not observe one only precept. Against the multitude of laws.

Henry VIII. A. D. 1531.

To the fourth article he said, that the catholic church can by no means err in faith, for it is the whole congregation of the elect, and so known only unto God, who knoweth who are his: otherwise no man should be ascertained of another man's salvation, or of his own, but only through faith and hope. For it is written, 'No man knoweth whether he be worthy of hatred or love.'[1] It is also sensible, and may be demonstrated so far forth as it is sufficient to establish us in all things that are to be believed and done: for I may truly say of the general council being congregated in the Holy Ghost, 'Behold here the catholic church;' denominating the whole, by the most worthy part.

The true church cannot err in faith.

To the fifth article he answered affirmatively in these words: 'Cum sint libri laicorum, adorare oportet, at non imaginem sed prototypon.'

To the sixth article he answered, that he did not believe that they are in heaven; being so taught by the Scriptures, and holy fathers of the church.

To the seventh article he said, that it is not to be thought contrary.

To the eighth article, whether a man may not observe the feasts and fasts of the church prescribed; he thought that there is no man but he ought to observe them.

To the ninth article he said, that we are likewise bound, as unto parents.

To the fourteenth article he answered thus: 'The fourteenth chapter of St. Paul, in his first Epistle to the Corinthians, moveth me to believe, that it is best that the people should have the Lord's prayer and the apostles' creed in English, so that the devotion might the more be furthered by the understanding thereof; and also that thereby they might be the more prompt and expert in the articles of their faith, of which, it is to be feared, a great number are ignorant. Surely I have heard many say, that they never heard speak of the resurrection of the body: and being certified thereof, they became much more apt and ready unto goodness, and more fearful to do evil.'

Scripture to be in English. St. John's gospel, translated into English by Bede.

To the fifteenth article he said, he would wish that the gospels and epistles should be read in English, 'For I would (saith Paul) rather have five words, &c. that the church might be edified,'[2] &c.; and Chrysostom exhorteth his hearers to look upon books, that they might the better commit unto memory those things which they had heard; and St. Bede did translate St. John's gospel into English.

Touching the eighteenth article, for the translation of the Scripture into English, concerning the whole, he did partly doubt; notwitstanding he wished that the gospels and epistles of the day might be read in English, that the people might be made the more apt to hear sermons. But here some will say, there might also be danger for error: whereunto he answered, 'But good and vigilant pastors might easily help that matter, by adding the plain interpretation of the fathers in the margins in English, upon the dark and obscure places, which would put away all doubts. O how great profit of souls should the vigilant pastors get thereby! who, contrariwise, through their slothfulness, bring great ruin and decay.'

The pope's pardons injurious to Christ's passion.

To the five and twentieth article, as touching pardons, he said, that as they be used, and have too long been, it were better that they should be restrained, than that they should be any longer used as they have been, to the injury of Christ's passion.

How Christians may go to the law.

Touching the six and twentieth article, he said, that it is not against the doctrine of Christ and his apostles to contend in the law, so it be done with charity, if St. Augustine, and the reverend father Marcus Marulus did not err, who granted that liberty to the weak Christians: albeit the true Christians ought to give ear unto St. Paul's saying, 'Why do ye not rather suffer injury?'[3] and to Christ himself, who saith, 'He that would contend with thee in the law, and take away thy coat, give him thy cloak also.'

Touching the eight and twentieth, he answered, that God is the author of the punishment only, but not of the offence, as Basil the Great teacheth in his sermon upon these words of the prophet, 'Non est malum in civitate quod non fecit dominus.'[4] And St. Augustine in another place, as I remember, prayeth, 'that he be not led into that temptation, that he should believe God to be the author of sin and wickedness.'

(1) Eccles. ix. (2) 1 Cor. xiv. (3) 1 Cor. vi. (4) Amos iii.

THOMAS BILNEY PLUCKED FROM THE PULPIT.

Henry VIII. A. D. 1531.

Here ensueth a brief Summary or Collection of certain Depositions, deposed by the several Witnesses afore-named, upon certain Interrogatories ministered unto them for the Inquiry of Master Bilney's Doctrine and Preaching.

First it was deposed, that in his sermon in Christ's church, Ipswich, he should preach and say, 'Our Saviour Christ is our Mediator, between us and the Father:' what should we need then to seek to any saint for remedy? Wherefore, it is great injury to the blood of Christ, to make such petitions, and it blasphemeth our Saviour.

That man is so imperfect of himself, that he can in no wise merit by his own deeds.

Heresy in the pope's church, to confess Christ to be our only mediator.

Also, that the coming of Christ was long prophesied before, and desired by the prophets: but John Baptist, being more than a prophet, did not only prophesy, but with his finger showed him, saying, 'Ecce agnus Dei, qui tollit peccata mundi.'[1] Then, if this were the very lamb, which John did demonstrate, which taketh away the sins of the world, what an injury is it to our Saviour Christ, that to be buried in St. Francis' cowl should remit four parts of penance.[2] What is then left to our Saviour Christ, who taketh away the sins of the world? This I will justify to be a great blasphemy to the blood of Christ.

Against pilgrimage.

Also, that it was a great folly to go on pilgrimage, and that preachers, in times past, have been Antichrists; and now it hath pleased God somewhat to show forth their falsehood and errors.

Against blind miracles.

Also, that the miracles done at Walsingham, at Canterbury, and there, in Ipswich, were done by the devil, through the sufferance of God, to blind the poor people: and that the pope hath not the keys that Peter had, except he follow Peter in his living.

Moreover, it was deposed against him, that he was notoriously suspected as a heretic, and twice pulled out of the pulpit in the diocese of Norwich.

Also it was deposed against him, that he should, in the parish church of Wilsdon, exhort the people to put away their gods of silver and gold, and leave their offerings unto them; for that such things as they offered have been known oftentimes to have been afterward given to the vilest of women. Also that Jews and Saracens would have become christian men long ago, had it not been for the idolatry of christian men, in offering of candles, wax, and money, to stocks and stones. †

Over and besides these cavilling matters articulated and deposed against him, here follow certain other articles whereupon he was detected, gathered out of his sermon which he preached in the parish church of St. Magnus, in Whitsun week, A. D. 1527.

Certain other Articles produced against Master Thomas Bilney.

First he said, 'Pray you only to God, and to no saints,' rehearsing the Litany; and when he came to 'Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis,' he said, 'Stay there.'

He said, that christian men ought to worship God only, and no saints.

He said that christian people should set up no lights before the images of saints: for saints in heaven need no light, and the images have no eyes to see.

He said, As Hezekiah destroyed the brazen serpent that Moses made by the commandment of God; even so should kings and princes now-a-days destroy and burn the images of saints set up in churches.

But fifty good popes since Christ.

These five hundred years there hath been no good pope, and in all the times past, we can find but fifty: for they have neither preached, nor lived well, nor conformably to their dignity; wherefore, till now, they have borne the keys of simony. Against them, good people! we must preach and teach unto you,

(1) John i.

(2) St. Francis's cowl remiteth four parts of penance. What remaineth then for Christ to remit?

Henry VIII. A. D. 1531.

for we cannot come to them; it is great pity they have sore slandered the blood of Christ.

The people have used foolishly of late pilgrimages, when for them it had been better to have been at home.

Many have made certain vows, which be not possible for them to fulfil, and those nothing meritorious.

The preachers before this have been Antichrists, and now it hath pleased our Saviour Christ to show their false errors, and to teach another way and manner of the holy gospel of Christ, to the comfort of your souls.

The prophecy of Bilney.

I trust that there shall and will come others besides me, who shall show and preach to you, the same faith and manner of living that I do show and preach to you, which is the very true gospel of our Saviour Christ, and the mind of the holy fathers, whereby you shall be brought from their errors, wherein you have been long seduced; for before this there have been many that have slandered you, and the gospel of our Saviour Christ, of whom spake our Saviour, 'Qui scandalizaverit unum de pusillis istis qui in me credit,'[1] &c.

These and many other such like depositions were deposed against him by the deponents and witnesses before sworn, which wholly to recite would be too long and tedious: wherefore these shall suffice at this time, being the principal matters, and in manner the effect of all the rest. But now, before we return again to the order of his examination, we think it good here to infer a certain dialogue, containing a communication between a friar named John Brusierd, and Master Thomas Bilney, which we have thought meet for this place, because it was done in Ipswich, and also about the time of these examinations: the copy whereof we have, written with the friar's own hand in Latin,[2] the translation whereof in English here ensueth.

A dialogue.

A Dialogue between Friar John Brusierd and Master Thomas Bilney, at Ipswich, concerning Worshipping of Images.

Brusierd: 'Although you have blasphemed most perniciously the immaculate flock of Christ with certain blasphemies of yours, yet, being moved partly with your gentle petitions, partly pitying your case and towardly disposition, I am come hither to talk with you secretly, before the rumour be disclosed, upon the consideration of the threefold errors which I see in you. First, for that when you began to shoot the dart of your pestiferous error, more vehemently than you ought, against the breast of the ignorant multitude, you seemed to pour upon the ground the precious blood of Christ, as with a certain vehement violence, out of the miserable vessel of your heart. Whereas you said that none of the saints do make intercession for us, nor obtain for us any thing, you have perilously blasphemed the efficacy of the whole church, consecrated with the precious blood of Christ. This thing you are not able to deny, especially seeing the same so incessantly doth knock at the gates of heaven, through the continual intercession of the saints, according as in the sevenfold Litany manifestly appeareth to be seen.'

A great blasphemy among the friars, to set up Christ only, to be our mediator.

Bilney: 'I marvel at you, and doubtless cannot marvel enough, but that the strong and vain custom of superstitious men, thinking themselves not to be heard but in much babbling, doth put an end to my admiration: for our heavenly Father knoweth what we have need of before we ask. Also it is written, There is one mediator of God and men, the man Christ Jesus. If then there be but one mediator of God and men, the man Christ Jesus, where is our blessed Lady? where are then St. Peter and other saints?'

One mediator and no more.

Brusierd: 'I suppose that no man is ignorant but that the divines of the primitive church have all affirmed that there is one mediator between God and man. Neither could any at that time praise or pray to the saints, when as yet they, living in the calamities of this body, and wrestling with the contrary winds of this world, were not yet come to the port of rest whereunto they were travel-

1) Matt. xviii. (2) See Edition 1563, p. 474.—Ed.

ling. Paul, I grant, did rightly affirm that there is but one mediator of God and man, what time as yet there was no saint canonized, or put into the calendar.[1] But now, seeing the church doth know, and doth certainly believe, through the undoubted revelations of God, that the blessed Virgin and other saints are placed in the bosom of Abraham, she, therefore, like a good mother, hath taught, and that most diligently, us her children, to praise the omnipotent Jesus in his saints; and also to offer up by the same saints our petitions unto God. Thereof it is that the Psalmist saith, Praise ye the Lord in his saints. Rightly also do we say and affirm, that saints may pray for us. One man may pray for another; *ergo*, much more may saints who do enjoy the fruition of his High Majesty. For so it is written, God is my witness, whom I serve in my spirit, in the gospel of his Son, that without ceasing I remember you in my prayer always for you,'[2] &c.

Bilney: 'I marvel, doubtless, that you, a man learned, are not yet delivered out of the confused dungeon of heresy, through the help of the holy gospel: especially seeing that in the same gospel it is written, Verily, verily, I say unto you, whatsoever you ask the Father in my name, he will give it unto you.[3] He saith not, whatsoever ye ask the Father in the name of St. Peter, St. Paul, or other saints; but in my name. Let us ask therefore help in the name of him, who is able to obtain for us of his Father whatsoever we ask, lest peradventure hereafter, in the end of the world, at the strait judgment, we shall hear, Hitherto in my name ye have asked nothing.'

In nomine meo.

Brusierd: 'Whereas ye marvel (with what mind, I cannot tell) that I, being a learned man (as you say), am not delivered yet from the confuse dungeon of heresy, through the help of the gospel; much more do you, that are far better learned than I, cause me to marvel at your foolish admiration. Neither can I choose but laugh at you, as one being rapt to the third heaven of such high mysteries, and yet see not those things which be done here, in the lower parts of terrene philosophy: for what a ridiculous thing is it, for a man to look so long upon the sun, that he can see nothing else but the sun, nor can tell whither to turn him? Moreover, what student is there in all Cambridge, be he ever so young, that knoweth not that the argument of authority, brought out negatively, hath no force?'

Argumentum ab authoritate destructivè.

Bilney: 'So as the Pharisees took Christ, you take my words, much otherwise than I meant.'

Brusierd: 'Your words, which wander far from the scope of Scripture, I do not like. What is in your meaning, and lieth inwardly in your mind, I cannot tell.'

Bilney: 'Such as invocate the help either of Christ, or of any other saint, for any corporal infirmity, to be delivered from the same, may be well resembled to delicate patients, who, being under the hand of physicians, and having medicines ministered against their diseases, not abiding the pain thereof, rap all asunder: wherefore I say, no man ought to implore the help of God, or of any saint, for corporal infirmity.'[4]

Tempora infirmities.

Brusierd: 'O most pernicious and perilous heresy of all that ever I heard! Thus you, fleeing the smoke, fall into the fire; and, avoiding the danger of Scylla, you run upon Charybdis.[5] O heart of man, wrapped in palpable darkness! I wish, Master Bilney, that you would but once search and fetch out the first origin of these Rogation days: for so we read in the church story,[6] that they were first ordained by pope Gregory, with fasting, prayers, and holy processions, against the pestilence, by the infection of the air, then reigning among the people; at which time, the people then going in the procession, a certain image like to our blessed Lady, painted by the hands of St. Luke the evangelist, did go before them; about which image, in honour of the Virgin, angels did sing this anthem: 'Regina cœli lætare,' &c. 'O Queen of heaven, be glad!' to which anthem, the pope also adjoined this, 'Ora pro nobis Dominum,' &c. 'Pray to the Lord for us.' Wherefore, seeing the angels did worship the image of the glorious Virgin Mary, in honour of her; and seeing moreover the holy father,

The pope's Litany at Rome.

(1) The pope's calendar maketh more mediators now, than were in the primitive church!
(2) Note this argument: 'We must praise God in his saints.' Rom. i. (3) John xiv.
(4) He meaneth absolutely, without condition.
(5) Scylla and Charybdis, be two dangerous rocks in the sea.
(6) By this church story he meaneth belike, 'Legenda aurea,' otherwise called, 'The Legend of Lies.'

Henry VIII. A.D. 1531.

pope Gregory, with all the clergy, did pray for corporal infirmity, it appeareth manifestly that we ought to worship the saints, and also to give honour in a manner to their images: further also, to pray to Almighty God and all saints for corporal infirmity, that we may be delivered from the same, so that they may say the like for us, which is said in the gospel, 'Send them away, because they cry after us.' And although there be infinite places inexpugnable to be alleged out of the holy Scripture, wherewith we might easily resist this your error, yet standing herewith content, as sufficient at this present, we will proceed now to your second pestiferous error, wherein you, like an ingrate child, go about to tear out the bowels of your mother. For in that you say and affirm blasphemously, that the bishop of Rome is the very Antichrist, and that his privileges have no force against the gates of hell: in so saying, what do you, but like a most unkind and unnatural child, spoil your loving mother of all her treasures, and wound her, being spoiled; and being wounded, pluck out her bowels most miserably upon the earth? But forasmuch as there is nothing so absurd, or so heretical, but shall be received by some itching ears, I would therefore now hear you declare, how he sitteth in the temple of God as God, being exalted and worshipped above all that is named God; or how he showeth himself as Lord, in power and signs and wonders deceitful.'

Scripture well appelled.

Whether the pope be Antichrist.

Bilney: 'Although incredulity doth not suffer you, notwithstanding your learning, to understand these things, yet I will go about something to help your incredulity herein, through the help of the Lord; beseeching you that, setting all superstition apart, you will understand those things that are above. Do ye know the table of the Ten Commandments?'

Brusierd: 'According as the catholic doctors do expound them, I know them meanly; but how you do expound them I cannot tell.'

Bilney: 'And do you know also the constitutions of men, which are devised only by the dreams of men; whereunto men are so straitly bound, that under pain of death, they are compelled to observe them?'

Brusierd: 'I know certain sanctions of the holy fathers; but such as you speak of, to be devised by men's dreams, I know none.'

Bilney: 'Now then let us set and compare these two together, and so shall you easily understand the bishop of Rome, whom they call the pope, to sit in the temple of God as God, and to be extolled above all that is named God. It is written, 'The temple of the Lord is holy, which is you.'[1] Therefore the conscience of man is the temple of the Holy Ghost; in which temple, I will prove the pope to sit as God, and to be exalted above all that is called God.[2] For whoso contemneth the decalogue, or the table of the commandments of God, there is but a small punishment for him; neither is that punishment to death: but contrariwise, he that shall contemn or violate the constitutions, which you call the sanctions of men, is counted by all men's judgment guilty of death. What is this, but for the high bishop of Rome to sit and reign in the temple of God (that is, in man's conscience), as God?'

The place of St. Paul expounded concerning Antichrist sitting in the temple of God, &c.

Brusierd: 'Although this exposition seemeth unworthy for christian ears, yet I would hear you further, how he showeth himself in signs and wonders deceitful.'

Bilney: 'These wonders, which they call miracles, be wrought daily in the church, not by the power of God, as many think, but by the illusion of Satan rather, who, as the Scripture witnesseth, hath been loose now abroad five hundred years, according as it is written in the book of the Apocalypse, After a thousand years Satan shall be let loose,[3] &c. Neither are they to be called miracles of true christian men, but illusions rather, whereby to delude men's minds; to make them put their faith in our lady, and in other saints, and not in God alone, to whom be honour and glory for ever.'

Signs and miracles wrought by illusions.

Brusierd: 'But that I believe and know that God and all his saints will take everlasting revengement upon thee, I would surely, with these nails of mine, be thy death, for this horrible and enormous injury against the precious blood of Christ.[4] God saith, I will not the death of a sinner, but rather that he con-

(1) 1 Cor. iii. (2) 2 Thess. ii. (3) Apoc. xx.

(4) We read of a like saying of another friar, Augustine of Antwerp, testified by Erasmus in his Epistles, who, openly in the pulpit at Antwerp, preaching to the people, wished that Luther were there, that he might bite out his throat with his teeth. So doing, he would nothing doubt with the same bloody teeth to resort to the altar, and receive the body of Christ. Erasm. Epist. lib. vi. Ad obtrectatorem. [Col. 630, Edit. Lug. Bat. 1706.—Ed.]

vert and live. And thou blasphemest him, as though he should lay privy snares of death for us secretly, that we should not espy them; which if it were true, we might well say with Hugh de Saint Victore in this manner: If it be an error, it is by thee, O God, that we are deceived; for these be confirmed with such signs and wonders, as cannot be done but by thee. But I am assured it is untrue and heretical, and therefore I will leave this matter, and will talk with you concerning the merits of saints; for once I remember, in a certain sermon of yours you said, that no saint, though his suffering were ever so great, and his life most pure, deserved any thing for us with God, either by his death or life; which is contrary to St. Augustine.'

God leadeth not into error but hath left his Scriptures to lead us into truth.

Bilney: Christ saith one thing, St. Augustine another: whether of these two shall we believe? for Christ, willing to deliver us out of this dark dungeon of ignorance, gave forth a certain parable of ten virgins, of which five were fools, and five were wise. By the five foolish virgins, wanting the oil of good works, he meant all us sinners: by the wise virgins, he meant the company of all holy saints. Now let us hear what the five wise virgins answered to the five foolish, craving oil of them; 'No,' say they, 'lest peradventure we have not sufficient for us, and for you. Get you rather to them that sell, and buy of them to serve your turn.'[1] Wherefore, if they had not oil sufficient for themselves, and also for the others, where then be the merits of saints wherewith they can deserve both for themselves and for us, certes I cannot see.'

Saints have not merits sufficient for themselves, much less to spare others.

Brusierd: 'You wrest the Scriptures from the right understanding to a reprobate sense, that I am scarce able to hold mine eyes from tears, hearing with mine ears these words of you. Fare ye well!'

The Submission of Master Thomas Bilney.

On the 4th of December, the bishop of London, with the other bishops, his assistants, assembled again in the chapter-house of Westminster; whither also Master Bilney was brought, and was exhorted and admonished to abjure and recant, who answered, that he would stand to his conscience. Then the bishop of London, with the other bishops, 'ex officio,' did publish the depositions of the witnesses, with his articles and answers, commanding that they should be read. That done, the bishop exhorted him again to deliberate with himself, whether he would return to the church, and renounce his opinions, or no; and bade him to depart into a void place, and there to deliberate with himself. This done, the bishop asked him again if he would return? who answered, 'Fiat justitia et judicium in nomine Domini.' And being divers times admonished to abjure, he would make no other answer, but 'Fiat justitia,' &c. and, 'Hæc est dies quam fecit Dominus; exultemus, et lætemur in ea.' Then the bishop, after deliberation, putting off his cap, said, 'In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, Amen:'[2] 'Exurgat Deus et dissipentur inimici ejus.' And making a cross on his forehead and his breast, by the counsel of the other bishops he gave sentence against Master Bilney, being there present, in this manner: 'I, by the consent and counsel of my brethren here present, do pronounce thee, Thomas Bilney, who hast been accused of divers articles, to be convicted of heresy; and for the rest of the sentence we take deliberation till to-morrow.'

Bilney convented again before the bishop of London.

Bilney refuseth to recant.

On the 5th of December, the bishops assembled there again, before whom Bilney was brought; whom the bishop asked, if he would return to the unity of the church, and revoke his heresies which he had preached. Whereupon Bilney answered, that he would not be a slander to the gospel, trusting that he was not separate from the church; and that if the multitude of witnesses might be credited, he might have thirty men of honest life on his part, against one to the contrary brought in against him. These witnesses, the bishop said, came too late; for after publication they could not be received by the law. Then Bilney alleging the story of Susan and Daniel, the bishop of London still exhorted him to return to the unity of the church, and to abjure his heresies, and permitted him to go into some secret place, there to consult with his friends, till one o'clock in the afternoon of the same day.

Bilney convented again before the bishop.

Bilney again refuseth to recant.

In the afternoon, the bishop of London again asked him whether he would return to the church, and acknowledge his heresies. Bilney answered, that he trusted he was not separate from the church; and required time and place to

Convented the third time.

(1) Matt. xxv. (2) Psalm cxviii. In nomine Domini incipit omne malum.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1531.

bring in witnesses: which was refused. Then the bishop once again required of him, whether he would return to the catholic church: whereunto he answered, that if they could teach and prove sufficiently, that he was convicted, he would yield and submit himself: and he desired again to have time and space to bring in again his refused witnesses; and other answer he would give none.

Then the bishop put Master Bilney aside, and took counsel with his fellows; and afterwards calling in Master Bilney, asked him again, whether he would abjure? But he would make no other answer than before. Then the bishop, with the consent of the rest, did decree and determine, that it was not lawful to hear a petition which was against the law: and inquiring again, whether he would abjure, he answered plainly, No; and desired to have time to consult with his friends, in whom his trust was. And being once again asked whether he would return, and instantly desired thereunto, or else the sentence must be read, he required the bishop to give him license to deliberate with himself until the next morrow, whether he might abjure the heresies wherewith he was defamed or no. The bishop granted him that he should have a little time to deliberate with Master Dancaster; but Bilney required space till the next morrow, to consult with Master Farmer and Master Dancaster, but the bishop would not grant him his request, for fear lest he should appeal. However at last the bishop, inclining unto him, granted him two nights' respite to deliberate; that is to say, till Saturday at nine o'clock in the forenoon: and then to give a plain determinate answer, what he would do in the premises.

Bilney denieth the third time to recant.

Dancaster conferreth with Bilney.

On the 7th of December, in the year and place aforesaid, the bishop of London with the other bishops being assembled, Bilney also personally appeared; whom the bishop of London asked, whether he would now return to the unity of the church, and revoke the errors and heresies whereof he stood accused, detected, and convicted. He answered, that now he was persuaded by Master Dancaster and others his friends, he would submit himself, trusting that they would deal gently with him, both in his abjuration and penance. Then he desired that he might read his abjuration; which the bishop granted. When he had read the same secretly by himself, and was returned, being demanded what he would do in the premises, he answered, that he would abjure and submit himself: and there openly read his abjuration, and subscribed, and delivered it to the bishop, who then did absolve him, and, for his penance, enjoined him, that he should abide in a prison appointed by the cardinal, till he were by him released; and, moreover, the next day he should go before the procession, in the cathedral church of St. Paul, bareheaded, with a faggot on his shoulder; and should stand before the preacher at Paul's cross all the sermon time.[1]

Bilney, through infirmity, rather than by conviction, recanteth.

Bilney enjoined penance.

Here, forasmuch as mention is made before of five letters or epistles, which this good man wrote to Cuthbert Tonstal, bishop of London, and by the said bishop delivered unto the registrars, we thought good to insert certain thereof, such as could come to our hands: the copy of which letters, as they were written by him in Latin, because they are in the former edition[2] to be seen and read in the same Latin wherein he wrote them, it shall suffice in this book to express the same only in English. Concerning the first epistle, which containeth the whole story of his conversion, and seemeth more effectual in the Latin, than in the English, we have exhibited it in the second edition,[3] and therefore here have only made mention of the same briefly; the copy whereof beginneth as in the note below.[4] The same in English is as followeth:

(1) Ex Regist. London. (2) See Edition 1563, pages 465, 469 (printed, 465); pages 466, 467. These letters will be found in the Appendix.—Ed. (3) The Edition of 1570.—Ed.

(4) *Reverendo in Christo Patri D. Cuth. Tonstallo, Londini Episcopo, T. Bilnæus salutem in Christo, cum omni subjectione tanto Præsuli debitam.*

Hoc nomine, Pater in Christo observande, longe beatiorem me puto, quod ad tuæ Paternitatis examinationem vocari me contigit. Ea enim eruditione es, ea vitæ integritate (quod omnes fatentur) ut ipsemet non possis (alioqui divinarum in te dotium æstimator non admodum magnificus) quoties tibi succurrit, quanta tibi gratis fecerit Deus, in illius laudes non erumpere, ac tecum

A Letter of Master Thomas Bilney to Cuthbert Tonstal, Bishop of London.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1531.

To the reverend father in Christ, Cuthbert, bishop of London, Thomas Bilney wisheth health in Christ, with all submission due unto such a prelate:

In this behalf, most reverend father in Christ, I think myself most happy that it is my chance to be called to examination before your reverence, for that you

in corde taeitus exclamare, 'Fecit mihi magna qui potens est, et sanctum nomen ejus' [Luke i.] In talem nunc me judicem incidisse gratulor, ac Deo, qui moderatur omnia, gratiam pro virili habeo.

Et quanquam (testis est mihi Deus) nullius in omnibus meis concionibus, erroris mihi conscius sum, nedum hæreseos aut factionis (quod calumniantur quidam, quæstus sui, quam animarum lucri avidiores) tamen supra modum lætor, divina (haud dubie) benignitate provisum est, ut ob veritatis testimonium, ad Tonstalli tribunal sisterer: qui, si quis alius, optime novit, nunquam defuturos Jannes ac Jambres, qui veritati resistant: nunquam defuturos Elimates [Acts xiii.], qui conentur subvertere vias domini rectas; denique nunquam defuturos, Demetrios, Pythonissas [Acts xvi.], Balaamos, Nicolaitas [Apoc. ii.], Cainos, Ismaeles; qui omnes, cum quæ sua sunt non quæ Jesu Christi, avidissime sectentur et quærant, qui fieri potest ut Christum sincere ac simpliciter annunciatum perferant? Nam si populus semel in Christum pro se passum, solide ac pure confidere occeperit, ruent mox in vere fidelium pectoribus, quæcunque hactenus pro Christo amplexi sunt.

Tunc intelligent non hic aut illic Christum esse, sed regnum Dei in semetipsis esse. Tunc intelligent patrem neque in montibus Samariæ, neque Hierosolymis adorandum esse, sed in omni loco, in spiritu et veritate. Quod si fit, actum de lucris suis putabunt bestiæ agri, quorum interest impleri illud Ezechielis xxxiv. Dispersæ sunt oves meæ, eo quod non esset pastor et factæ sunt in devorationem omnium bestiarum agri, et dispersæ sunt. Erraverunt greges mei in cunctis montibus, et in universo colle excelso, et super omnem faciem terræ: dispersi sunt greges mei, et non erat qui requireret: non erat, inquam, qui requireret. Imo, si quis requirere velit, ac in caulas Christi, unitatem dico fidei, errabundos reducere, mox insurgunt nomine Pastores, sed revera lupi, qui non aliud de grege, quam lac, lanam, pellem, quærunt; animas cum suas, tum gregis permittentes diabolo.

Insurgunt inquam, ac Demetrii instar exclamant: Hic hæreticus ubique suadet avertitque multam turbam, dicens, quod non sunt dii qui manibus fiunt. Hi sunt, hi (pater colende) sunt, qui, sub prætextu persequendi hæreticos, ventris sui negotium agunt, inimici crucis Christi. Qui quidvis potius ferre possunt, quam puram Christi pro peccatis nostris crucifixi annunciationem. Hi sunt, quibus Christus æternam minatur damnationem, cum ait, Væ vobis Scribæ et Pharisæi, hypocritæ! qui clauditis regnum cœlorum ante homines: vos enim non intratis, nec introeuntes sinitis intrare [Matt. xxiii.]! Hi sunt, qui, cum ipsi aliunde ascenderunt, alios intrare non sinunt. Quod patet, quia si quis per me, inquit Christus, introierit, salvabitur, et ingredietur, et egredietur, et pascua inveniet [John x.]: et hi non inveniunt pascua (nunquam enim docent) et alios post se trahunt, ut non per Christum, qui solus est ostium per quod ad patrem pervenitur, sed aliunde per opuscula, quæ ovibus, tacito nonnunquam Christo, suadent, proponunt et injungunt, ad suum potius quæstum, quam animarum salutem spectantes; hoc deteriores, quam illi qui super Christum fundamentum ædificant lignum, fœnum, stipulam [1 Cor. iii.] Isti fatentur se Christum scire, sed factis negant.

Denique hi sunt medici illi, in quos mulier illa, annis duodecim sanguinis profluvio vexata, omnia sua consumpserat, nec adjumenti quicquam senserat, sed deterius se habebat, donec vix tandem ad Christum venerat: quæ simulatque fimbriam vestimenti ejus in fide tetigerat, sic sanabatur, ut statim in corpore idipsum sentiret [Luke viii.] O mutationem dexteræ excelsi! quam et ego miser peccator non semel sensu: qui tamen antea quam ad Christum venire potui, sic omnia mea insumpseram in ignaros medicos, indoctos confessionum auditores, ut parum mihi virium (alioqui natura imbecilli) reliquum fuerit, parum pecuniæ, ingenii item parum. Indicebant enim mihi jejunia, vigilias, indulgentiarum ac missarum emptiones, in quibus omnibus (ut nunc intelligo) sua potius quærebant, quam salutem animæ meæ languentis.

Sed tandem de Jesu audiebam, nimirum tum, cum novum Testamentum primum ab Erasmo ædebatur. Quod cum ab eo Latinius redditum accepi, Latinitate potius quam verbo Dei (quod tunc quidnam esset prorsus nesciebam) alectus, emebam, providentia (sine dubio) Divina, ut nunc interpretor. Incidi prima (ut memini) lectione in hanc (o mihi suavissimam Pauli sententiam). Certus sermo, et dignus, quem modis omnibus amplectamur, quod Christus Jesus venit in mundum ut peccatores salvos faceret, quorum primus sum ego [1 Tim. i.] Hæc una sententia, Deo intus in corde meo (quod tunc fieri ignorabam) docente, sic exhilaravit pectus meum, prius peccatorum conscientia saucium ac pene desperabundum, ut mox visus sim mihi, nescio quantam intus tranquillitatem sentire, adeo quod exultaverunt ossa humiliata [Psalm li.]

Postea Scriptura cœpit mihi dulcior esse melle ac favo: in qua paulatim didici omnes meos conatus, omnia jejunia, omnes vigilias, omnes missarum et indulgentiarum redemptiones, quæ sine fiducia in Jesum (qui solus salvum facit populum suum a peccatis suis) fierent; didici, inquam, hæc omnia nihil aliud fuisse, quam (quod ait Augustinus) celerem cursum extra viam; quam perizomata illa ficulnea, quibus Adam et Eva verenda olim sua frustra tegere conati sunt: Nunquam prius tranquillitati quam promissioni Dei de serpentis capite, per mulieris semen Christum, conterendo credidissent: Nec ego prius a peccatorum aculeis ac morsibus sanari potui, quam a Deo doctus essem illam lectionem, de qua loquitur Christus. Sicut Moses exaltavit serpentem in deserto, ita exaltari oportet filium hominis, ut omnis qui credit in illum non pereat, sed habeat vitam æternam [John iii.]

Hanc tandem sublimem lectionem, quam nullus docere potest nisi Deus, qui hanc Petro revelavit, ubi pro modulo gratiæ Dei mihi datæ, gustare cœpi, rogavi Dominum ut augeret mihi fidem, ac tandem nihil magis optavi, quam ut, sic reddita mihi lætitia salutaris sui, spiritu me suo utcunque confirmaret, ut virtute nonnulla donatus ex alto, docerem iniquos vias ejus, quæ sunt misericordia et veritas, ut impii ad ipsum per me olim impium, converterentur [Psalm li.] Quod dum pro virili conor apud R. D. Cardinalem, ac tuam Paternitatem, blasphematur in me (hæc est unica mihi in his tribulationibus fiducia) Christus, quem pro virili doceo, factum nobis a Deo Patre sapientiam, justitiam, sanctificationem, redemptionem denique et satisfactionem [1 Cor. i.] Qui factus est pro nobis peccatum, id est, hostia pro peccato, ut nos efficeremur justitia Dei per illum [2 Cor. v.] Qui factus est pro nobis maledictum, ut nos a maledicto legis redimeret [Gal. iii.] Et

Henry VIII. A.D. 1531.

are of such wisdom and learning, of such integrity of life, which all men do confess to be in you, that even yourself cannot choose (if you do not too lightly esteem God's gifts in you), as often as you shall remember the great things which God hath done unto you, but straightways secretly in your heart, to his high praise say, 'He that is mighty hath done great things unto me, and holy is his name.'[1] I rejoice, that I have now happened upon such a judge, and with all my heart give thanks unto God, who ruleth all things.

And albeit (God is my witness) I know not myself guilty of any error in my sermons, neither of any heresy or sedition, which divers do slander me of, seeking rather their own lucre and advantage, than the health of souls: notwithstanding I do exceedingly rejoice, that it is so foreseen by God's divine providence, that I should be brought before the tribunal seat of Tonstal, who knoweth as well as any other, that there will never be wanting a Jannes and a Jambres,[2] who will resist the truth; that there shall never be lacking some Elymas,[3] who will go about to subvert the straight ways of the Lord; and finally, that some Demetriuses, Pithonises,[4] Balaams, Nicolaitans,[5] Cains, and Ishmaels, will be always at hand, who will greedily hunt and seek after that which pertaineth unto themselves, and not that which pertaineth to Jesus Christ. How can it then be, that they can suffer Christ to be truly and sincerely preached? for if the people in every place once begin wholly to put their confidence in Christ, who was for them crucified, then straitways that which they have hitherto embraced instead of Christ, shall utterly decay in the hearts of the faithful.

God never builded a church, but the devil hath his chapel by.

Then they shall understand that Christ is not in this place, or in that place, but the kingdom of God to be in themselves. Then shall they plainly see, that the Father is not to be worshipped, neither in the mount of Samaria, nor at Jerusalem, but in all places, in spirit and truth: which thing if it come once to pass, the beasts of the field will think all their gain and lucre lost. In them the saying of Ezekiel is fulfilled: 'My sheep are dispersed because they had no shepherd, and are devoured of the beast of the field, and strayed abroad: my flock hath erred and wandered in every mountain, and upon every high hill, and is dispersed throughout all the earth; and there is no man which hath sought to gather them together; no, there was no man which once sought after them.'[6] But if any man seeketh to reduce those who were gone astray, into the fold of Christ, that is, the unity of faith, by and by there rise up certain against him, which are named pastors, but indeed are wolves; which seek no other thing of their flock, but the milk, wool, and fell, leaving both their own souls, and the souls of their flock, unto the devil.

Demetrius the silversmith cried out against Paul.

These men, I say, rise up like unto Demetrius, crying out, 'This heretic dissuadeth and seduceth much people every where, saying, that they are not gods, which are made with hands.'[7] These are they, these I say, most reverend father! are they, who, under the pretence of persecuting heretics, follow their own licentious lives; enemies unto the cross of Christ, who can

qui non venit ad vocandum justos, sed peccatores ad pœnitentiam: Matt. ix., justos inquam, qui se sanos putant, et falso putant: (Omnes enim peccaverunt, et egent gloria Dei, qua gratis remittit credentibus peccata per redemptionem quæ est in Christo Jesu; Rom. iii.), quia omne genus humanum sauciatum gravissime fuerat in eo, qui inter Hierusalem et Hierico incidit in latrones. Ideo pro virili doceo, ut omnes primum peccata sua agnoscant ac damnent, deinde esuriant ac sitiant justitiam illam, de qua Paulus loquitur; Justitia Dei per fidem Jesu Christi in omnes et super omnes qui credunt in eum. Non est enim distinctio; omnes enim peccaverunt et egent gloria Dei; justificantur autem gratis per gratiam ipsius, per redemptionem quæ est in Christo Jesu [Rom. iii.] Quam qui esuriunt ac sitiunt, haud dubie sic aliquando saturabuntur, quod neque esurient neque sitient in æternum.

Sed quoniam hanc esuriem ac sitim extinguere solet humanæ justitiæ saturitas, quam parat potissimum opusculorum nostrorum electitiorum fiducia, qualia sunt peregrinationes, veniarum redemptiones, cereorum oblationes, electa a nobis jejunia, et interdum superstitiosa, denique qualescunque (ut vocant) voluntariæ devotiones, contra quæ loquitur Scriptura Dei [Deut. iv. 2.] Non facies quod tibi rectum videtur, sed quod ego præcipio tibi, hoc tantum facito, nec addens nec minuens: ideo inquam hujusmodi opusculorum mentionem nonnunquam facio; non ea (Deum testor) unquam damnans, sed eorum abusum reprehendens, legitimumque usum parvulis manifestum faciens, hortans, ne sic his adhæreant, ut his saturati (quod plerique faciunt) Christum fastidiant. In quo feliciter valeat Paternitas tua.

Et hæc omnium summa. Si indixeris mihi ut singula dilatem, non recusabo, modo tempus mihi concesseris. Nam statim hoc facere non est harum, quoad corpus, virium; paratus semper, sic ubi lapsus fuero, meliora doceri. Totus tuus, T. BILNÆUS.

(1) Luke i. (2) Jannes and Jambres were two of Pharaoh's priests, who resisted Moses, but their names be not expressed in Exodus vii., but only in 2 Timothy iii.
(3) Elymas Magus. Acts xiii. (4) Pithonissæ. Acts xvi.
(5) Nicolaitæ of Nicolaus. Apoc. ii. (6) Ezek. xxxiv. (7) Acts xix.

suffer and bear any thing rather than the sincere preaching of Christ crucified for our sins. These are they unto whom Christ threateneth eternal damnation, where he saith, 'Wo be unto you scribes, Pharisees, and hypocrites! which shut up the kingdom of heaven before men, and you yourselves enter not in, neither suffer those which would enter, to come in.'[1] These are they that have come in another way to the charge of souls, as it appeareth; 'For if any man,' saith Christ, 'come in by me, he shall be saved; and shall come in, and go out, and find pasture.'[2] These men do not find pasture, for they never teach and draw others after them, that they should enter by Christ, who alone is the door whereby we must come unto the Father; but set before the people another way, persuading them to come unto God through good works, oftentimes speaking nothing at all of Christ, thereby seeking rather their own gain and lucre, than the salvation of souls: in this point being worse than those who upon Christ (being the foundation) do build wood, hay and straw.[3] These men confess that they know Christ, but by their deeds they deny him.

Pretended priests and prelates, under colour of persecuting heretics, crucify Christ.

These are those physicians upon whom that woman that was twelve years vexed with the bloody flux had consumed all that she had, and felt no help, but was still worse and worse, until such time as she came at last unto Christ; and after she had once touched the hem of his vesture, through faith she was so healed, that by and by she felt the same in her body.[4] O mighty power of the most Highest! which I also, miserable sinner, have often tasted and felt, who, before I could come unto Christ, had even likewise spent all that I had upon those ignorant physicians; that is to say, unlearned hearers of confession; so that there was but small force of strength left in me (who of nature was but weak), small store of money, and very little wit or understanding: for they appointed me fastings, watching, buying of pardons, and masses; in all which things (as I now understand) they sought rather their own gain, than the salvation of my sick and languishing soul.

The first conversion of M. Bilney by reading the New Testament set out by Erasmus.

But at last I heard speak of Jesus, even then when the New Testament was first set forth by Erasmus; which when I understood to be eloquently done by him, being allured rather by the Latin than by the word of God (for at that time I knew not what it meant), I bought it even by the providence of God, as I do now well understand and perceive: and at the first reading (as I well remember) I chanced upon this sentence of St. Paul (O most sweet and comfortable sentence to my soul!) in 1 Tim. i., 'It is a true saying, and worthy of all men to be embraced, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners; of whom I am the chief and principal.' This one sentence, through God's instruction and inward working, which I did not then perceive, did so exhilarate my heart, being before wounded with the guilt of my sins, and being almost in despair, that immediately I felt a marvellous comfort and quietness, insomuch 'that my bruised bones leaped for joy.'[5]

All the travails of men without Christ, are but a hasty running out of the right way.

After this, the Scripture began to be more pleasant unto me than the honey or the honey-comb; wherein I learned, that all my travails, all my fasting and watching, all the redemption of masses and pardons, being done without trust in Christ, who only saveth his people from their sins; these, I say, I learned to be nothing else but even (as St. Augustine saith) a hasty and swift running out of the right way; or else much like to the vesture made of fig leaves, wherewithal Adam and Eve went about in vain to cover themselves, and could never before obtain quietness and rest, until they believed in the promise of God, that Christ, the seed of the woman, should tread upon the serpent's head: neither could I be relieved or eased of the sharp stings and bitings of my sins, before I was taught of God that lesson which Christ speaketh of in John iii.: 'Even as Moses exalted the serpent in the desert, so shall the Son of Man be exalted, that all which believe on him, should not perish, but have life everlasting.'[6]

As soon as (according to the measure of grace given unto me of God) I began to taste and savour of this heavenly lesson, which no man can teach but only God, who revealed the same unto Peter, I desired the Lord to increase my faith; and at last I desired nothing more, than that I, being so comforted by him, might be strengthened by his Holy Spirit and grace from above, that I might teach the wicked his ways, which are mercy and truth; and that the

(1) Matt. xxiii. (2) John x. (3) 1 Cor. iii. (4) Luke viii. (5) Psalm li. (6) John iii.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1531.

wicked might be converted unto him by me, who sometime was also wicked; which thing, whilst with all my power I did endeavour before my lord cardinal and your fatherhood, Christ was blasphemed in me (and this is my only comfort in these my afflictions), whom with my whole power I do teach and set forth, being made for us by God his Father, our wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption, and finally our satisfaction;[1] who was made sin for us (that is to say, a sacrifice for sin) that we, through him, should be made the righteousness of God;[2] who became accursed for us, to redeem us from the curse of the law;[3] who also came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance.[4] The righteous (I say) who falsely judge and think themselves so to be (for all men have sinned, and lack the glory of God, whereby he freely forgiveth sins unto all believers, through the redemption which is in Christ Jesus[5]), because that all mankind were grievously wounded in him who fell amongst thieves, between Jerusalem and Jericho. And therefore, with all my whole power I teach, that all men should first acknowledge their sins, and condemn them, and afterwards hunger and thirst for that righteousness whereof St. Paul speaketh, 'The righteousness of God, by faith in Jesus Christ, is upon all them which believe in him; for there is no difference: all have sinned, and lack the glory of God, and are justified freely through his grace, by the redemption which is in Jesus Christ:'[6] which whosoever doth hunger or thirst for, without doubt they shall at length so be satisfied, that they shall not hunger and thirst for ever.

The ways of the Lord be mercy and truth.

The sum of M. Bilney's teaching.

But, forasmuch as this hunger and thirst were wont to be quenched with the fulness of man's righteousness, which is wrought through the faith of our own elect and chosen works, as pilgrimages, buying of pardons, offering of candles, elect and chosen fasts, and oftentimes superstitious; and finally all kind of voluntary devotions (as they call them), against which God's word speaketh plainly in Deut. iv., v. 2, saying, 'Thou shalt not do that which seemeth good unto thyself; but that which I command thee for to do, that do thou, neither adding to, neither diminishing any thing from it.' Therefore, I say, oftentimes I have spoken of those works, not condemning them (as I take God to my witness), but reproving their abuse; making the lawful use of them manifest even unto children; exhorting all men not so to cleave unto them, that they, being satisfied therewith, should loathe or wax weary of Christ, as many do: in whom I bid your fatherhood most prosperously well to fare.

A difference between man's righteousness, and the righteousness of God. Voluntary devotions spoken against.

And this is the whole sum. If you will appoint me to dilate more at large the things here touched, I will not refuse to do it, so that you will grant me time (for to do it out of hand I am not able for the weakness of my body); being ready always, if I have erred in any thing, to be better instructed.

Another Letter of Master Thomas Bilney, to Cuthbert Tonstal, Bishop of London.

Another letter of M. Bilney.

Albeit I do not remember, reverend father in Christ! whether I have either spoken or written that the gospel hath not been sincerely preached now of long time, which your lordship seemeth to have gathered, either by some Momus and sinister hearers of my sermons, who (like Malchus having their right ear cut off), only bring their left ear to sermons; or else by some words or writings of mine, which have rashly passed me, rather than upon any evil intent; yet forasmuch as in this behalf your reverence doth command me, and that, of a good mind I trust (for how can I think in Tonstal any craft or doubleness to dwell), I will briefly declare unto you what I have learned of God, through Christ, in the Scriptures; and how the doctors, even of great name and renown, have not taught the same of late in their sermons; referring, or rather submitting all things unto your fatherly judgment, which is more quick and sharp than that it can by any means be blinded; and so sincere, that it will not in any point seek slander or discord. Therefore I do confess, that I have often been afraid that Christ hath not been purely preached now a long time: for who hath been now, for a long season, offended through him? Who hath now these many years suffered any persecution for the gospel's sake? Where is the

Malchus, hearing of sermons.

Notes and differences between the true and false church.

(1) 1 Cor. i. (2) 2 Cor. v. (3) Gal. iii. (4) Matt. ix.
(5) Rom. iii. (6) Ibid.

sword which he came to send upon the earth? And finally, where are the rest of the sincere and uncorrupt fruits of the gospel? which, because we have not a long time seen, is it not to be feared that the tree which bringeth forth those fruits, hath now a long time been wanting in our region or country? Much less is it to be believed, that it hath been nourished amongst us. Have we not seen all things quiet and peaceable a long time? But what saith the church? 'My grief most bitter is turned to peace,'[1] &c. But the malignant church saith, 'Peace, peace; and there is no peace,'[2] but only that whereof it is written, 'When the mighty armed man keepeth his gates, he possesseth all things in quiet; but when he seeth that he shall be vanquished of a stronger than he himself is, he spoileth and destroyeth all things.'[3]

Notes and arguments, proving that it is not the true word of God, which hath been preached in the pope's church.

What now-a-days beginneth again to be attempted, I dare not say. God grant us grace that we do not refuse and reject (if it be Christ) him that cometh unto us, lest we do feel that terrible judgment against us: 'Because,' saith he, 'they have not received the love of truth, that they might be saved; therefore God will send upon them the blindness of error, that they shall give credit unto lies.'[4] O terrible sentence (which God knoweth whether a great number have not already incurred), 'That all they might be judged which have not given credit unto the truth, but consented unto iniquity.' 'The time shall come,' saith he, 'when that they will not suffer the true doctrine to be preached.'

And what shall we then say of that learning, which hath now so long time reigned and triumphed, so that no man hath once opened his mouth against it? shall we think it sound doctrine? Truly iniquity did never more abound, nor was charity ever so cold. And what should we say to be the cause thereof? Hath the cause been for lack of preaching against the vices of men, and exhorting to charity? That cannot be, for many learned and great clerks sufficiently can witness to the contrary. And yet all these notwithstanding, we see the life and manners of men do greatly degenerate from true Christianity, and seem to cry out indeed, that that is fulfilled in us, which God in times past threatened by his prophet Amos,[5] saying, 'Behold the day shall come,' saith the Lord, 'that I will send hunger upon the earth: not hunger of bread, neither thirst of water, but of hearing the word of God. And the people shall be moved from sea to sea, and from the west unto the east; and shall run about seeking for the word of God, but shall not find it. In those days the fair virgins and young men shall perish for thirst,' &c.

But now to pass over many things whereby I am moved to fear that the word of God hath not been purely preached, this is not the least argument, that they that come, and are sent, and endeavour themselves to preach Christ truly, are evil spoken of for his name, which is the rock of offence, and stumbling-block unto them that stumble upon his word, and do not believe on him on whom they are builded.[6]

But you will ask, who are those men, and what is their doctrine? Truly I say, whosoever entereth in by the door, Christ, into the sheepfold: which thing all such shall do, as seek nothing else but the glory of God, and salvation of souls. Of all such it may be truly said, that whom the Lord sendeth, he speaketh the word of God. And why so? Because he representeth the angel of the church of Philadelphia, unto whom St. John writeth, saying, 'This saith he which is holy and true; which hath the keys of David; which openeth and no man shutteth; shutteth and no man openeth.'[7] 'Behold,' saith he (speaking in the name of Christ, who is the door and door-keeper), 'I have set before thee an open door, 'that is to say, of the Scriptures, opening thy senses, that thou shouldest understand the Scriptures; and that, because thou hast entered in by me which am the door: 'For whosoever entereth in by me, which am the door, shall be saved; ye shall go in and come out and find pasture: for the door-keeper openeth the door unto him, and the sheep hear his voice.[8] But contrariwise, they who have not entered in by the door, but have climbed in some other way, by ambition, avarice, or desire of rule, they shall even in a moment go down into hell, except they repent. And by them is the saying of Jeremy verified: 'All beauty is gone away from the daughter of Zion,[9]

Who entereth in by the door and who not.

(1) Isa. xxxviii. (2) Jer. vi. and viii. (3) Luke xi. (4) 2 Thess. ii. (5) Chap. viii.
(6) This letter may well answer to the note in Dr. Sanders's book, entitled 'The Rock of the Church,' fol. 14, and note 5.
(7) Apoc. iii. (8) John x. (9) Lam. ii.

Henry VIII. A. D. 1531.

because her princes are become like rams, not finding pasture. And why so? because like thieves and robbers they have climbed another way, not being called nor sent.

And what marvel is it if they do not preach, when they are not sent, but run for lucre; seeking their own glory, and not the glory of God, and salvation of souls? And this is the root of all mischief in the church, that they are not sent inwardly of God; for without this inward calling it helpeth nothing, before God, to be a hundred times elect, and consecrate by a thousand bulls, either by pope, king, or emperor. God beholdeth the heart, whose judgments are according to truth, howsoever we deceive the judgment of men for a time; who also at the last shall see their abomination. This, I say, is the original of all mischief in the church, that we thrust in ourselves into the charge of souls, whose salvation and the glory of God (which is, to enter in by the door), we do not thirst nor seek for; but altogether our own lucre and profit.

Outward calling by kings and princes in Christ's ministry availeth nothing without the inward calling of God.

The root of all mischief in the church. Ex prudentio.

Hereupon it cometh, that we know not how to preach Christ purely; 'For how should they preach Christ,' saith the apostle, 'except they be sent?' for otherwise many thieves and robbers do preach him, but with their lips only, for their heart is far from him: neither yet do we suffer those who do know how to preach, but persecute them, and go about to oppress the Scriptures now springing, under the pretence of godliness; fearing, as I suppose, lest the Romans should come and take our place. Ah! thou wicked enemy Herod! why art thou afraid that Christ should come? He taketh not away mortal and earthly kingdoms, who giveth heavenly kingdoms. O blindness! O our great blindness! yea, more than that of Egypt; of which if there be any that would admonish the people, by and by saith Pharaoh, 'Moses and Aaron! why do ye cause the people to cease from their labours?' and truly called their labours. 'Get you to your burdens. Lay more work upon them, and cause them to do it, that they hearken not unto lies.[1] Thus the people were dispersed throughout all the land of Egypt, to gather up chaff; I say, to gather up chaff. Who shall grant unto us, that God shall say, 'I have looked down, and beholden the affliction of my people which is in Egypt, and have heard their sighs, and am come down to deliver them?' But whither hath this zeal carried me? whether after knowledge or not, I dare not say: it appertaineth to you, reverend father! to judge thereupon.

Lay this letter against Dr. Sanders's book aforesaid.

The persecutors of our time compared to Pharaoh.

Now you do look that I should show unto you at large (as you write), how that they ought sincerely to preach, to the better edifying hereafter of your flock. Here, I confess, I was afraid that you had spoken in some derision, until I well perceived that you had written it with your own hand. Then again I began to doubt, for what intent Tonstal should require that of Bilney: an old soldier, of a young beginner; the chief pastor of London, of a poor silly sheep. But for what intent soever you did it, I trust it was of a good mind; and albeit that I am weak of body, yet, through the grace of Christ given unto me, I will attempt this matter, although it do far pass my power: under which burden if I be oppressed, yet I will not deceive you, for that I have promised nothing but a prompt and ready will to do that which you have commanded.

As touching what pertaineth to the preaching of the gospel, I would to God you would give me leave privately to talk with you, that I might speak freely that which I have learned in the holy Scriptures for the consolation of my conscience; which if you will do, I trust you shall not repent you. All things shall be submitted unto your judgment; who (except I be utterly deceived), will not break the reed that is bruised, and put out the flax that is smoking; but rather, if I shall be found in any error (as indeed I am a man), you, as spiritual, shall restore me through the spirit of gentleness, considering yourself, lest that you also be tempted: for every bishop, which is taken from among men, is ordained for men, not violently to assault those which are ignorant, and do err; for he himself is compassed in with infirmity, that he, being not void of evils, should learn to have compassion upon other miserable people.[3]

I desire you that you will remember me to-morrow, that by your aid I may be brought before the tribunal seat of my lord cardinal; before whom I had rather stand, than before any of his deputies.

Yours, THOMAS BILNEY.

(1) Exod. v. (2) Isa. xlii. (3) Heb. v.

A Letter of Master Bilney, to Tonstal, Bishop of London, fruitful and necessary for all Ministers to read.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1531.

Most reverend father! salutations in Christ. You have required me to write unto you at large, wherein men have not preached as they ought, and how they should have preached better. This is a burden too heavy for my strength, under which if I shall faint, it belongeth to you, who have laid this burden upon my shoulders, to ease me thereof. As touching the first part, they have not preached as they ought, who, leaving the word of God, have taught their own traditions; of which sort there are not a few, as it is very evident, in that they do report those who preach the word of God sincerely, to teach new doctrine. This is also no small testimony thereof, that in all England you shall scarce find one or two that are mighty in the Scriptures; and what marvel is it, if all godly things do seem new unto them unto whom the gospel is new and strange, being nursed in men's traditions now a long time? Would to God these things were not true which I utter unto you! but alas they are too true.

Preachers of the pope's church, leaving the word of God, preach their own traditions.

They have also preached evil, who either have wrested the Scriptures themselves, or have rashly gathered them out of old rotten papers, being wrested by others: and how should it be but that they should wrest them, or else how should they judge them, being falsely interpreted by others, when they have not once read over the Bible orderly? Of this sort there is truly a very great number, from which number many great rabbins or masters shall hardly excuse themselves; whom the people have hitherto reverenced instead of gods. And these are they that now serve their bellies, seeking their own glory, and not the true glory of God, who might be set forth even by Balaam's ass; much less then ought we to contemn such abjects, who preach the word of God. 'We have,' saith St. Paul, 'this treasure in brickle vessels, that the glory of the power might be of God, and not of us.' 'God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise; and the weak things God hath chosen to confound the mighty; and vile things of the world, and despised, hath he chosen, and things that are not, to bring to nought things that are, that no flesh should glory in his sight.'[1] But now all men in a manner will be wise, and therefore they are ashamed of the simple gospel; they are ashamed truly to say with Paul, and to perform it indeed, 'I brethren, when I came unto you, did not come with excellency of words, or of wisdom, preaching the testimony of Christ; for I esteemed not myself to know any thing amongst you, but only Jesus Christ, and him crucified.'[2] O voice of a true evangelist! But now we are ashamed of this foolish preaching, by which it hath pleased God to save all those that believe in him; and being puffed up with our own fleshly mind, we choose rather proudly to walk in those things which we have not seen, preaching fables and lies, and not the law of God, which is undefiled, converting souls.'[3]

Preachers in the popish time have wrested the Scriptures.

Balaam's ass is not to be despised, setting forth God's word; ergo, much less other abjects.

Ignorance of the law of God noted in prelates.

But how should they teach the law of God, which they have not once read in the books, much less learned at the mouth of God? But in a pastor and a bishop this is required: 'Thou son of man!' saith God, 'lay up in thy heart all my words which I do speak unto thee,' &c.: and shortly after he saith, 'Thou, son of man! I have ordained and given thee a watchman unto the house of Israel.' 'I have given thee,' saith he; not coming in by ambition, nor thrusting in thyself, nor climbing in another way, but I gave thee when thou lookedst not for it, that thou shouldst attend thereupon, and give warning from the top of the watch-tower, if any enemies should approach. I have given thee unto the house of Israel, and not the house of Israel unto thee, that thou shouldst acknowledge thyself to be the servant of the sheep, and not their lord; for I have not given the sheep for the shepherd, but the shepherd for the sheep. He that sitteth down, is greater than he that doth minister and serve unto him: which thing was well known of him who truly said, 'We are your servants for Christ's cause.'

Pastors, servants to the congregation for Christ's cause, and not masters.

But for what purpose have I given thee unto the house of Israel?—that thou shouldst only minister the sacraments? consecrate wood, stones, and churchyards? (This, I take God to witness, with great sighs and groans I write unto you, pouring out before you the grief of my heart.) No truly. What then? First followeth the office of the bishop, 'Thou shalt hear the word out of my

(1) 1 Cor. i. (2) 1 Cor. ii. (3) Psalm xix.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1531.

mouth.' This is but a short lesson, but such as all the world cannot comprehend, without they be inwardly taught of God.

And what else meaneth this, 'Out of my mouth thou shalt hear the word,' but that thou shalt be taught of God? Therefore as many as are not taught of God, although they be ever so well exercised in the Scriptures by man's help, yet are they not watchmen given by God; and much less they that do not understand and know the Scriptures. And therefore such as these be, lest they should keep silence, and say nothing, are always harping upon the traditions and doctrines of men, that is, lies: for he that speaketh of himself, speaketh lies. Of these it is written, 'They would be doctors of the law, not understanding what they speak, neither of whom they speak.'[1] Such of necessity they must all be, who speak that with their mouth, which they do not believe, because they are not inwardly taught of God, neither are persuaded in their hearts that it is true: and therefore they are to be accounted as sheep, although they boast themselves to be shepherds. But contrariwise, touching the true and learned pastors given by God, it may be truly said, 'We speak that which we know, and that which we have seen (even with the infallible eyes of our faith) we do witness:'[2] and these are neither deceived, neither do deceive. Moreover, the deceivers proceed to worse and worse, erring themselves, and bringing others also to error, and because they are of the world, the world doth willingly hear them. 'They are of the world,' saith St. John, 'and therefore they speak those things which are of the world, and the world giveth ear unto them.'[3]

The true office of pastors well described out of Ezekiel.

The poverty of untrue pastors.

Behold, reverend father! this is the touchstone of our daily preaching. Hath not the world given ear unto them now a long time with great pleasure and delight? But the flesh could never suffer the preaching of the cross, nor yet the wisdom of the flesh, which is enemy unto God, neither is subject unto his law, nor can be. And why then are they accused to be heretics and schismatics, who will not seek to please men, but only to their edifying? being mindful of that place of Scripture, 'God hath dispersed the bones of them which please men, saying unto them, Speak unto us pleasant things.'[4] But now, letting these matters pass, we will come unto the second point, wherein you ask how a man should preach better? Forsooth, if we had heard him of whom the Father spake, saying, 'This is my dearly beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased, hear him;' who also, speaking of himself, said, 'It was meet that Christ should suffer, and rise again the third day from death, and that in his name repentance and remission of sins should be preached unto all people.' What other thing is that, than the same which the other evangelists do write, 'Go ye into the whole world, and preach the gospel unto every creature: he that believeth and is baptized shall be saved?'[5] What can be more pleasant, sweet, or acceptable unto afflicted consciences, being almost in despair, than these most joyful tidings?

A true note of the sincere doctrine.

Information to preachers to preach rightly.

But here, whether Christ have been a long time heard, I know not, for that I have not heard all the preachers of England, and if I had heard them, yet till it was within this year or two, I could not sufficiently judge of them. But this I dare be bold to affirm, that as many as I have heard of late preach (I speak even of the most famous), they have preached such repentance, that if I had heard such preachers of repentance in times past, I should utterly have been in despair. And to speak of one of those famous men (not uttering his name), after he had sharply inveighed against vice (wherein he pleased every godly man, forasmuch as it could not be sufficiently cried out upon), he concluded, 'Behold,' said he, 'thou hast lien rotten in thine own lusts, by the space of these sixty years, even as a beast in his own dung, and wilt thou presume in one year to go forward toward heaven, and that in thine age, as much as thou wentest backward from heaven toward hell in sixty years?' Is not this, think you, a goodly argument? Is this the preaching of repentance in the name of Jesus? or rather to tread down Christ with Antichrist's doctrine? For what other thing did he speak in effect, than that Christ died in vain for thee? He will not be thy Jesus or Saviour; thou must make satisfaction for thyself, or else thou shalt perish eternally! Then doth St. John lie, who saith, 'Behold the Lamb of God! that taketh away the sins of the world;' and in another place, 'His blood hath cleansed us from all our sins;' and again, 'He is the propitiation for the sins of the whole world:'[6] besides an infinite number of other

The preaching after the pope's church, is all to beat down, and not to lift up.

By this one, you may see what all the rest are. Mark the manner of the common preaching of the papists.

1 John i.

(1) 1 Tim. i. (2) 1 John i. (3) 1 John iv. (4) Isaiah xxx. (5) Matt. xxviii. (6) 1 John i.

places. What other thing is this, than that which was spoken by the Holy Ghost, by the mouth of Peter, saying, 'There shall be false teachers that shall deny the Lord Jesus, who hath redeemed them?' And what followeth upon such doctrine of devils, speaking lies through hypocrisy? A conscience despairing, and without all hope, and so given over unto all wicked lusts, according to the saying of St. Paul, 'After that they be come to this point, that they sorrow no more, they give themselves over unto wantonness, to commit all kind of filthiness, even with a greedy desire.' For seeing that it is impossible for them to make satisfaction to God, either they murmur against God, or else they do not believe him to be so cruel, as they do preach and declare him to be. *Henry VIII.* A.D. 1531. The effect and end of the pope's doctrine.

The want of paper will not suffer me to write any more, and I had rather to speak it in private talk unto yourself; whereunto if you would admit me, I trust you shall not repent you thereof: and unto me (Christ I take to my witness), it would be a great comfort, in whom I wish you, with all your flock, heartily well to fare.

Your prisoner, and humble beadman unto God for you,

THOMAS BILNEY.

Thus have you the letters, the abjuration, and the articles of Thomas Bilney. After this abjuration, made about A.D. 1529, the said Bilney took such repentance and sorrow, that he was near the point of utter despair, as by the words of Master Latimer is credibly testified; whose words, for my better discharge, I thought here to annex, written in his seventh sermon preached before king Edward, which be these: "I knew a man myself, Bilney, little Bilney, that blessed martyr of God, who, what time he had borne his faggot, and was come again to Cambridge, had such conflicts within himself (beholding this image of death), that his friends were afraid to let him be alone. They were fain to be with him day and night, and comfort him as they could, but no comforts would serve. And as for the comfortable places of Scripture, to bring them unto him, it was as though a man should run him through the heart with a sword. Yet for all this he was revived, and took his death patiently, and died well against the tyrannical see of Rome."[1] Bilney cast down with repentance.

Again, the said Master Latimer, speaking of Bilney in another of his sermons preached in Lincolnshire, hath these words following: "That same Master Bilney, which was burnt here in England for God's word's sake, was induced and persuaded by his friends to bear a faggot at the time when the cardinal was aloft, and bare the swinge. Now when the same Bilney came to Cambridge again, a whole year after, he was in such an anguish and agony, that nothing did him good, neither eating nor drinking, nor even any other communication of God's word; for he thought that all the whole Scriptures were against him, and sounded to his condemnation: so that I many a time communed with him (for I was familiarly acquainted with him); but all things whatsoever any man could allege to his comfort, seemed to him to make against him. Yet for all that afterwards he came again. God endued him with such strength and perfectness of faith, that he not only confessed his faith in the gospel of our Saviour Jesu Christ, but also suffered his body to be burned for that same gospel's sake, which we now preach in England,"[2] &c.

Furthermore, in the first sermon of the said Master Latimer before the duchess of Suffolk,[3] he, yet speaking more of Bilney, inferreth as followeth: "Here I have," said he, "occasion to tell you a story which happened at Cambridge. Master Bilney, or rather saint Bilney, that

(1) Hæc Latim. Ser. 7. [vol. i. p. 200, in Dr. Watkins's edition, 1821.—Ed.]
(2) Hæc ille, Ser. 8. fol. 132. (3) Fol. 5.

Henry VIII. A. D. 1531.

suffered death for God's word's sake, the same Bilney was the instrument whereby God called me to knowledge. For I may thank him, next to God, for that knowledge that I have in the word of God; for I was as obstinate a papist as any was in England, insomuch that when I should be made bachelor of divinity, my whole oration went against Master Philip Melancthon, and against his opinions. Bilney heard me at that time, and perceived that I was zealous without knowledge, and came to me afterwards in my study, and desired me, for God's sake, to hear his confession. I did so, and to say the truth, by his confession I learned more than afore in many years. So from that time forward I began to smell the word of God, and forsake the school-doctors, and such fooleries," &c. And much more he hath of the same matter, which ye may see hereafter in the life of Master Latimer.

Latimer called and converted by Bilney.

Bilney returneth again from his abjuration.

By this it appeareth how vehemently this good man was pierced with sorrow and remorse for his abjuration, the space almost of two years; that is, from the year 1529 to the year 1531. It followed then that he, by God's grace and good counsel, came at length to some quiet of conscience, being fully resolved to give over his life for the confession of that truth which before he had renounced. And thus, being fully determined in his mind, and setting his time, he took his leave in Trinity Hall, at ten o'clock at night, of certain of his friends, and said, that he would go to Jerusalem;[1] alluding belike to the words and example of Christ in the gospel, going up to Jerusalem, what time he was appointed to suffer his passion. And so Bilney, meaning to give over his life for the testimony of Christ's gospel, told his friends that he would go up to Jerusalem, and so would see them no more; and immediately departed to Norfolk, and there preached first privily in households, to confirm the brethren and sisters, and also to confirm the anchoress, whom he had converted to Christ. Then preached he openly in the fields, confessing his fact, and preaching publicly the doctrine which he before had abjured, to be the very truth, and willed all men to beware by him, and never to trust to their fleshly friends, in causes of religion. And so, setting forward on his journey toward the celestial Jerusalem, he departed from thence to the anchoress in Norwich, and there gave her a New Testament of Tyndale's translation, and the Obedience of a Christian Man; whereupon he was apprehended and carried to prison, there to remain till the blind bishop Nie sent up for a writ to burn him.

Bilney goeth up to Jerusalem.

Four orders of friars against Bilney.

Dr. Call, and Dr. Stokes, sent to dispute with Bilney.

Dr. Call called by Bilney.

In the mean season, the friars and religious men, with the residue of their doctors civil and canon, resorted to him, busily labouring to persuade him not to die in those opinions, saying, he should be damned body and soul if he so continued; among whom, first, were sent to him of the bishop, Dr. Call, minister (as they call him) or provincial of the Grey Friars; and Dr. Stokes, an Augustine friar, who lay with him in prison in disputation, till the writ came that he should be burned. Dr. Call, by the word of God, through the means of Bilney's doctrine and good life, whereof he had good experience, was somewhat reclaimed to the gospel's side. Dr. Stokes remained obdurate, and doth yet to this day; whose heart also the Lord (if it be his will) reform, and open the eyes of his old age, that he may forsake the former blindness of his youth. Another

(1) Nam facies ejus erat euntis Hierosolymam.

great doer against him was one friar Bird with one eye, provincial of the White Friars. This Bird was a suffragan in Coventry, and afterwards bishop of Chester, and was he that brought apples to Bonner, mentioned in the story of Hawkes. Another was a Black friar, called Hodgkins, who, after being under the archbishop of Canterbury, married, and afterwards, in queen Mary's time, put away his wife. These four orders of friars were sent (as is said) to bait Bilney; who, notwithstanding, as he had planted himself upon the firm rock of God's word, was at a point; and so continued unto the end. *Henry VIII.* A. D. 1531.

But here now cometh in sir Thomas More, trumping in our way with his painted card, and would needs take up this Thomas Bilney from us, and make him a convert after his sect. Thus these coated cards, though they could not by plain Scriptures convince him, being alive; yet now, after his death, by false play they will make him theirs, whether he will or no. This sir Thomas More, in his railing preface before his book against Tyndale, doth challenge Bilney to his catholic church, and saith, that not only at the fire, but many days before, both in words and writing, he revoked, abhorred, and detested his heresies before holden. And how is this proved? By three or four mighty arguments, as big as mill-posts, fetched out of Utopia, from whence thou must know, reader, can come no fictions, but all fine poetry. Four reasons of sir Thomas More. Utopia, one of More's fantasies.

First, he saith, that certain Norwich men, writing to London, and denying that Bilney did recant, afterwards, being thereupon examined, were compelled to grant, that he, at his examination, read a bill; but what it was they could not tell, for they stood not so near as to hear him. And albeit they stood not so near, yet some of them perceived certain things there spoken, whereby they thought that he did revoke. Some again added to those things spoken certain additions of their own, to excuse him from recantation.

First, to answer hereunto, and to try out this matter somewhat roundly with Master More, let us see with what conveyance he proceedeth in this narration. "At his first examination," saith he, "he waxed stiff in his opinions, but yet God was so good Lord unto him, that he was fully converted to the true catholic faith," &c. And when might this goodly conversion begin? "Many days," quoth he, "before his burning." Here is no certain day assigned, but many days left at large, that he might have the larger room to walk invisible. Well then, but how many days these could be, I would fain learn of Master More, when he was not many days in their hands; no longer than they could send up to London for a writ to burn him. Belike then shortly after his apprehension, at the first coming of the friars unto him, by and by he revolted. A strange matter, that he, who two years before had lain in such a burning hell of despair for his first abjuration, and could find no other comfort but only in returning to the same doctrine again which before he had denied, utterly resigning himself over to death, and taking his leave of his friends, and setting his face with Christ purposely to go to Jerusalem, voluntarily there to fall into the hands of the Scribes and Pharisees for that doctrine's sake, should now so soon, even at the first brunt, give over to the contrary doctrine again. It is not likely. "God was so good a Lord unto him," saith Master More. That God was a good Lord unto him, Answer to sir Thomas More. A likely tale of Master More.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1531.

very true it is: but that God did so turn him indeed, to be a member of that Romish church, that hath not Master More yet sufficiently proved. To affirm without proof or demonstration in matters of story, it is not sufficient. But what hath been done indeed, that must be proved by good evidence, and special demonstration of witnesses, that we may certainly know it so to be.

It followeth moreover in Master More: "And there lacked not some," saith he, "that were sorry for it." No doubt but that if our Bilney had so relented, some would have been very sorry therefore. But what one man in all this sum, in all Norwich, was sorry; *that* Master More must specify unto us before we believe him: so well are we acquainted with his poetical fictions. But how else should this narration of Master More seem to run with probability, if it were not watered with such additions? He addeth moreover, and saith, "And some wrote out of Norwich to London, that he had not revoked his heresies at all, but still did abide in them." This soundeth rather to come more near to a truth; and here is a knack of Simon's art,[1] to interlard a tale of untruth with some parcel of truth now and then among it, that some things being found true, may win credit to the rest which are utterly false. And why then be not the letters of these Norwich men believed, for the not recanting of Bilney? "Because," saith he, "afterward, they being called to examination, it was there proved plainly to their faces, that Bilney revoked." By whom was it proved? "By those," saith he, "who at his execution stood by, and heard him read his revocation himself," &c. What men were these? or what were their names? or what was any one man's name in all the city of Norwich, that heard Bilney recant? There Master More will give us leave to seek them out if we can, for he can name us none. Well, and why could not the other part hear Bilney read his revocation as well as these? "Because," saith More, "he read so softly that they could not hear him."[2]

Well, all this admitted, that Bilney read his revocation so softly that some could hear, some could not hear him, then this would be known, what was the cause why Bilney read his revocation so softly; which must needs be either for lack of good will to read, or good voice to utter. If good will were absent in reading that revocation, then it appeareth that he recanted against his own mind and conscience: if it were by imbecility of voice and utterance, then how followeth it, Master More! in this your narration, where you say, that the said persons, who could not hear him read the bill, yet notwithstanding could hear him rehearse certain other things spoken by him the same time at the fire, whereby they could not but perceive well, that he revoked his errors, &c. Ah Master More! for all your powder of experience, do ye think to cast such a mist before men's eyes, that we cannot see how you juggle with truth, and take you tardy in your own narration? unless peradventure you will excuse yourself, 'per licentiam poeticam,' after the privilege of poets and painters: for you know the old liberty of these two,

'Pictoribus atque poetis,
'Quælibet audendi semper fuit æqua potestas.'

(1) Read of Simon in the second book of Virgil: who craftily mixeth true things with false, to betray the city of Troy. (2) Thomas More here painteth Anties.

Now if this vein of yours, which so extremely raileth and fareth against the poor martyrs and servants of Christ, be so copious, that you dare take in hand any false matter to prove, and to make men believe, that Bilney died a papist, yet the manner of handling hereof would have required some more artificial conveyance: "Mendacem enim (ut scis) memorem esse oportet:" that men, although they see the matter to be false, yet might commend the workmanship of the handler, which (to say the truth) neither hanged with itself, nor beareth any semblance of any truth. But because Master More is gone and dead, I will cease any further to insult upon him, lest I may seem to incur the same vice of his, 'in mordendo mortuos.' Yet forasmuch as his books be not yet dead, but remain alive to the hurt of many, having therefore to do, not with him, but with his book-disciples, this would I know, how hangeth his gear together? Bilney was heard, and yet not heard; he spake softly, and yet not softly![1] Some said he did recant; some said he did not recant. Over and besides, how will this be answered, that forasmuch as the said Bilney (as he saith) revoked many days before his burning, and the same was known to him at London, then how chanced the same could not be as well known to them of Norwich? who (as his own story affirmeth) knew nothing thereof before the day of his execution; then, seeing a certain bill in his hand, which some said was a bill of his revocation, others heard it not. All this would be made plain, especially in such a matter as this is, which he knew himself peradventure to be false: at least, he knew would be doubted, suspected, and contraried of a great multitude.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1531.

I pass now to his second reason, where he reporteth that the said Bilney, forthwith upon his judgment and degradation, kneeled down in the presence of all the people, and asked of the chancellor absolution from the sentence of excommunication; holding him well content with his death, which he confessed himself to have deserved, &c.

The second reason of Master More.

As touching the patient receiving of his death, I do well assent, although I do not think, that he had deserved any such for his doctrine. And as for his kneeling down in the presence of the people, upon his judgment and degradation, as I do not deny that he might so do, so I suppose again the cause of his kneeling not to be unto the chancellor, to ask absolution from his excommunication. And if he were assoiled from his excommunication, yet doth it not thereupon follow that he recanted, no more than before, when he came to Master Latimer in his study, humbly to be confessed and assoiled from his sins, as the blindness of that time then led him. But whether he kneeled down, and was assoiled or no, neither was I there to see him, nor yet Master More himself; and therefore, with the like authority as he affirmeth, I may deny the same, unless he brought better demonstration for his assertion than he doth, having no more for himself, but only his own, *αὐτὸς ἔφη*.[2] And yet nevertheless, admit he did so, being a man of a timorous conscience, of a humble spirit, and not fully resolved touching that matter of the church, yet it followeth not thereby (as is said), that he revoked his other articles and doctrine by him before professed.

Answer.

(1) Mark how these things hang together. (2) That is, 'He so saith.'

Henry. VIII. A.D. 1531.

The like answer may also be shaped to his third reason, where he saith, that certain days after his judgment, he made great labour that he might receive the blessed body of Christ in form of bread, which the chancellor, after a great sticking awhile, at length did grant, perceiving his devotion thereto, &c. Whereunto I answer as before, that it is not impossible, but that Bilney might both hear mass, and desire to receive the sacrament: for in that matter it may be that he was not resolved otherwise than common custom then led both him and many others. Neither do I find in all the articles objected against Bilney, that ever he was charged with any such opinion, concerning either the mass or the sacrament; which maketh me think that he was yet ignorant, and also devout as others then were.

The third reason of Master More.

Answer.

Also fourthly, be it admitted, as Master More saith, that in receiving of the sacrament, he, holding up his hands, should say the collect, "Domine Jesu Christe:" and coming to these words, "Ecclesiæ tuæ pacem et concordiam," he knocked upon his breast, divers times repeating the same words, &c.: all this being granted to Master More, yet it argueth no necessary alteration of his former doctrine, which he preached and taught before. And yet if I listed here to stand dallying with Master More in the 'state inficial,'[1] and deny what he affirmeth, how will he make good that which he saith? He saith, that Bilney, kneeling before the chancellor, desired absolution: then, coming to mass full devoutly, required to see the body of Christ in form of bread, repeating divers times the words of the collect, "Domine Jesu Christe," &c. By what argument proveth he all this to be so? Master More in his preface before the book against Tyndale so saith: ergo it is certain. If Master More had never made fictions in his writings beside, or had never broken the head of verity in so many places of his books as I could show him, then might this argument go for somewhat. But here I ask, Was this Master More present at the judgment of Bilney? No. Or else, what registers had he for his direction? None. Or else, by what witnesses will he avouch this to be certain? Go and seek these witnesses, good reader! where thou canst find them; for Master More nameth none. Only because Master More so saith: *that* is sufficient! Well, give this to Master More: although he hath cracked his credit so often, and may almost be bankrupt, yet let his word go for payment at this time, and let us imagine all to be oracles that he saith; yet nevertheless here must needs remain a scruple: for what will Master More, or (because he is gone) what will his disciples say to this; that if Bilney was before assoiled upon his judgment (as they pretend), how was he then afterwards degraded? what assoiling is this, to be forgiven first, and then to be punished after? Again, if he were (as they surmise) converted so fully to the catholic faith, and also assoiled, why then did the chancellor stick so greatly for a while, to housel him with the body of Christ in form of bread? I am sure that if Christ had been here himself in form of his own flesh, he would nothing have stuck to receive him, being so converted at the first. To be short: If Bilney was so graciously reduced to the holy mother the catholic church, repenting his errors, and detesting his heresies, and now being in no purgatory, but being a very saint in heaven,

The fourth reason of Master More.

An argument of More's authority.

Master More's credit cracked.

(1) State inficial, in rhetoric, is when one standeth to the denial of the fact.

as ye say he is: why then did ye burn him whom ye yourselves knew should be a saint? Thus if ye burn both God's enemies, and God's saints too, what cruel men are you? *Henry VIII.* A.D. 1531.

But here you will allege perhaps your law of relapse,[1] by which the first fall is pardonable, but the second fall into heresy is in no case pardonable; for so standeth your law, I grant. But how this law standeth with the true church of Christ, and with his word, now let us reason. For this being a law not of politic or civil government (where such laws be expedient for public necessity), but being only a mere law ecclesiastical, what a cruel mother-church is this, that will not and cannot forgive her children, rising and repenting the second fault or error committed, but needs must burn their bodies, that their souls may be saved from the painful passion of purgatory, whom nevertheless they know forthwith shall be blessed in heaven? If God do save them, why do you burn them? If God do pardon them, why do you condemn them? And if this be the law of your church, according to your doctrine, to burn them at the second time, though they be amended; how then doth this church agree with the word of Christ, and the nature of his true spouse, that only seeketh repentance and amendment of sinners? which once being had, she gladly openeth her bosom, and motherly receiveth them whensoever they return. Wherefore, if Bilney did return to your church (as ye say he did), then was your church a cruel mother, and unnatural, which would not open her bosom unto him, but thrust him into the fire, when he had repented.

The law of relapse.

More's words in his Preface.

The pope's law disagreeing from the condition of the true church of Christ.

Furthermore, how will you defend this law by the word of God, which, in express words, teaching all bishops and pastors, by the example of Christ the great bishop of our souls (being compassed about with temptations, that he might have the more compassion for them that be infirm), exhorteth all other spiritual persons by the like example, saying, "For every bishop which is taken from among men, is ordained for men in things pertaining to God, to offer gifts and sacrifice for sins, that he may be merciful to the ignorant, and to such as err; forasmuch as he himself is compassed about with infirmity,"[2] &c. Besides which Scripture, add also, that some doctors of the canon law, if they be well scanned, will not deny, but that they that be fallen in relapse, whether it be 'vere,' or 'ficte,' yet if they earnestly return from their errors before the sentence be given, they may be sent to perpetual prison in some monastery,[3] &c. Wherefore, if Bilney did so earnestly retract and detest his former opinions, so many days (as More saith) before his suffering, then needed not he to suffer that death which he did, but might have been sent to perpetual prison.

Thus, although I need not to stand longer upon this matter, being so plain, and having said enough, yet (briefly to repeat that which before hath been said) this I say again: first, if Thomas Bilney was assoiled from excommunication, and after that heard his mass so devoutly, and at the end of the mass was confessed, and consequently after confession was houseled, and lastly, asked mercy for contemning of the church, as Master More doth bear us in hand (to see now how

(1) Extravag. de hæret. super eo. (2) Heb. v.
(3) Bilney needed not to be burned by the sentence of the canon-law. 'Ex Tractatu cujusdam Doct. Canonistæ.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1531.

this tale hangeth together), why then did the chancellor stick so greatly to give him the sacrament of the altar, whom he himself had assoiled, and received to the sacrament of penance before; which is plainly against the canon-law? Again, the said Thomas Bilney, if he were now received to the mother-church by the sacraments of penance and of the altar, why then was he afterward degraded, and cut from the church, since the canon permitteth no degradation, but to them only that be incorrigible? Furthermore, if he, the said Bilney, being converted so many days before (as More pretendeth) to the catholic faith, was now no heretic, how then did the sentence pronounce him a heretic? or finally, how could they, or why would they, burn him being a catholic, especially since the canon-law would bear with him, to be judged rather to perpetual prison in some monastery, as is afore touched, if they had pleased?

Master More's tale full of absurdities.

A summary answer to Master More, or in his absence, to Alan Cope.

Wherefore, in three words to answer to Master More: first, All this tale of his may be doubted, because of the matter not hanging together: secondly, It may also well be denied, for the insufficiency of probation and testimony: thirdly, If all this were granted, yet neither hath Master More any great advantage against Bilney, to prove him to have recanted; nor yet Master Cope against me, who, by the authority of Master More, seeketh to bear me down, and disprove my former story. For be it granted that Bilney, at his death, did hold with the mass, with confession, and with the authority of the Romish church, being an humble spirited man, and yet no further brought; yet all this notwithstanding proveth not that he recanted. Forasmuch as he never held nor taught any thing before against the premises, therefore he could not recant that which he never did hold.

More's consequence denied.

For the better demonstration hereof I will recite out of the registers some part of his teaching and preaching, as was objected against him by one Richard Neale, priest; who, amongst other witnesses, deposed against him for preaching in the town of Wilsdon, these words following:

Bilney against offerings to images. †

'Put away your golden gods, your silver gods, your stony gods, and leave your offerings, and lift up your hearts to the sacrament of the altar.' Also the said Master Bilney said in his sermon, 'I know certain things have been offered in such places, which have been afterwards given to abandoned women; and I call them abandoned women, that be naught of their living,'[1] &c.

Item, By another witness, named William Cade, it was deposed against him, that he thus preached, 'Jews and Saracens would have become christian men long ago, had not idolatry of christian men been, by offering of candles, wax, or money to the stocks and stones of images, set and standing in the churches,' &c.

Item, By the said deponent against Bilney: 'The priests take away the offerings, and hang them about their women's necks: and after that, they take them again from the women if they please them not, and hang them upon the images; and is not that a great relic, when it is hanged there again?'

Bilney against pilgrimage.

Item, By the said deponent it was testified against Bilney, 'That going on pilgrimage is naught, and that no man should use it, for it were better not, and rather to tarry at home, and give somewhat in alms, and offer your hearts, wills, and minds, to the sacrament, and leave your idolatry to saints.'

Item, By William Nelmis of Wilsdon, that Bilney should preach, 'That they gild their gods, and bear them about, and men say they do speak; and if they do speak, it is the devil that speaketh in them, and not God,' &c.

(1) Ex Regist. London. fol. 82.

Item, By Thomas Daly of Wilsdon, that Bilney thus preached, 'You come hither on pilgrimage to stocks and stones. You do naught; keep you at home, and worship the sacrament at home,' &c.

Item, By friar John Huggen, that Bilney thus preached at Ipswich: 'The coming of our Saviour Christ was long desired, and by divers and many prophets prophesied, that he should come. But John the Baptist, more than a prophet, did not only prophesy, but with his finger showed, Behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world! Then if this were the very Lamb, which John did demonstrate and show, which taketh away the sins of the world, what injury is this bull of the bishop of Rome to our Saviour Jesu Christ, that to be buried in the cowl of St. Francis should or may remit four parts of the penance? What is left to our Saviour Jesus Christ which taketh away the sins of the world? This will I justify to be a great blasphemy against the blood of Christ,' &c.

Bilney against false merits.

Item, By another friar Julles, that Bilney thus preached: 'I trust there shall and will come others besides me, who shall show and preach to you the same faith and manner of living that I do, which is the very true gospel of our Saviour, whereby you shall be brought from your errors, wherein you have been so long seduced: for before this, there have been many that have slandered you and the gospel of our Saviour Christ; of whom speaketh our Saviour Christ, Matt. xviii. Qui scandalizaverint unum de pusillis istis qui crediderunt,' &c.

Add moreover to these the testimony of Richard Seman, that Bilney in Ipswich should preach these words: 'Our Saviour Christ is our Mediator between us and the Father: what then should we need to seek for remedy to any saint inferior to Christ? Wherefore to make such petition to any, but to our Saviour Christ, trusting thereby to have remedy, doth great injury to the blood of Christ, and deformeth our Saviour Christ; like as if a man should take and strike off the head, and set it under the foot, and to set the foot above.'

Bilney against more mediators.

Thus much, being partly touched before, I thought here to insinuate again out of the registers, touching the opinions of Thomas Bilney; whereby may appear the whole sum of his preaching and doctrine to proceed chiefly against idolatry, invocation of saints, vain worship of images, false trust to men's merits, and such other gross points of religion, as seemed prejudicial and derogatory to the blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ. As touching the mass, and sacrament of the altar, as he never varied from himself, so likewise he never differed therein from the most gross catholics. And as concerning his opinion of the church of Rome, how blind it was at that time, may sufficiently appear by his own hand in Latin, which I have to show, as followeth: "Credo plerasque leges pontificias utiles esse, necessarias, et ad pietatem quoque plurimum promoventes, nec sacris scripturis repugnantes, imo ab omnibus plurimum observandas, &c. De omnibus non possum pronunciare, utpote quas non legi, et quas legi, nunquam in hoc legi, ut reprehenderem, sed ut discerem intelligere, ac pro virili facere, et docere. De multiplicitate legum questus est suo tempore St. Augustinus, et item Gearsonus, qui miratur quomodo non post lapsum inter tot laqueos constitutionum tuti esse possimus, quum primi parentes adhuc puri, et ante lapsum, et unicum præceptum non observarint," &c. Moreover, concerning the authority of the keys, thus he writeth, answering to his twelfth article, "Soli sacerdotes, ordinati rite per pontifices, habent claves, quarum virtute ligant et solvunt (clave non errante[1]) quod et facere eos non dubito, quamlibet sint peccatores. Nam sacramentorum efficatiam non

Note here how gross Bilney was yet in the sacrament.

(1) At hæc clavis errat perpetuò.

Henry VIII. minuit, nedum tollit ministrorum indignitas, quamdiu ab Ecclesia tolerantur,"[1] &c.

A.D. 1531. By these words of Bilney, written by him in Latin, although it may be thought how ignorant and gross he was after the rudeness of those days, yet by the same notwithstanding it may appear, how falsely he is noted and slandered by Master More, and Cope my friend, to have recanted the articles, which he did never hold or maintain otherwise in all his life. And therefore (as I said) though it be granted to Master More, or in his absence to my friend Cope, that Bilney was assoiled, was confessed, and houseled before his burning, yet all this argueth not that he recanted.

Contrary reasons to prove that Bilney did not again recant.

Now that I have sufficiently, I trust, put off the reasons of Master More and others, whereby they pretend falsely to face us out, that Bilney the second time again recanted at his death, it remaineth, on the other part, that I likewise do infer my probations, whereby I have to argue and convince, that Bilney did not the second time recant, as he is untruly slandered. And first, I will begin even with the words and testimony of Master More's own mouth, who, being lord chancellor, when message was sent to him for a writ of discharge to burn Bilney, spake in this wise to the messengers that came, "Go your ways," saith he, "and burn him first; and then afterwards come to me for a bill of my hand." These words may give us evidence enough, that Bilney was not thought then to have recanted, for then the lord chancellor would not have been so greedy and hasty, no doubt, to have him dispatched. And how standeth this with Master More's words now, who beareth us in hand, that he recanted many days before his burning?

More's own words against himself.

Proved by bishop Nixe's words, that Bilney did not recant at his burning.

The like evidence we may also take by the verdict of the bishop himself that burned him, whose words were these (after he had burned him, and then heard tell of Dr. Shaxton,) "Christ's Mother!" said he (that was his oath), "I fear I have burnt Abel, and let Cain go," &c.; as who would say, "I had thought before, that I had punished Cain, and let Abel go; but now I fear I have burnt Abel, and let Cain escape." Hereby it is plain to understand what was the bishop's judgment of Bilney, before his burning; that is, that he was a Cain, and the other an Abel: but after the burning of Bilney, the bishop hearing now of Shaxton, turneth his judgment, and correcteth himself, swearing now the contrary; that is, lest he had burned Abel, and let Cain go.

Furthermore, where the bishop feared, in burning Bilney, that he had burned Abel, what doth this fear of the bishop import, but a doubting of his mind uncertain? for who feareth that whereof he is sure? Wherefore the case is plain, that Bilney at his burning did not recant, as More reporteth. For then the bishop, knowing Bilney to die a catholic convert, and a true member of the church, would not have feared, nor doubted, but would have constantly affirmed Bilney to have died a true Abel indeed. And to conclude this matter, if Bilney died an Abel, then the bishop, by his own confession, must needs prove himself to be a Cain, who slew him. What more clear probation could we bring, if there were a thousand, or what need we any other, having this alone?

Cain burneth Abel.

(1) Ex Regist. London. fol. 37.

Now, for testimony and witness of this matter to be produced, forasmuch as Master More allegeth none to prove that Bilney at his death did recant, I will assay what testimony I have on the contrary side, to avouch and prove that Bilney did not recant. *Henry VIII.* A. D. 1531.

Testimonies proving that Master Bilney did not recant at his death.

And forasmuch as Bilney was a Cambridge man, and the first framer of that university in the knowledge of Christ, and was burned at Norwich, being not very far distant from Cambridge; there is no doubt but that amongst so many friends as he had in that university, some went thither to hear and see him. Of these one was Thomas Allen, then fellow of Pembroke-hall, who, returning the same time from Bilney's burning, declared to Dr. Turner, dean of Wells, being yet alive (a man whose authority neither is to be neglected, nor credit to be distrusted), that the said Bilney took his death most patiently, and suffered most constantly, without any recantation for the doctrine which he before had professed.

Witness for Bilney.

Dr. Turner, dean of Wells.

Another witness for Bilney.

In the city of Norwich, Necton and many others be now departed, who were then present at the burning of Bilney: nevertheless some be yet alive, whose witnesses, if need were, I could fetch with a little labour, and will (God willing) as time shall require. In the mean time, at the writing hereof here was one Thomas Russel, a right honest occupier, and a citizen of Norwich, who likewise, being there present on horseback at the execution of this godly man, beholding all things that were done, did neither hear him recant any word, nor yet heard of his recantation.

Another witness for Bilney.

I could also add hereunto the testimony of another, being brother to the archbishop of Canterbury, named Master Baker, a man yet alive, who, being the same time present at the examination of Bilney, both heard him and saw him, when a certain friar called him heretic: whereunto Bilney, replying again, made answer, "If I be a heretic," said he, "then are you an Antichrist, who of late have buried a certain gentlewoman with you, in St. Francis's cowl, assuring her to have salvation thereby." Which fact, although the friar the same time did deny, yet this cannot be denied but Bilney spake these words, whereby he may easily be judged to be far from the mind of any recantation; according as by the said gentleman it is also testified, that after that, he never heard of any recantation that Bilney either meant or made.

One martyr witness for another martyr.

If I should recite all that here might be brought, I might sooner lack room in my book to contain them, than names enough to fill up a grand jury. But what need I to spend time about witness, when one Master Latimer may stand for a thousand, one martyr to bear witness to another? And though my friend Cope, pressing me with the authority of Master More, saith, that he will believe him before me; yet I trust he will not refuse to credit this so ancient a seignior, Father Latimer, being both in Bilney's time, and also by Bilney converted, and familiarly with him acquainted; who being the same time at Cambridge, I suppose would inquire as much, and could know more of this matter, than Master More.

The testimony of Latimer for Bilney.

Touching the testimonial of Latimer I have noted before, how he, in three sundry places of his sermons, hath testified of "good Bilney," of "that blessed Bilney," of "saint Bilney;" how he died patiently, "against the tyrannical see of Rome," &c. And in another sermon

Henry VIII. A. D. 1531.

also, how the said Bilney "suffered his body to be burned for the gospel's sake," &c. Item, in another place, "how the said Bilney suffered death for God's word's sake."

I may be thought perhaps of some to have stayed too long about the discourse of this matter; but the cause that moved, and half constrained me thereunto, was sir Thomas More, sometime lord chancellor of England, and now a great arch-pillar of all our English papists; a man otherwise of a pregnant wit, full of pleasant conceits; also for his learning above the common sort of his estate: esteemed no less industrious in his studies, than well exercised in his pen; who, if he had kept himself in his own shop, and applied to the faculty, being a layman, whereunto he was called, and had not overreached himself to prove masteries in such matters wherein he had little skill, less experience, and which pertained not to his profession, he had deserved not only much more commendation, but also longer life.

But forasmuch as he, not contented with his own vocation, hath, with Uzzah, reached out his unmeet hand to meddle with God's ark-matters, wherein he had little cunning, and while he thinketh to help religion, destroyeth religion, and is an utter enemy to Christ, and to his spiritual doctrine, and his poor afflicted church: to the intent therefore, that he, being taken for a special ringleader and a chief stay in the pope's church, might the better be known what he is, and that the ignorant and simple may see what little credit is to be given unto him, as well in his other false facing out of matters, as namely in this present history of Bilney's recantation, I have diligently searched out and procured the true certificate of Master Bilney's burning, with all the circumstances and points thereto belonging, testified not by some-says and by hear-says (as Master More useth), but truly witnessed, and faithfully recorded, by one, who, as in place and degree he surmounteth the estate of Master More (though he were lord chancellor), so being also both a spiritual person, and there present the same time, coming for the same purpose the day before to see his burning, was a present beholder of things there done, *αὐτόπτης τε καὶ μαρτὺς* of his martyrdom, whose credit I am sure will counterpoise with the credit of Master More. The order of this martyrdom was as followeth.

Dr. Parker, archbishop of Canterbury, a present witness at the burning of Bilney.

Thomas Bilney, after his examination and condemnation before Dr. Pelles, doctor of law, and chancellor, first was degraded by suffragan Underwood, according to the custom of their popish manner, by the assistance of all the friars and doctors of the same suit. This done, he was immediately committed to the lay power, and to the two sheriffs of the city, of whom Thomas Necton was one. This Thomas Necton was Bilney's special good friend, and sorry to accept him to such execution as followed; but such was the tyranny of that time, and dread of the chancellor and friars, that he could no otherwise do, but needs must receive him: who notwithstanding, as he could not bear in his conscience himself to be present at his death, so, for the time that he was in his custody, he caused him to be more friendly looked unto, and more wholesomely kept concerning his diet, than he was before.

Thomas Necton sheriff of Norwich.

After this, the Friday following, at night, which was before the day of his execution, being St. Magnus'-day, and on Saturday, the

said Bilney had divers of his friends resorting unto him in the Guild-hall, where he was kept. Amongst them, one of the said friends, finding him eating of an ale-brew with such a cheerful heart and quiet mind as he did, said, that he was glad to see him at that time, so shortly before his heavy and painful departure, so heartily to refresh himself. Whereunto he answered, "O," said he, "I follow the example of the husbandmen of the country, who, having a ruinous house to dwell in, yet bestow cost as long as they may, to hold it up. And so do I now with this ruinous house of my body, and with God's creatures, in thanks to him, refresh the same as ye see." Then, sitting with his said friends in godly talk to their edification, some put him in mind, that though the fire, which he should suffer the next day, should be of great heat unto his body, yet the comfort of God's Spirit should cool it to his everlasting refreshing. At this word the said Thomas Bilney, putting his hand toward the flame of the candle burning before them (as also he did divers times besides[1]), and feeling the heat thereof, "O," (said he) "I feel by experience, and have known it long by philosophy, that fire, by God's ordinance, is naturally hot: but yet I am persuaded by God's holy word, and by the experience of some, spoken of in the same, that in the flame they felt no heat, and in the fire they felt no consumption: and I constantly believe, that howsoever the stubble of this my body shall be wasted by it, yet my soul and spirit shall be purged thereby; a pain for the time, whereon notwithstanding followeth joy unspeakable." And here he much treated of this place of Scripture.[2] "Fear not, for I have redeemed thee, and called thee by thy name; thou art mine own. When thou goest through the water I will be with thee, and the strong floods shall not overflow thee. When thou walkest in the fire, it shall not burn thee, and the flame shall not kindle upon thee, for I am the Lord thy God, the holy One of Israel." This he did most comfortably treat of, as well in respect of himself, as applying it to the particular use of his friends there present; of whom some took such sweet fruit therein, that they caused the whole said sentence to be fairly written in tables, and some in their books; the comfort whereof, in divers of them, was never taken from them to their dying day.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1531.

Good courage of Bilney before his death.

Tasteth the fire with his finger.

The Saturday next following, when the officers of execution (as the manner is), with their glaves and halberds were ready to receive him, and to lead him to the place of execution without the city gate, called Bishop's Gate, in a low valley, commonly called The Lollards' Pit, under St. Leonard's hill, environed about with great hills (which place was chosen for the people's quiet, sitting to see the execution), at the coming forth of the said Thomas Bilney out of the prison-door, one

(1) In other words; 'As it is reported, by him that was his scholar, that he would many times attempt to prove the fire with holding his finger nigh to the candle; but especially the night before he suffered martyrdom, at what time he did hold his finger, after twice proving it, so long in the flame, that he burnt the first joint; giving thanks to God for his strength. Then said the doctor that lay with him, 'What do you, Master Bilney?' He answered, 'Nothing, but trying my flesh by God's grace, and burning one joint, when to-morrow God's rods shall burn the whole body in the fire.'—See Edition 1563, p. 466.—Ed.

(2) 'Noli timere, quia redemi te, et vocavi te nomine tuo, meus es tu. Cum transieris per aquas, tecum ero, et flumina non operient te. Cum ambulaveris in igne, non combureris, et flamma non ardebit te, quia ego Dominus Deus, tuus, sanctus Israel, salvator tuus.' [The copy of the Holy Scriptures originally belonging to Thomas Bilney, is now in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. Many annotations are inscribed upon its pages with his own hand; and it is an interesting fact that this opening of the xliii. chapter of Isaiah, which consoled the pious martyr in the hours of his deepest affliction, is particularly distinguished with a pen, in the margin.—Ed.]

Henry VIII. A.D. 1531.

of his friends came to him, and with few words as he durst, spake to him, and prayed him in God's behalf to be constant, and to take his death as patiently as he could. Whereunto the said Bilney answered, with a quiet and mild countenance, "Ye see when the mariner is entered his ship to sail on the troublous sea, how he for a while is tossed in the billows of the same, but yet, in hope that he shall once come to the quiet haven, he beareth in better comfort the perils which he feeleth: so am I now toward this sailing; and whatsoever storms I shall feel, yet shortly after shall my ship be in the haven, as I doubt not thereof, by the grace of God, desiring you to help me with your prayers to the same effect."

Constant Bilney exhorted to constancy!

He goeth to his death.

And so he, going forth in the streets, giving much alms by the way by the hands of one of his friends, and accompanied by one Dr. Warner, doctor of divinity, and parson of Winterton, whom he did choose as his old acquaintance, to be with him for his ghostly comfort, came at last to the place of execution, and descended down from the hill to the same, apparelled in a layman's gown with his sleeves hanging down, and his arms out; his hair being piteously mangled at his degradation (a little single body in person, but always of a good upright countenance), and drew near to the stake prepared; and somewhat tarrying the preparation of the fire, he desired that he might speak some words to the people, and there standing, thus he said:

His words at the stake.

"Good people! I am come hither to die, and born I was to live under that condition, naturally to die again; and that ye may testify that I depart out of this present life as a true christian man, in a right belief towards Almighty God, I will rehearse unto you in a fast faith the articles of my creed." And then he began to rehearse them in order, as they be in the common creed, with oft elevating his eyes and hands to Almighty God; and at the article of Christ's incarnation, having a little meditation in himself, and coming to the word "crucified," he humbly bowed himself, and made great reverence; and then proceeding in the articles, and coming to these words, "I believe the catholic church," there he paused, and spake these words:

Bilney put to death for preaching, being thereunto desired.

"Good people! I must here confess to have offended the church, in preaching once against the prohibition of the same, at a poor cure belonging to Trinity-hall, in Cambridge, where I was fellow; earnestly entreated thereunto by the curate and other good people of the parish, showing that they had no sermon there of long time before: and so in my conscience moved, I did make a poor collation unto them, and thereby ran into the disobedience of certain authority in the church, by whom I was prohibited; howbeit I trust at the general day, charity, that moved me to this act, shall bear me out at the judgment-seat of God:" and so he proceeded on, without any manner of words of recantation, or charging any man for procuring him to his death.[1]

Thomas Bilney praying at the stake.

This once done, he put off his gown, and went to the stake, and kneeling upon a little ledge coming out of the stake, whereon he should afterward stand to be better seen, he made his private prayer with such earnest elevation of his eyes and hands to heaven, and in so good and quiet behaviour, that he seemed not much to consider the terror of his death; and ended at last his private prayers with the Psalm,[2] beginning, "Domine! exaudi orationem meam, auribus percipe

(1) Thus Master More is proved a liar by a witness present at Bilney's death. (2) Psalm cxliii.

obsecrationem meam," &c., that is, "Hear my prayer, O Lord! consider my desire." And the next verse, he repeated in deep meditation thrice: "Et ne intres in judicium cum servo tuo domine;" that is, "And enter not into judgment with thy servant, for in thy sight shall no man living be justified:" and so finishing that Psalm, he ended his private prayers. *Henry VIII.* A.D. 1531.

After that, he turned himself to the officers, asking them if they were ready, and they answered, Yea. Whereupon he put off his jacket and doublet, and stood in his hose and shirt, and went unto the stake, standing upon that ledge, and the chain was cast about him; and standing thereon, the said Dr. Warner came to him to bid him farewell, who spake but few words for weeping: upon whom the said Thomas Bilney did most gently smile, and inclined his body to speak to him a few words of thanks; and the last were these, "O Master Doctor! Pasce gregem tuum, pasce gregem tuum; ut cum venerit Dominus, inveniat te sic facientem." That is, "Feed your flock, feed your flock; that when the Lord cometh, he may find you so doing." And, "Farewell, good Master Doctor! and pray for me;" and so Warner departed without any answer, sobbing and weeping. And while Bilney thus stood upon the ledge at the stake, certain friars, doctors, and priors of their houses, being there present (as they were uncharitably and maliciously present at his examination and degradation, &c.), came to him and said, "O Master Bilney! the people be persuaded that we be the causers of your death, and that we have procured the same, and thereupon it is likely that they will withdraw their charitable alms from us all, except you declare your charity towards us, and discharge us of the matter:" whereupon the said Thomas Bilney spake with a loud voice to the people and said, "I pray you, good people! be never the worse to these men for my sake, as though they should be the authors of my death; it was not they:" and so he ended.

Doctor Warner taking his farewell of Bilney.

The friars desire Bilney to speak for them.

Then the officers put reeds and faggots about his body, and set fire to the reeds, which made a very great flame, that sparkled and deformed the visor of his face; he holding up his hands, and knocking upon his breast, crying sometimes "Jesus!" sometimes, "Credo!" which flame was blown away from him by the violence of the wind, which was that day, and two or three days before, notably great; in which it was said, that the fields were marvellously plagued by the loss of corn; and so, for a little pause, he stood without flame, the flame departing and recoursing thrice ere the wood took strength to be the sharper to consume him; and then he gave up the ghost, and his body, being withered, bowed downward upon the chain. Then one of the officers, with his halberd, smote out the staple in the stake behind him, and suffered his body to fall into the bottom of the fire, laying wood upon it; and so he was consumed.[1]

His patient death and martyrdom.

Thus have ye, good readers! the true history, and martyrdom of this good man; that is, of blessed saint Bilney (as Master Latimer doth call him), without any recantation, testified and ratified by the

(1) The story in the first edition, page 467, slightly differs—'And from thence was he carried in the morning to be burned in Lollards' pit, near Norwich; with great joy and gladness falling down flat upon his face before the stake. Then, rising up, he kissed it and embraced it, and took the chain and inclosed himself, confessing his faith, and animating the people to stand fast in the truth of God's holy word: and so he suffered as a true martyr of Jesus Christ.'—Ed.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1531.

authority abovesaid: by which authority and party being there present and yet alive, it is furthermore constantly affirmed, that Bilney not only did never recant, but also that he never had any such bill, scrip, or scroll in his hand to read, either softly or apertly, as Master More, 'per licentiam poeticam,' would bear us down. Wherefore, even as ye see Master More deal in this, so ye may trust him in the residue of his other tales, if ye will.

Master Stafford, of Cambridge.

Bilney the chief converter, or apostle of Cambridge.

As the death of this godly Bilney did much good in Norfolk, where he was burned; so his diligent travail, in teaching and exhorting others, and example of life correspondent to his doctrine, left no small fruit behind him in Cambridge, being a great means of framing that university, and drawing divers unto Christ. By reason of him, and partly also of another, called Master Stafford, the word of God began there most luckily to spread, and many toward wits to flourish; in the company of whom were Master Latimer, Dr. Barnes, Dr. Thistell of Pembroke-Hall, Master Fooke of Benet-college, and Master Soude of the same college, Dr. Warner above-mentioned, with divers others. This Master Stafford was then the public reader of the divinity lecture in that university; who, as he was an earnest professor of Christ's gospel, so was he as diligent a follower of that which he professed, as by this example here following may appear.

Notable zeal of Stafford, in saving a damnable priest.

For as the plague was then sore in Cambridge, and amongst others a certain priest, called sir Henry Conjurer, lay sore sick of the said plague, Master Stafford, hearing thereof, and seeing the horrible danger that his soul was in, was so moved in conscience to help the dangerous case of the priest, that he, neglecting his own bodily death, to recover the other from eternal damnation, came unto him, exhorted, and so laboured him, that he would not leave him before he had converted him, and saw his conjuring books burned before his face. This being done, Master Stafford went home, and immediately sickened, and, shortly after, most christianly deceased.[1]

Concerning this Master Stafford, this moreover is to be noted, how that Master Latimer, being yet a fervent and a zealous papist, standing in the schools when Master Stafford read, bade the scholars not to hear him; and also, preaching against him, exhorted the people not to believe him: and yet the said Latimer confessed himself, that he gave thanks to God, that he asked him forgiveness before he departed. And thus much by the way of good Master Stafford, who, for his constant and godly adventure in such a cause, may seem not unworthy to go with blessed Bilney, in the fellowship of holy and blessed martyrs.

Latimer asketh Stafford forgiveness.

The Story of Master Simon Fish,

AUTHOR OF 'THE SUPPLICATION OF BEGGARS.'

Before the time of Master Bilney, and the fall of the cardinal, I should have placed the story of Simon Fish, with the book called The Supplication of Beggars; declaring how, and by what means, it came to the king's hand, and what effect thereof followed after, in the reformation of many things; especially of the clergy. But the

(1) Ex fideli testimonio D. Ridlei, et Edmund. Episc. Lond.

missing of a few years in this matter breaketh no great square in our story, though that be now entered here, which should have come in six years before. The manner and circumstance of the matter is this: *Henry VIII.* A.D. 1531.

After that the light of the gospel, working mightily in Germany, began to spread its beams here also in England, great stir and alteration followed in the hearts of many; so that coloured hypocrisy, and false doctrine, and painted holiness, began to be espied more and more by the reading of God's word. The authority of the bishop of Rome, and the glory of his cardinals, were not so high, but such as had fresh wits, sparkled with God's grace, began to espy Christ from Antichrist; that is, true sincerity from counterfeit religion: in the number of whom was the said Master Simon Fish, a gentleman of Gray's Inn. It happened the first year that this gentleman came to London to dwell, which was about A.D. 1525, that there was a certain play or interlude made by one Master Roo, of the same inn, gentleman, in which play partly was matter against the cardinal Wolsey;[1] and when none durst take upon them to play that part which touched the said cardinal, this aforesaid Master Fish took upon him to do it. Hereupon great displeasure ensued against him upon the cardinal's part, insomuch that he, being pursued by the said cardinal the same night that this tragedy was played, was compelled by force to void his own house, and so fled over the sea to Tyndale: upon occasion whereof, the next year following, this book was made (being about the year 1527); and so, not long after, in the year, as I suppose, 1528, was sent over to the lady Ann Bullen, who then lay at a place not far from the court. This book her brother seeing in her hand, took and read, and gave it to her again, willing her earnestly to give it to the king, which thing she did. This was (as I gather) about A.D. 1528.

The king, after he had received the book, demanded of her who made it: whereunto she answered and said, a certain subject of his, one Fish, who was fled out of the realm for fear of the cardinal. After the king had kept the book in his bosom three or four days, as is credibly reported, such knowledge was given by the king's servants to the wife of the said Simon Fish, that she might boldly send for her husband without all peril or danger: whereupon she, thereby being encouraged, came first and made suit to the king for the safe return of her husband; who, understanding whose wife she was, showed a marvellous gentle and cheerful countenance towards her, asking where her husband was. She answered "If it like your grace, not far off." "Then," saith he, "fetch him, and he shall come and go safe, without peril, and no man shall do him harm:" saying moreover, that he had much wrong that he was from her so long; who had been absent now the space of two years and a half. In the mean time the cardinal was deposed, as is afore showed, and Master More set in his place of the chancellorship. *The Supplication of Beggars given to the king.*

Thus Fish's wife, being emboldened by the king's words, went immediately to her husband (being lately come over, and lying privily within a mile of the court), and brought him to the king; which *Fish brought to the king.*

(1) Ex certa relatione, vivoque testimonio propriæ ipsius conjugis.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1531. appeareth to be about A.D. 1530. When the king saw him, and understood he was the author of the book, he came and embraced him with loving countenance. After long talk for the space of three or four hours, as they were riding together in hunting, the king at length dismissed him, and bade him take home his wife, for she had taken great pains for him; who answered the king again, and said, he durst not so do, for fear of sir Thomas More, then chancellor, and Stokesley, then bishop of London. This seemeth to be about A.D. 1530.

Rescued by the king. The king, taking the signet off his finger, willed him to have him recommended to the lord chancellor, charging him not to be so hardy as to work him any harm. Master Fish, receiving the king's signet, went and declared his message to the lord chancellor, who took it as sufficient for his own discharge, but he asked him, if he had any thing for the discharge of his wife? For she, a little before, had by chance displeased the friars, by not suffering them to say their gospels in Latin in her house, as they did in others, unless they would say them in English. Hereupon the lord chancellor, though he had discharged the man, yet not leaving his grudge towards the wife, the next morning sent his man for her to appear before him; who, had it not been for her young daughter, who then lay sick of the plague, had been like to come to much trouble. Of which plague, her husband (the said Master Fish) deceasing within half a year, she afterwards married one Master James Bainham, sir Alexander Bainham's son, a worshipful knight of Gloucestershire; which aforesaid Master James Bainham not long after was burned, as incontinently after, in the process of this story, shall appear.

Sir Tho. More persecuteth Fish's wife.

Fish dieth of the plague.

'The Sum of the Scripture.' And thus much concerning Simon Fish, the author of the Book of Beggars, who also translated a book, called 'The Sum of the Scripture,' out of the Dutch.

Now cometh another note of one Edmund Moddis the king's footman, touching the same matter.

Moddis, the king's footman. This Master Moddis, being with the king in talk of religion, and of the new books that were come from beyond the seas, said, if it might please his grace to pardon him, and such as he would bring to his grace, he should see such a book as it was a marvel to hear of. The king demanded who they were. He said, "Two of your merchants, George Elyot and George Robinson." The king appointed a time to speak with them. When they came before his presence in a privy closet, he demanded what they had to say, or to show him. One of them said, that there was a book come to their hands, which they had there to show his grace. When he saw it, he demanded if any of them could read it. "Yea," said George Elyot, "if it please your grace to hear it." "I thought so," said the king, "for if need were, thou canst say it without book."

The Book of Beggars brought to the king.

The king's answer. The whole book being read out, the king made a long pause, and then said, "If a man should pull down an old stone wall, and begin at the lower part, the upper part thereof might chance to fall upon his head." And then he took the book, and put it into his desk, and commanded them, upon their allegiance, that they should not tell any man that he had seen the book, &c. The copy of the aforesaid book, entitled, 'Of the Beggars,' here ensueth.

A certain libel or book, entitled, 'The Supplication of Beggars,' thrown and scattered at the Procession in Westminster, on Candlemas day, before king Henry the Eighth, for him to read and peruse. Made and compiled by Master Fish. *Henry VIII.* A.D. 1531.

To the king our sovereign lord;

Most lamentably complaineth of their woeful misery, unto your highness, your poor daily beadmen, the wretched hideous monsters, on whom scarcely for horror any eye dare look; the foul unhappy sort of lepers, and other sore people, needy, impotent, blind, lame, and sick, that live only by alms; how that their number is daily so sore increased, that all the alms of all the well-disposed people of this your realm are not half enough to sustain them, but that for very constraint they die for hunger. And this most pestilent mischief is come upon your said poor beadmen, by the reason that there hath, in the times of your noble predecessors passed, craftily crept into this your realm, another sort, not of impotent, but of strong, puissant, and counterfeit, holy and idle beggars and vagabonds, who, since the time of their first entry, by all the craft and wiliness of Satan, are now increased under your sight, not only into a great number, but also into a kingdom.

These are not the herds, but the ravenous wolves going in herds' clothing, devouring the flock: bishops, abbots, priors, deacons, archdeacons, suffragans, priests, monks, canons, friars, pardoners and sumners. And who is able to number this idle ravenous sort, that (setting all labour aside) have begged so importunately, that they have gotten into their hands more than the third part of all your realm? The goodliest lordships, manors, lands, and territories are theirs. Besides this, they have the tenth part of all the corn, meadow, pasture, grass, wood, colts, calves, lambs, pigs, geese, and chickens. Over and besides, the tenth part of every servant's wages, the tenth part of wool, milk, honey, wax, cheese and butter; yea, and they look so narrowly upon their profits, that the poor wives must be accountable to them for every tenth egg, or else she getteth not her rights at Easter, and shall be taken as a heretic. Hereto have they their four offering-days. What money pull they in by probates of testaments, privy-tithes, and by men's offerings to their pilgrimages, and at their first masses? Every man and child that is buried must pay somewhat for masses and dirges to be sung for him, or else they will accuse their friends and executors of heresy. What money get they by mortuaries, by hearing of confessions (and yet they will keep thereof no counsel), by hallowing of churches, altars, super-altars, chapels and bells, by cursing of men, and absolving them again for money? What a multitude of money gather the pardoners in a year? How much money get the sumners by extortion in a year, by citing the people to the Commissary's court, and afterwards releasing the apparents for money? Finally, the infinite number of begging friars, what get they in a year?

Strong, valiant, sturdy, and idle beggars.

More than the third part of the realm, in the spiritual men's hands.

Here if it please your grace to mark, you shall see a thing far out of joint. There are within your realm of England 52,000 parish churches.[1] And this standing, that there be but ten households in every parish, yet are there 520,000 households. And of every of these households, hath every of the five orders of friars a penny a quarter for every order; that is, for all the five orders, five-pence a quarter for every house; that is, for all the five orders, twenty-pence a-year of every house. Summa, five hundred and twenty thousand quarters of angels, that is, 260,000 half angels. Summa, 130,000 angels. Summa totalis, 430,333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* sterling.[2] Whereof, not four hundred years passed, they had not one penny.

(1) Peradventure the common count of the parishes of England, among men, and in maps of the old time so went. And albeit the said parishes do not amount now, to the same rate of 52,000, yet nevertheless the number, no doubt, is great, and therefore the quarterage of the friars cannot be little, but riseth to a great penny through the realm: whereupon the scope of this man's reason soundeth to good purpose; for although he hit not perfectly on the just sums, yet it cannot be denied, but that the friars had very much, and much more than they deserved. Again, neither can it be denied, but the more they had, the less redounded to the impotent needy beggars indeed. And what reason is it, that such valiant beggars, who may work, and yet will needs be idle, should reap any piece of the crop, who bear no burden of the harvest, but wilfully do sit idle, and serve to no use necessary in the commonwealth?

(2) Admit the summa totalis came not to so much, yet it came to more than the friars deserved, who could well work, and would not; and would needs beg, and needed not; whereof read before the story of Armachanus.

Henry VIII. A. D. 1531.

Oh grievous and painful exaction,[1] thus yearly to be paid; from which, the people of your noble predecessors, the kings of the ancient Britons, ever stood free! And this will they have, or else they will procure him that will not give it to them, to be taken as a heretic. What tyrant ever oppressed the people, like this cruel and revengeful generation? What subjects shall be able to help their prince, that be after this fashion yearly polled? What good christian people can be able to succour us poor lepers, blind, sore, and lame, that be thus yearly oppressed? Is it any marvel that your people so complain of poverty? Is it any marvel that the taxes, fifteenths, and subsidies, which your grace most tenderly, of great compassion, hath taken among your people, to defend them from the threatened ruin of their commonwealth, have been so slothfully, yea painfully levied, seeing almost the uttermost penny, that might have been levied, hath been gathered before yearly by this erroneous, insatiable generation? Neither the Danes nor the Saxons, in the time of the ancient Britons, should ever have been able to have brought their armies from so far hither into your land to have conquered it, if they had had at that time such a sort of idle gluttons to find at home.[2] The noble king Arthur had never been able to have carried his army to the foot of the mountains, to resist the coming down of Lucius the emperor, if such yearly exactions had been taken of his people. The Greeks had never been able to have so long continued at the siege of Troy, if they had had at home such an idle sort of cormorants to find. The ancient Romans had never been able to have put all the whole world under their obeisance, if their people had been thus yearly oppressed. The Turk now, in your time, should never have been able to get so much ground of Christendom, if he had in his empire such a sort of locusts to devour his substance. Lay then these sums to the aforesaid third part of the possessions of the realm, that ye may see whether it draw nigh unto the half of the whole substance of the realm or *not*: so shall ye find that it draweth far above.

An unequal division that the friars should have half with the multitude.

Now let us then compare the number of this unkind idle sort, unto the number of the lay-people, and we shall see whether it be indifferently shifted or not, that they should have half. Compare them to the number of men, so are they not the hundredth person. Compare them to men, women, and children, then are they not the four hundredth person in number. One part, therefore, into four hundred parts divided, were too much for them, except they did labour. What an unequal burden is it, that they have half with the multitude, and are not the four hundredth person of their number? What tongue is able to tell, that ever there was any commonwealth so sore oppressed since the world first began?

The rule of kings impaired by the pope's clergy.

And what doth all this greedy sort of sturdy, idle, holy thieves, with these yearly exactions that they take of the people? Truly nothing, but exempt themselves from the obedience of your grace! Nothing, but translate all rule, power, lordship, authority, obedience, and dignity, from your grace unto them! Nothing, but that all your subjects should fall into disobedience and rebellion against your grace, and be under them; as they did unto your noble predecessor king John, who, because he would have punished certain traitors that had conspired, with the French king, to have deposed him from his crown and dignity (among whom a clerk, called Stephen, whom afterwards, against the king's will, the pope made bishop of Canterbury, was one) interdicted his land. For this matter your most noble realm wrongfully (alas for shame!) hath stood tributary, not unto any kind of temporal prince, but unto a cruel devilish blood-supper, drunken with the blood of the saints and martyrs of Christ ever since.

Here were a holy sort of prelates, that thus cruelly could punish such a righteous king, all his realm and succession, for doing right. Here were a charitable sort of holy men, that could thus interdict a whole realm, and pluck away the obedience of the people from their natural liege lord and king, for no other cause, but for his righteousness. Here were a blessed sort, not of meek herds, but of blood-suppers, that could set the French king upon such a righteous prince, to cause him to lose his crown and dignity, to make effusion of the blood of his people, unless this good and blessed king, of great compassion, more fearing and lamenting the shedding of the blood of his people, than

King John submitted himself unto the pope.

(1) 'Oh grievous,' &c. These words, saith Master More, the souls themselves did hear even into purgatory. Belike Master More himself stood behind purgatory-door at the same time, or else how could he tell that the souls did hear him?

(2) He meaneth all this only of idle friars.

the loss of his crown and dignity, against all right and conscience, had submitted himself unto them.

Oh case most horrible, that ever so noble a king, realm, and succession, should thus be made to stoop to such a sort of blood-suppers! Where was his sword, power, crown, and dignity become, whereby he might have done justice in this matter? where was their obedience become, that should have been subject under his high power in this matter? yea, where was the obedience of all his subjects become, that for maintenance of the commonwealth should have holpen him manfully to have resisted these blood-suppers, to the shedding of their blood? Was it not altogether by their policy translated from this good king unto them?

Yea, and what do they more? Truly, nothing but apply themselves, by all the sleights they may, to have to do with every man's wife, every man's daughter, and every man's maid, that licentiousness should reign over all, among your subjects, that no man should know his own child; that their bastards might inherit the possessions of every man, to put the right-begotten children clear beside their inheritance, in subversion of all estates and godly order.[1] These be they, that by their abstaining from marriage do hinder the increase of the people, whereby all the realm at length, if it should be continued, shall be made desert and uninhabitable.

Vice increased in England by the pope's clergy. †

These be they that have made a hundred thousand idle, dissolute women in your realm, who would have gotten their living honestly, in the sweat of their faces, had not their superfluous riches allured them to unclean lust and idleness. These be they that corrupt the whole generation of mankind in your realm; that catch a disease of one woman, and bear it unto another, &c. &c. Yea, some one of them shall boast among his fellows, that he hath meddled with a hundred women. These be they, that when they have once drawn men's wives to such incontinency, spend away their husbands' goods; make the women to run away from their husbands; yea, run away themselves both with wife and goods, bringing both man, wife, and children, to idleness, theft, and beggary. Yea, who is able to number the great and broad bottomless ocean sea, full of evils, that this mischievous and sinful generation may lawfully bring upon us unpunished?

Where is your sword, power, crown, and dignity become, that should punish by punishment of death, even as other men are punished, the felonies, rapes, murders, and treasons, committed by this sinful generation? Where is their obedience become, that should be under your high power in this matter? Is it not altogether translated and exempt from your grace unto them? Yes, truly; what an infinite number of people might have been increased to have peopled the realm, if this sort of folk had been married like other men?[2] What breach of matrimony is there brought in by them? such truly as was never since the world began, among the whole multitude of the heathen. Who is she that will set her hands to work, to get three pence a day, and may have at least twenty pence a day for yielding to a friar, a monk, or a priest? What is he that would labour for a groat a day, and may have at least twelve-pence a day to be at the command of a priest, a monk, or a friar? What a sort are there of them that marry priests' sovereign ladies, but to cloke the priests' incontinency, and that they may have a living of the priests themselves for their labour? How many thousand doth such lubricity bring to beggary, theft, and idleness, who should have kept their good name, and have set themselves to work, had there not been this excessive treasure of the spiritualty? What honest man dare take any man or woman into his service, that hath been at such a school with a spiritual man?

Priests and doves make foul houses.

The pope's clergy a shipwreck to all commonwealths.

Oh the grievous shipwreck of the commonwealth, which in ancient time, before the coming of these ravenous wolves, was so prosperous, that then there were but few thieves; yea, theft at that time was so rare, that Cæsar was not compelled to make penalty of death upon felony, as your grace may well perceive in his Institutes. There were also at that time but few poor people, and

(1) If this be not true in the whole, I would the greatest part were not such.

(2) The realm of England is diminished and decayed by the number of two hundred thousand persons at least, or else replenished with so many wanton men and women, by restraining of marriage from priests, monks, friars, nuns, colleges, hospitals, beadmen, and such like orders, within the realm of England. The increase of which number might be recovered, and the realm more peopled, and also God's commandments better kept, if these vows of bondage were broken, and matrimony permitted free to all men.

Henry VIII. A. D. 1531.

yet they did not beg, but there was given them enough unasked; for there were at that time none of these ravenous wolves to ask it from them, as it appeareth in the Acts of the Apostles. Is it any marvel though there be now so many beggars, thieves, and idle people? Nay, truly! What remedy?—make laws against them? I am in doubt whether ye be able. Are they not stronger in your own parliament-house than yourself? What a number of bishops, abbots, and priors, are lords of your parliament! Are not all the learned men of your realm in fee with them, to speak in your parliament-house[1] for them, against your crown, dignity, and commonwealth of your realm, a few of your own learned council only excepted? What law can be made against them that may be available? Who is he (though he be aggrieved ever so sore) that for the murder of his ancestor, ravishment of his wife, of his daughter, robbery, trespass, maim, debt, or any other offence, dare lay it to their charge by any way of action? And if he do, then is he by and by, by their wiliness, accused of heresy; yea, they will so handle him ere he pass, that except he will bear a faggot for their pleasure, he shall be excommunicated; and then be all his actions dashed.

The cause of so many beggars and thieves.

No law or remedy against the clergy.

So captive are your laws unto them, that no man whom they list to excommunicate, may be admitted to sue any action in any of your courts. If any man in your sessions dare be so hardy to indict a priest of any such crime, he hath, ere the year go out, such a yoke of heresy laid on his neck, that it maketh him wish that he had not done it. Your grace may see what a work there is in London; how the bishop rageth for indicting of certain curates of extortion and incontinency, the last year in the wardmote quest. Had not Richard Hun commenced an action of præmunire against a priest, he had been yet alive, and no heretic at all, but an honest man. Did not divers of your noble progenitors, seeing their crown and dignity run into ruin, and to be thus craftily translated into the hands of this mischievous generation, make divers statutes for the reformation thereof, among which the statute of mortmain was one, to the intent that after that time they should have no more given unto them? but what availed it? Have they not gotten into their hands more lands since, than any duke in England hath, the statute notwithstanding? yea, have they not, for all that, translated into their hands, from your grace, half your kingdom thoroughly, only the name remaining to you for your ancestors' sake? So you have the name, and they the profit. Yea, I fear, if I should weigh all things to the uttermost, they would also take the name unto them, and of one kingdom make twain; the spiritual kingdom, as they call it (for they will be named first), and your temporal kingdom. And which of these two kingdoms, suppose you, is like to overgrow the other, yea, to put the other clean out of memory? Truly the kingdom of the blood-suppers, for to them is given daily out of your kingdom; and what is once given them, never cometh from them again. Such laws have they, that none of them may either give or sell any thing. What law can be made so strong against them, which they, either with money, or else with other policy, will not break or set at nought? What kingdom can endure, that ever giveth thus from it, and receiveth nothing again? Oh how all the substance of your realm (your sword, power, crown, dignity, and obedience of your people) runneth headlong into the insatiable whirlpool of these greedy gulfs, to be swallowed and devoured!

All laws and actions captive to them.

Of Richard Hun, read before.

The statute of mortmain.

Half the profit of the realm in the clergy's hands.

Neither have they any other colour to gather these yearly exactions into their hands, but that they say they pray for us to God, to deliver our souls out of the pains of purgatory; without whose prayer, they say, or at least without the pope's pardon, we could never be delivered thence: which if it be true, then it is good reason that we give them all these things, although it were a hundred times as much. But there be many men of great literature and judgment, who, for the love they have unto the truth and unto the commonwealth, have not feared to put themselves into the greatest infamy that may be, in abjection of all the world, yea, in peril of death, to declare their opinion in this matter; which is, that there is no purgatory; but that it is a thing invented by the covetousness of the spiritualty, only to translate all kingdoms from other princes unto them, and that there is not one word spoken of it in all holy Scripture. They say, also, that if there were a purgatory, and also if the pope with his pardons

The most good the pope's clergy do in England, is to pray men's souls out of purgatory!

Purgatory denied.

(1) The pope's clergy stronger in parliament than princes, as hath appeared by their cruel laws against the poor gospellers.

may for money deliver one soul thence, he may deliver him as well without money: if he may deliver one, he may deliver a thousand: if he may deliver a thousand, he may deliver them all; and so destroy purgatory: and then he is a cruelty rant, without all charity, if he keep them there in prison and in pain, till men will give him money.[1]

Likewise say they of all the whole sort of the spiritualty, that if they will pray for no man but for them that give them money, they are tyrants, and lack charity, and suffer those souls to be punished and pained uncharitably, for lack of their prayers. This sort of folks they call heretics; these they burn; these they rage against, put to open shame, and make them bear faggots: but whether they be heretics or no, well I wot that this purgatory, and the pope's pardons are all the cause of the translation of your kingdom so fast into their hands. Wherefore it is manifest it cannot be of Christ, for he gave more to the temporal kingdom; he himself paid tribute to Cæsar; he took nothing from him, but taught that the high powers should be always obeyed; yea he himself (although he were most free Lord of all, and innocent) was obedient unto the high powers unto death. This is the great scab why they will not let the New Testament go abroad in your mother tongue, lest men should espy that they, by their cloked hypocrisy, do translate thus fast your kingdom into their hands; that they are not obedient unto your high power; that they are cruel, unclean, unmerciful, and hypocrites; that they seek not the honour of Christ, but their own; that remission of sins is not given by the pope's pardon, but by Christ, for the sure faith and trust that we have in him.

Christ submitted himself under temporal government.

The New Testament in the mother tongue.

Here may your grace well perceive, that except you suffer their hypocrisy to be disclosed, all is like to run into their hands; and as long as it is covered, so long shall it seem to every man to be a great impiety, not to give them. For this I am sure, your grace thinketh (as the truth is), 'I am as good a man as my father; why may I not as well give them as much as my father did?'[2] And of this mind, I am sure are all the lords, knights, squires, gentlemen, and yeomen in England; yea, and until it be disclosed, all your people will think that your statute of mortmain was never made with any good conscience, seeing that it taketh away the liberty of your people, in that they may not as lawfully buy their souls out of purgatory, by giving to the spiritualty, as their predecessors did in times past.

Wherefore, if ye will eschew the ruin of your crown and dignity, let their hypocrisy be uttered, and that shall be more speedful in this matter, than all the laws that may be made, be they ever so strong; for to make a law to punish any offender, except it were more to give other men an example to beware how they commit such like offence, what should it avail? Did not Dr. Alen[3] most presumptuously, now in your time, against his allegiance, do all that ever he could, to pull from you the knowledge of such pleas as belong unto your high courts, unto another court, in derogation of your crown and dignity? Did not also Dr. Horsey[4] and his complices, most heinously (as all the world knoweth) murder in prison that honest merchant Richard Hun, for that he sued your writ of præmunire against a priest that wrongfully held him in plea in a spiritual court, for a matter whereof the knowledge belongeth unto your high courts? and what punishment was there done, that any man may take example of, to beware of like offence? Truly none, but that the one paid five hundred pounds (as it is said) to the building of your chamber; and when that payment was once passed, the captains of his kingdom, because he fought so manfully against your crown and dignity, have heaped on him benefice upon benefice, so that he is rewarded ten times[5] as much. The other (as it is said) paid six

(1) If the pope may deliver souls out of purgatory for money, he may then as well deliver them without money, if it pleased him. Again, if he deliver one, he can deliver a thousand; if he can deliver a thousand, he can deliver all; and so make a gaol-delivery, and a clean despatch of all purgatory, if he would: and if he will not when he may, then is there no charity in him.

(2) Master More here played the caviller, noting the author of this supplication to desire leave to rail on the whole clergy; as though the hypocrisy of the Friars could not otherwise be disclosed without railing on the whole clergy.

(3) Of Dr. Alen, the cardinal's chancellor, read before.

(4) Of this Dr. Horsey, the bishop of London's chancellor, read before.

(5) 'Ten times,' that is, ten times as much as he had in benefices before, and not as he paid to the king. And although these murderers of Hun were not recompensed with ten times, or with four times as much (which More denieth), yet can he never be able to deny the substance of the story, that is, that Hun, by these, was brought to his death; and that they, being put to their fines, were afterwards sufficiently recompensed with benefices upon benefices.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1531.

hundred pounds for him and his complices; who, because he had likewise fought so manfully against your crown and dignity, was immediately, as he had obtained your most gracious pardon, promoted by the captains of the kingdom, with benefice upon benefice, to the value of four times as much. Who can take example of punishment to beware of such like offence? Who is he of their kingdom that will not rather take courage to commit like offence, seeing the promotions that fell to these men for their so offending? So weak and blunt is your sword to strike at one of the offenders of this crooked and perverse generation!

Inconvenient for a spiritual man to be lord chancellor.

And this is the reason that the chief instrument of your law, yea the chief of your council, and he that hath your sword in his hand, to whom also all the other instruments are obedient, is always a spiritual man, who hath ever such an inordinate love unto his own kingdom, that he will maintain that, though all the temporal kingdoms and commonwealths of the world should therefore utterly be undone. Here leave we out the greatest matter of all, lest that we, declaring such a horrible carrion of evil against the ministers of iniquity, should seem to declare the one only fault, or rather the ignorance of our best beloved minister of righteousness, which is to be hid till he may be learned, by these small enormities that we have spoken of, to know it plainly himself.[1]

Priests turn the hospitals to their own profit.

But what remedy to relieve us, your poor, sick, lame, and sore beadmen? to make many hospitals for the relief of the poor people? Nay, truly. The more the worse: for ever the fat of the whole foundation hangeth on the priests' beards. Divers of your noble predecessors, kings of this realm, have given lands to monasteries, to give a certain sum of money yearly to the poor people, whereof, for the ancienty of the time, they give never one penny. They have likewise given to them, to have a certain of masses said daily for them, whereof they say never a one. If the abbot of Westminster should sing every day as many masses for his founders, as he is bound to do by his foundation, a thousand monks were too few. Wherefore if your grace will build a sure hospital that never shall fail, to relieve us all your poor beadmen, then take from them all these things. Set these sturdy loobies abroad in the world, to get them wives of their own, to get their living with their labour in the sweat of their faces, according to the commandment of God, in the first of Genesis; to give other idle people, by their example, occasion to go to labour.

What wealth and goodness cometh to the realm by putting out monks,

Tie these holy idle thieves to the carts, to be whipped naked about every market-town, till they fall to labour, that they, by their importunate begging, take not away the alms that the good christian people would give unto us, sore, impotent, miserable people, your beadmen. Then shall as well the number of our aforesaid monstrous sort, as of the profligate men and women, thieves, and idle people, decrease: then shall these great yearly exactions cease: then shall not your sword, power, crown, dignity, and obedience of your people, be translated from you: then shall you have full obedience of your people: then shall the idle people be set to work: then shall matrimony be much better kept: then shall the generation of your people be increased: then shall your commons increase in riches: then shall the gospel be preached: then shall none beg our alms from us: then shall we have enough, and more than shall suffice us; which shall be the best hospital that ever was founded for us: then shall we daily pray to God for your most noble estate long to endure.

The supplication of purgatory, made by sir Tho. More, against the Book of Beggars.

Against this Book of the Beggars, above prefixed, being written in the time of the cardinal, another contrary book or supplication was devised and written shortly upon the same, by one sir Thomas More, knight, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, under the name and title of, 'The poor silly souls puling out of Purgatory.' In that book, after the said Master More, the writer thereof, had first divided the whole world into four parts, that is, into heaven, hell, middle earth, and purgatory; then he maketh the dead men's souls, by a rhetorical 'prosopopœia,' to speak out of purgatory pin-fold, sometimes lamentably complaining of, sometimes pleasantly dallying and scoffing at,

(5) More expoundeth this to mean the abuse of the sacrament of the altar.

the author of the Beggars' Book; sometimes scolding and railing at him, calling him fool, witless, frantic, an ass, a goose, a mad dog, a heretic, and all that naught is. And no marvel, if these simple souls of purgatory seem so fumish and testy; for heat (ye know) is testy, and soon inflameth choler. But yet these purgatory souls must take good heed how they call a man a fool and heretic so often; for if the sentence of the gospel doth pronounce them guilty of hell-fire, who say, 'Fatue,' 'Fool!' it may be doubted, lest those poor, simple, melancholy souls of purgatory, calling this man fool so oft as they have done, do bring themselves thereby out of purgatory-fire to the fire of hell, by that just sentence of the gospel; so that neither the five wounds of St. Francis, nor all the merits of St. Dominic, nor yet of all the friars, can release those poor wretches! But yet, forasmuch as I do not, nor cannot think, that those departed souls either would so far overshoot themselves, if they were in purgatory, or else that there is any such fourth place of purgatory at all (unless it be in Master More's Utopia),[1] as Master More's poetical vein doth imagine, I cease therefore to burden the souls departed, and lay all the wit on Master More, the author and contriver of this poetical book, for not keeping 'decorum personæ,' as a perfect poet should have done.[2] They that give precepts of art, do note this, in all poetical fictions, as a special observation, to foresee and express what is convenient for every person, according to his degree and condition, to speak and utter. Wherefore if it be true which Master More saith, in the sequel of his book, that grace and charity increase in them that lie in the pains of purgatory, then is it not agreeable that such souls, lying so long in purgatory, should so soon forget their charity, and fall a railing in their supplication so fumishly, both against this man, with such opprobrious and unsuiting terms, and also against John Badby, Richard Hovedon, John Goose, lord Cobham, and other martyrs of the Lord, burned for his word; also against Luther, William Tyndale, Richard Hun, and others besides, falsely belying the doctrine by them taught and defended; which it is not like that such charitable souls of purgatory would ever do, neither were it convenient for them in that case; which indeed, though their doctrine were false, should redound to the more increase of their pain. Again, where the bishop of Rochester defineth the angels to be ministers to purgatory-souls, some will think, peradventure, Master More to have missed some part of his 'decorum,' in making the evil spirit of the author[3] and the devil to be messenger, between middle-earth and purgatory, in bringing tidings to the prisoned souls, both of the book, and of the name of the maker.

Henry VIII. A. D. 1531.

Matt. v.

Now, as touching the manner how this devil came into purgatory, laughing, grinning, and gnashing his teeth, in sooth it maketh me to laugh, to see the merry antics of Master More. Belike then this was some merry devil, or else had eaten with his teeth some nasturcium before; who, coming into purgatory, to show the name of this man, could not tell his tale without laughing. "But this was," saith he, "an enmious and an envious laughing, joined with grinning and

Master More's antics.

Satan nasturciatur.

(1) 'Utopia,' that is to say, 'nusquam,' no place.
(2) A poet, saith Horace, 'reddere personæ, scit convenientia cuique.'
(3) 'The author,' that is, of the 'Beggars' Supplication.'—Ed.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1531.

gnashing of teeth." And immediately upon the same, was contrived this scoffing and railing supplication of the puling souls of purgatory, as he himself doth term them. So then, here was enmying, envying, laughing, grinning, gnashing of teeth, puling, scoffing, railing and begging; and all together to make a very black 'sanctus' in purgatory. Indeed we read in Scripture, that there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth in hell, where the souls and bodies of men shall be tormented. But who would ever have thought before, that the evil angel of this man that made the Book of Beggars, being a spiritual and no corporal substance, had teeth to gnash, and a mouth to grin? But where then stood Master More, I marvel, all this mean while, to see the devil laugh with his mouth so wide, that the souls of purgatory might see all his teeth? Belike, this was in Utopia, where Master More's purgatory is founded; but because Master More is hence departed, I leave him with his merry antics. And as touching his book of purgatory, which he hath left behind, because John Frith hath learnedly and effectuously overthrown the same, I will therefore refer the reader to him, while I repair again (the Lord willing) to the history.

A black sanctus in purgatory.

The answer of Frith against More's purgatory.

After the clergy of England, and especially the cardinal, understood these books of The Beggars' Supplication aforesaid, to be strewed abroad in the streets of London, and also before the king, the said cardinal caused not only his servants diligently to attend to gather them up, that they should not come into the king's hands, but also, when he understood that the king had received one or two of them, he came unto the king's majesty, saying, "If it shall please your grace, here are divers seditious persons who have scattered abroad books containing manifest errors and heresies;" desiring his grace to beware of them. Whereupon the king, putting his hand in his bosom, took out one of the books, and delivered it unto the cardinal. Then the cardinal, together with his bishops, consulted how they might provide a speedy remedy for this mischief, and thereupon determined to give out a commission to forbid the reading of all English books, and namely, this Book of the Beggars, and the New Testament of Tyndale's translation, which was done out of hand by Cuthbert Tonstal, bishop of London, who sent out his prohibition unto his archdeacons with all speed, for the forbidding of that book and divers others; the tenor of which prohibition here followeth.

Provision by the bishops against English books.

A Prohibition sent out by Cuthbert Tonstal, Bishop of London, to the Archdeacons of his Diocese, for the calling in of the New Testaments translated into English, with divers other Books; the Catalogue whereof hereafter ensueth.[1]

Cuthbert, by the permission of God, bishop of London, unto our well-beloved in Christ, the archdeacon of London, or to his official, health, grace and benediction. By the duty of our pastoral office, we are bound diligently, with all our power, to foresee, provide for, root out, and put away, all those things, which seem to tend to the peril and danger of our subjects, and especially to the destruction of their souls. Wherefore we, having understanding, by the report of divers credible persons, and also by the evident appearance of the matter, that many children of iniquity, maintainers of Luther's sect, blinded through extreme wickedness, wandering from the way of truth and the catholic

(1) For the Latin of this prohibition see Edition 1563, p. 449.—Ed.

faith, craftily have translated the New Testament into our English tongue, intermeddling therewith many heretical articles, and erroneous opinions, pernicious and offensive, seducing the simple people; attempting, by their wicked and perverse interpretations, to profanate the majesty of the Scripture, which hitherto hath remained undefiled, and craftily to abuse the most holy word of God, and the true sense of the same, of which translation there are many books imprinted, some with glosses, and some without, containing in the English tongue that pestiferous and most pernicious poison dispersed throughout all our diocese of London in great numbers; which truly, without it be speedily foreseen, without doubt will contaminate and infect the flock committed unto us, with most deadly poison and heresy; to the grievous peril and danger of the souls committed to our charge, and the offence of God's divine majesty. Wherefore, we Cuthbert, the bishop aforesaid, grievously sorrowing for the premises, willing to withstand the craft and subtlety of the ancient enemy and his ministers, who seek the destruction of our flock, and with a diligent care to take heed unto the flock committed to our charge, desiring to provide speedy remedies for the premises, do charge you jointly and severally, and by virtue of your obedience straitly enjoin and command you, that by our authority you warn, or cause to be warned, all and singular, as well exempt as not exempt, dwelling within your archdeaconries, that within thirty days' space, whereof ten days shall be for the first, ten for the second, and ten for the third and peremptory term, under pain of excommunication, and incurring the suspicion of heresy, they do bring in, and really deliver unto our vicar-general, all and singular such books as contain the translation of the New Testament in the English tongue; and that you do certify us, or our said commissary, within two months after the day of the date of these presents, duly, personally, or by your letters, together with these presents, under your seals, what you have done in the premises, under pain of contempt.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1531.

Given under our seal, the three and twentieth of October, in the fifth year of our consecration, anno 1526.

The like commission, in like manner and form, was sent to the other three archdeacons of Middlesex, Essex, and Colchester, for the execution of the same matter, under the bishop's seal.

The Names of the Books that were forbidden at this time, together with the New Testament.

The Supplication of Beggars; the Revelation of Antichrist, of Luther; the New Testament of Tyndale; the Wicked Mammon; the Obedience of a Christian Man; an Introduction to Paul's Epistle to the Romans; a Dialogue betwixt the Father and the Son; Oeconomicæ Christianæ; Unio dissidentium; Piæ Precationes; Captivitas Babylonica; Johannes Hus in Oseam; Zuinglius in Catabaptistas; De pueris instituendis; Brentius de administranda Republica; Luther ad Galatas; De libertate Christiana; *De vera obedientia.* Luther's Exposition upon the Pater Noster.

Besides these books here before-mentioned, within a short time after, there were a great number more of other books in like manner prohibited by the king's proclamation; but yet by the bishop's procurement, A. D. 1529: the catalogue whereof, with the names and the authors, is here to be seen.

Libri Sectæ sive Factionis Lutherianæ importati ad Civitatem London. per fautores ejusdem Sectæ, quorum Nomina et Auctores sequuntur.

Johannis Wycleffi viri piissimi Dialogorum libri quatuor, quorum primus divinitatem et ideas tractat: secundus, rerum universarum creationem complectitur: tertius, de virtutibus vitiisque ipsis contrariis copiosissime loquitur:

Henry VIII. A. D. 1531.

quartus, Romanæ Ecclesiæ Sacramenta, ejus pestiferam dotationem, Antichristi Regnum, Fratrum fraudulentam originem atque eorum hypocrisim demonstrat.

De Bonis Operibus doctoris Mart. Lutheri.

Epistola Lutheri ad Leonem X., summum pontificem.

Tessaradeca Consolatoria pro laborantibus et oneratis Mart. Lutheri.

Tractatus Lutheri de Libertate Christiana.

Sermo doctoris Martini Lutheri.

Enarrationes Martini Lutheri in Epistolas D. Petri.

Responsio Martini Lutheri, ad librum magistri Bartholomæi Catharini defensoris Silvestri pontificis, cum exposita visione Danielis viii., de Ann. Christi.

De Operibus Dei, Martino Cellario autore.

Deuteronomos Mosis, ex Hebræo castigatus, cum annotationibus Mart. Lutheri.

Lutheri Catechismus Latina donatus civitate, per Johannem Lonicerum.

Jonas propheta, Martini Lutheri commentariolo explicatus.

In Epistolam Pauli ad Galatas Mart. Lutheri commentarius.

Martini Lutheri Epistolarum farrago pietatis et eruditionis plena, cum Psalmorum aliquot interpretatione.

Enarrationes seu Postillæ Martini Lutheri in lectiones quæ ex Evangelicis Historiis, Apostolorum scriptis, aliisque sacræ Scripturæ literis desumptæ per universum annum, tam diebus dominicis, quam divorum memoriæ sacris, super missam faciendam recitantur.

Conclusiones sedecim R. patris Domini Martini Lutheri, de fide et ceremoniis.

Ejusdem de Fide et Operibus saluberrima declaratio.

Ceremoniarum eruditissima resolutio, quid sint et quomodo eis utendum.

Conclusiones Quinquaginta ejusdem pro timoratis conscientiis.

Resolutio Lutheriana super propositionem suam 13, De potestate Papæ.

Didimi Faventini adversus Thomam Placentinum, pro Martino Luthero theologo oratio.

Enarrationes novæ Domini M. Lutheri in Jonam Prophetam.

De Votis Monasticis, Martini Lutheri judicium.

Enchiridion piarum precationum Martini Lutheri.

Conciunculæ quædam Martini Lutheri in deiparæ Virginis, et aliquot festos dies nuper e populari lingua Latine factæ.

In Esaiam Prophetam Commentarius Joannis Œcolampadii.

In Danielem Prophetam Joannis Œcolampadii libri duo.

Apologetica Johannis Œcolampadii de dignitate Eucharistiæ. Item, Sermones duo ad Theobaldum Billicanum, quinam in verbis Cœnæ alienum sensum inferent.

De non habendo pauperum delectu, Johannes Œcolampadius.

In postremos tres Prophetas, nempe Haggeum, Zachariam, et Malachiam, Commentarius Johannis Œcolampadii.

Quid de Eucharistia veteres tum Græci, tum Latini senserint dialogus: in quo Epistolæ Philippi Melancthonis et Johannis Œcolampadii insertæ sunt.

Apologetica Johannis Œcolampadii de dignitate Eucharistiæ.

Johannes Œcolampadius de genuina verborum Domini, 'Hoc est corpus meum,' significatione.

In Epistolam Pauli Apostoli adnotationes a Joanne Œcolampadio recognitæ.

Acuta exegesis, id est, Expositio Eucharistici negotii ad Martinum Lutherum, Huldrico Zuinglio authore.

Complanationes Esaiæ Prophetæ fœtura prima, cum Apologia per Huldricum Zuinglium.

Farrago annotationum in Genesim, ex ore Huldrici Zuinglii. Annotatiunculæ per Leonem Judam, ex ore Zuinglii, in utramque Pauli ad Corinthios Epistolam.

Ad Philippenses annotatiunculæ per Leonem Judam, ex ore Huldrici Zuinglii exceptæ.

Ad illustrissimos Germaniæ principes Augustæ congregatos de convitiis Ecchii.

Epistola Huldriche Zuinglii contra venerabile Sacramentum Eucharistiæ.

In Catabaptistarum Strophas Elenchus Huldrici Zuinglii.

De vera et falsa Religione Huldrici Zuinglii Commentarius.

Ad illustrissimum Cattorum principem Philippum, Sermones de providentia Dei, Huldrico Zuinglio auctore.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1531.

Complanationes Jeremiæ Prophetæ, fœtura prima, cum Apologia, per Huldricum Zuinglium.

Ad Theobald. Bellicani et Urbani Regii Epistolas responsio Huld. Zuinglii.

Quo pacto ingenui adolescentes formandi sunt, præceptiones pauculæ, Huldrico Zuinglio auctore.

Annotationes Johannis Bugenhagii Pomerani in Epistolas Pauli ad Galatas, Ephesios, Philippenses, Colossenses, Thessalonicenses, primam et secundam.

In Regum duos ultimos libros annotationes Johannis Bugenhagii Pomerani post Samuelem, jam primum emissæ.

Johannis Bugenhagii Pomerani annotationes in Deuteronomium, et in Samuelem Prophetam, id est, duos libros Regum.

De conjugio Episcoporum et Diaconorum, ad venerandum Doctorem Wolfgangum Reysenbusts. per Johannem Bugenhagium Pomeranum.

Explicatio brevis, simplex, et canonica libelli Ruth, ea forma qua totius veteris test. Canonici Libri expositi sunt, auctore Conrado Pellicano.

Psalterium Davidis, Conradi Pellicani opera elaboratum : non esse ferendas in templis Christianorum imagines et statuas coli solita, authoribus Ecclesiasticis Argentoraten.

Epistola Martini Buceri, Evangelistrarum enarrationes nuncupata. De hebdomadis quæ apud Danielem sunt opusculum, in quo tractatur de sacrificio missæ abolendo; incerto auctore.

Novæ Doctrinæ ad veterem collatio per Urbanum Regium, in quo tractat de sacris Ecclesiæ.

Collectaneæ Communium Troporum sacrosanctæ Scripturæ, Bartholomæo Westhemero collectore.

In Epistolam ad Romanos, Andreæ Knophen Costermensis interpretatio, Adjecta est Epistola a Philippo Melanct.

Loci utriusque Testamenti complectentes præcipua capita totius Christianismi, cum adjectis scholiis.

Epistola Pauli ad Titum jam recens per Johann. Agricolam scholiis novis illustrata.

De operibus Dei Martino Cellario auctore.

In Hoseam Prophetam quinque sermones Capitonis.

Dispositio orationis in Epistolam Pauli ad Romanos; Phil. Melanct. Auctore.

Sancti Pauli ad Colossenses Epistola, cum commentariis Phil. Melancthonis.

Nova scholia Philip. Melancthon. in Proverbia Salomonis.

De authoritate, officio et potestate Pastorum Ecclesiasticorum, ex Phil. Melanct. editione.

Philippi Melancthonis Annotationes in Johannem.

Annotationes Philippi Melancthonis in Evangelium Matthæi.

Enarrationes perpetuæ in sacra quatuor Evangelia, per Martinum Bucerum.

In Sancti Pauli Epistolam ad Ephesios, Martinus Bucerus.

In Theophaniam, quem Sophoniam vulgo vocant, Epitomographus ad Hebraicam veritatem versus, per Martinum Bucerum.

Job cum Commentariis Johannis Brentii.

Ecclesiastes Salomonis cum Commentariis Johannis Brentii.

In Divi Joannis Evangelium Johannis Brentii exegeses.

Francisci Lamberti Avinionensis, in divi Lucæ Evangelium Commentarii.

Francisci Lamberti Commentarii de Prophetia, Eruditione et Linguis, deque Litera et Spiritu.

In Regulam Minoritarum, et contra universas perditionis Sectas, Francisci Lamberti commentarii.

Ejusdem libellus de differentia stimuli carnis Sathanæ nuncii, et ustionis.

In Cantica Canticorum Salomonis, libellum quidem sensibus altissimis, in quo sublimia sacri conjugii mysteria, quæ in Christo, et Ecclesia sunt, pertractantur, Francisci Lamberti commentarii.

In Amos, Abdiam, et Jonam, Prophetas, Commentarii Francisci Lamberti.

Francisci Lamberti commentarii in IV ultimos Prophetas, nempe Sophoniam, Aggeum, Zachariam et Malachiam.

Wessellus de Sacramento Eucharistiæ, et de Audienda Missa. Farrago Wesseli Groning. Lux mundi olim vulgo dicta, in qua tractatur de providentia Dei, de dignitate et pietate Ecclesiastica, de sacramento Pœnitentiæ, et quæ sunt claves Ecclesiæ, et de Purgatorio.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1531.

Wesselli Epistola adversus M. Engelbertum Leidensem, in qua tractatur quid sit tenendum de spirituum et mortuorum apparitionibus, ac de suffragiis et celebrationibus.

Tractatus Wesselli de oratione et modo orandi.

De Christi Incarnatione, de magnitudine, et amaritudine dominicæ passionis, libri duo, Wessello Groningensi auctore.

In Dei gratiæ et Christianæ Fidei commendationem, contra falsam et Pharisaicam multorum, de justitiis et meritis operum doctrinam et gloriationem, fragmenta aliquot D. Joannis Gocchii, nunquam ante hac excusa.

Dialogus D. Johannis Gocchii Mechliniensis, de quatuor erroribus circa Evangelicam legem exortis.

Quod non sit onerosa confessio paradox. Johannis Œcolampadii. De cœlibatu monachatu, et viduitate, Domino Andrea Carolostadio Auctore.

Francisci Lamberti commentarii, de causis excæcationis multorum seculorum, ac veritate denuo et novissime Dei misericordia revelata, &c.[1]

The New Testament, in the catalogue above recited, began first to be translated by William Tyndale, and so came forth in print about A. D. 1529, wherewith Cuthbert Tonstal, bishop of London, with sir Thomas More, being sore aggrieved, devised how to destroy that false erroneous translation, as he called it. It happened that one Augustine Packington, a mercer, was then at Antwerp, where the bishop was. This man favoured Tyndale, but showed the contrary unto the bishop. The bishop, being desirous to bring his purpose to pass, communed how that he would gladly buy the New Testaments. Packington hearing him say so, said, "My lord! I can do more in this matter, than most merchants that be here, if it be your pleasure; for I know the Dutchmen and strangers that have bought them of Tyndale, and have them here to sell; so that if it be your lordship's pleasure, I must disburse money to pay for them, or else I cannot have them: and so I will assure you to have every book of them that is printed and unsold." The bishop, thinking he had God 'by the toe,' said, "Do your diligence, gentle Master Packington! get them for me, and I will pay whatsoever they cost; for I intend to burn and destroy them all at Paul's Cross." This Augustine Packington went unto William Tyndale, and declared the whole matter, and so, upon compact made between them, the bishop of London had the books, Packington had the thanks, and Tyndale had the money. After this, Tyndale corrected the same New Testaments again, and caused them to be newly imprinted, so that they came thick and threefold over into England. When the bishop perceived that, he sent for Packington, and said to him, "How cometh this, that there are so many New Testaments abroad? you promised me that you would buy them all." Then answered Packington, "Surely, I bought all that were to be had: but I perceive they have printed more since. I see it will never be better so long as they have letters and stamps: wherefore you were best to buy the stamps too, and so you shall be sure:" at which answer the bishop smiled, and so the matter ended.

Augustine Packington, the bishop of London's merchant.

In short space after, it fortuned that George Constantine was apprehended by sir Thomas More, who was then chancellor of England, suspected of certain heresies during the time that he was in the custody of Master More. After divers communications, amongst

George Constantine.

(1) Ex Regist. Lond. [Good titles are given of these works in Autographa Lutheri, &c.; Brunsvigæ, 1691, tom. ii. p. 107. The titles distinguished with asterisks are from the first edition of the Acts and Monuments, pp. 450—452.—Ed.]

other things, Master More asked of him, saying, "Constantine! I would have thee be plain with me in one thing that I will ask; and I promise thee, I will show thee favour in all other things, whereof thou art accused. There is beyond the sea, Tyndale, Joye, and a great many of you: I know they cannot live without help. There are some that help and succour them with money; and thou, being one of them, hadst thy part thereof, and therefore knowest from whence it came. I pray thee, tell me, who be they that help them thus?" "My lord," quoth Constantine, "I will tell you truly: it is the bishop of London that hath holpen us, for he hath bestowed among us a great deal of money upon New Testaments to burn them; and that hath been, and yet is, our only succour and comfort." "Now by my troth," quoth More, "I think even the same; for so much I told the bishop before he went about it." *Henry VIII.* A.D. 1531.

Of this George Constantine, moreover, it is reported by sir Thomas More, that he, being taken and in hold, seemed well contented to renounce his former doctrine; and not only to disclose certain other of his fellows, but also studied and devised, how these books, which he himself, and other of his fellows had brought and shipped, might come to the bishop's hands to be burned, and showed to the aforesaid sir Thomas More, chancellor, the ship-man's name that had them, and the marks of the fardels, by which the books afterwards were taken and burned. Besides this, he is reported also to have disclosed divers of his companions, of whom some were abjured after, some had abjured before; as Richard Necton, who was committed to Newgate upon the same, and is thought there to have died in prison, or else he had not escaped their hands, but should have suffered burning, if the report of Master More be to be credited.[1] Constantine, a discloser of his fellows.

Notwithstanding the same Constantine afterwards, by the help of some of his friends, escaped out of prison over the seas, and after that, in the time of king Edward, was one of them that troubled the good bishop of St. David's,[2] who after, in queen Mary's time, was burned. But of Constantine enough.

*Against[3] the proceedings of these bishops, in forbidding the Scripture in English, instead of an answer to the same, I have thought meet to adjoin a certain old treatise, found in a certain ancient English book; which, as it may serve well for a confutation of the bishops' doings in this behalf, so have I thought not to defraud the reader of the profit thereof.

A Compendious old Treatise, showing how we ought to have the Scriptures in English.

To make for Antichrist, I take the figure of king Antiochus, of whom God's law speaketh in the book of Maccabeus: for like as king Antiochus came in the end (well nigh) of the old law, and burnt the books of God's law, and compelled the people to do mawmetry; so doth Antichrist, the king of the clergy, who live worse than heathen priests, burn now, nigh the end of the new law, the Evangile of Christ, (which is nigh the end of the world), to deceive well nigh all the world, and to prove the servants of God. For now God shall know who will stand by his law. For Satan, as prophets say, is now unbound, and hath been four hundred years and more, for to inhabit our clergy, as he did the clergy of the old law: but now with much more malice; for as they damned Christ, so

(1) See More, in his Preface against Tyndale. (2) A troubler of Ferrar, bishop of St. David's.
(3) For this passage, and the "Compendious old Treatise," see Edition 1563, pp. 452—455.—Ed.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1531.

now our bishops damn, and burn God's law, because it is drawn into our mother tongue. But so it ought to be (if we saved would be), as we shall prove by open evidence, through God's help.

First, we take witness of Boetius, 'De disciplina Scholarium,' who saith that children should be taught in the books of Seneca. And Bede expoundeth this saying, and saith, that children in virtues should be taught: for the books of Seneca be morals, and because children be not taught thus in their youth, they continue still evil-mannered, and be unable to conceive the subtle science of truth, saying 'that a wise man is as a clean mirror, new polished.' 'Wisdom shall not enter into a wicked soul.' And much is hereof the sentence of Bede. And Algasel, in his Logic, saith, 'The soul of man is a clean mirror new polished, in which is easily seen the image of virtue.' And because the people have not cunning in youth, they have souls dark and blind with ignorance, so that they profit not in virtue, but in falseness and malice, and in other vices; and much is thereof the matter.

Since heathen philosophers wished the people to profit in natural science, how much more should christian clerks wish the people to profit in science of virtues: for so would God. For when the law was given to Moses in the mount of Sinai, God gave it to his people in their mother-tongue of Hebrew, that all the people should understand it; and commanded Moses to read it to them until they understood it: and so he did, as it is plain.[1] And Esdras also read it in their mother-tongue, from morrow until noon, as it is plain.[2] And he read it apertly in the street, and the ears of the people were attentively given thereto, insomuch that the people fell into great weeping for the miskeeping of the law.

Also God's law saith,[3] that fathers should make the law known to their sons, and that the sons that should be born of them, should rise and teach these things to their sons. And the holy apostle St. Peter[4] speaketh after this manner, saying: 'Whosoever speaketh, speak he as the word of God: and every man as he hath taken grace of knowing, so minister he forth to other men.' It is written plainly in the book of Numbers:[5] when the prophet Moses had chosen seventy eldermen, and the Spirit of God rested on them, and they prophesied, two men besides them, Eldad and Medad, prophesied in the tents, and Joshua the minister of Moses said to Moses, 'Forbid thou them.' And Moses said, 'What enviest thou for me? who shall let, that all the people prophesy, if God give them his Spirit?'

Also it is read in the gospel, that St. John the Evangelist said unto Christ, 'Lord, shall we forbid one that casteth out spirits in thy name, which followeth not us?' And Christ said, 'Do not forbid, for whoso is not against us, is with us.' And unto the same agreeth well the prophecy of Joel, which St. Peter, preaching to the Jews, strongly alleged, as Luke reciteth in the Acts of the Apostles,[6] saying after this manner: 'For God now, in the last days, shall shed out his Spirit upon all flesh. For God saith, Your sons and daughters shall prophesy, and your young men shall see visions.' And upon Whitsunday God gave knowledge of his law to divers nations, without any exceptions, in their mother tongue, by the understanding of one tongue.

And this is notable, that as the lay-people, in the old law, had their law in their mother tongue, the lay-English people in the new law have it, as also have all other nations; since Christ bought us, as he did others, and hath given to us the same grace as to others. For St. Peter was reproved, because he had baptized Cornelius and his fellows, that were heathen men; and Peter answered and said, 'If God have given the same grace to them, that he hath to us, who am I, that I may forbid God?'[7] As one who would say, 'It lieth not in the power of men.'

Then, who art thou that forbiddeth the people to have God's law in their mother tongue? We say that thou art Antichrist himself. For Paul saith, 'I will every man to speak with tongues, but more, forsooth, to prophesy.'[8] Also he saith, 'How shall he say Amen upon thy blessing, who wotteth not what thou sayest?' Upon this saith Dr. Lyre: 'If the people understand the prayer of the priest, they shall the better be led unto God, and the more devoutly answer, Amen.' Also Paul saith, 'I will rather five words to be

(1) Deut. xxxi. (2) 1 Esdras viii. (3) Deut. xxxii. (4) 1 Pet. iv.
(5) Numb. xi. (6) Acts ii. (7) Ibid. xi. (8) 1 Cor. xiv.

spoken to the understanding of men, than ten thousand that they understand not.'[1] *Henry VIII.*

And seventy doctors with other men, before the incarnation of Christ, translated the Bible out of Hebrew into Greek; and after the Ascension many translated all the Bible in divers languages, as into the Spanish tongue, the French tongue, and the tongues of Almany and Italy; and by many years have those nations had it. A. D. 1531.

It is told of a worthy man of Almany (who at the same time was a Fleming), whose name was James Merland, that he translated all the Bible into Flemish, for which deed he was summoned before the pope of great malice, and the book was taken to examination: and truly the pope approved it. And then it was delivered unto him again, to the confusion of all his enemies.

Worshipful Bede, in his first book, called 'De gestis Anglorum,'[2] telleth that St. Oswold, the king of Northumberland, asked of the Scots that a holy bishop Aidan might preach to his people, and the king himself interpreted it in English to the people. Since this blessed deed of this king is allowed by all holy church, why now ought it not as well to be allowed for a man to read the gospel in English to the people, since St. Paul saith, 'If our gospel be hid, it is hid in them that shall be damned.' And he saith also, 'He that knoweth not, shall not be known of God.' And therefore Venerable Bede, led by the Spirit of God, translated a great part of the Bible into English, whose originals be in many abbeys of England. Bede translateth the Bible.

And Cisterciensis[3] saith, that the Evangile of John was drawn into English by the aforesaid Bede, which Evangile of John, and other gospels, be yet in many places in such old English, that scarcely can any Englishman read them. For this Bede flourished A. D. 732. Also Cisterciensis,[4] saith, that king Alfred ordained open schools of divers arts in Oxford, and that he turned the best laws into his mother tongue, and the Psalter also. He reigned A.D. 873.

And St. Thomas, 'Super Librum Politicorum,' expounding this word 'barbarous,' saith that barbarous is he who understandeth not what he readeth in his mother tongue. Wherefore the apostle saith, 'If I know not the virtue of his voice to whom I speak, I shall be to him barbarous;' that is to say, he understandeth not what I say, nor I what he saith. And so, though they be priests, yet not understanding what they read in their mother tongue, they be called barbarous; and therefore Bede did draw into English liberal arts, lest Englishmen should become barbarous.'—Thus far St. Thomas.

Also Lincoln[5] saith, in a sermon that beginneth 'Scriptum est de Levitis,' 'If any priest say he cannot preach, one remedy is, let him resign up his benefice.' Another remedy, if he will not thus record in the week the naked text of the Sunday gospel, is, that he have the gross story, and tell it to the people; that is if he understand Latin: and if he do this every week in the year, he shall profit much. For thus preached our Lord, saying, 'The words that I speak to you be spirit and life.'[6] If he do not understand Latin, let him go to one of his neighbours that understandeth, who will charitably expound it to him; and thus let him edify his flock.

Upon this argueth a great clerk, and saith, 'If it be lawful to preach the naked text to the people, it is also lawful to write and to read it to them.' Also sir William Thorisby, archbishop of York, did draw a treatise into English, by a worshipful clerk, whose name was Gatrick, in which were contained the Articles of Belief, the Seven Deadly Sins, the Seven Works of Mercy, and the Ten Commandments; and sent them in small pagines to the common people to learn them, and to know them; of which yet many a copy be in England.

Also Richard, the hermit of Hampole, drew into English the Psalter, with a gloss, and the 'Lessons of Dirges,' and many other treatises, by which many Englishmen have been greatly edified. 'And they be cursed of God, that would let the people to be lewder than they be: but there be many men now, like unto the friends of Job, who, while they endeavoured to defend God, offended him grievously. And though such as be slain, do miracles, nevertheless they be stinking martyrs.' This saith Richard the hermit, expounding this verse, 'Ne auferas de ore meo verbum veritatis usquequaque.' And Christ saith; that men should deem themselves to do great pleasant service to God in He meaneth Thomas a Becket.

(1) 1 Cor. xiv. (2) Cap. 4. (3) Lib. v. cap. 24. (4) Lib. vi. cap. i.
(5) Bishop Grosthead.—Ed. (6) John vi.

Henry VIII. killing of his people: 'Arbitretur se obsequium præstare Deo,' &c. Also a man of London, whose name was Wyring, had a Bible in English of Northern speech, which was seen of many men, and it seemed to be two hundred years old.

A. D. 1531. Also it is known to many men, that into a parliament, in the time of king Richard II., there was put a Bible, by the assent of the archbishops, and of the clergy, to annul the Bible at that time translated into English, with other English books of the exposition of the gospel, which when it was heard and seen by the lords and the commons, John, duke of Lancaster, answered thereto right sharply, saying this sentence, 'We will not be the refuse of all other nations: for since they have God's law, which is the law of our belief, in their own language, we will have ours in English, whosoever say nay!' And this he affirmed with a great oath.

Also Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, said in a sermon at Westminster, at the burying of queen Anne, that there was more joy of her, than of any woman that ever he knew; for she, an alien born, had in English all the seven gospels, with the doctors upon them. And he said, that she had sent them to him to examine, and, he said, they were good and true. And he blamed in that sermon sharply the negligence of the prelates and other men; insomuch that he said that he would leave the office of chancellor, and forsake worldly business, and give him to fulfil his pastoral office, for what he had seen and read in those books. And after this promise, he became the most cruel enemy that might be against English books. And therefore, as many men say, God smote him with a cruel death, as he did also Richard Fleming, bishop of Lincoln.

And yet our bishops be so indurate, and so far strayed from God, that they have no grace, one to beware by another, but proudly, against also reasons and evidence of God's laws, and doctors' sentences, they burn God's word; which had brought this realm to undoing for ever, unless God's grace had been more. For this cruel deed is cause of pestilence, hungers, wars, and that all this realm shall be conquered in short time; as St. Edward, the king and confessor, prophesieth, in his book that beginneth thus, 'Sanctus Edwardus rex vidit spiritualibus oculis.' And therefore it were good to the king, and to other lords, to make some remedy against this constitution of Antichrist, that saith it is unlawful for us Englishmen to have in English God's law; and therefore he burneth and slayeth them that maintain this good deed: and this is because the king and lords know not, or will not know their own office, in maintenance of God and his law. For as St. Augustine saith, the king with his knights represent the godhead of Christ, and priests the manhood of Christ. 'Rex est vicarius divinitatis, et sacerdos est vicarius Christi humanitatis.'[1] And if the king desire to know perfectly his office, he may find men to show to him books that truly and perfectly shall inform him to do his office to the pleasance of God. But this can he not learn from bishops, for they inform him after Antichrist's law and ordinance; for his laws now reign. Yet against them that feign that the gospel in English would make men to err, wot they well that we find in the Latin language more heretics, than in all other languages, for the decree [xxiv. xciii.] 'Quidam autem heretici,' saith, that there be found sixty Latin heretics. And if men should hate any language for heresy, then must they hate Latin. But God forbid that any language should be hated for heresy, since many heretics were among the disciples of the apostles. For St. John saith, 'They have gone out from us, but they were not of us.' And Paul saith, 'It behoveth heresies to be;' and Antichrist maketh many more heretics than there should be, for he so stoppeth the knowing of God's law, and so punisheth them that he knoweth have it, that they dare not commune thereof openly, to have true information; and this maketh lay-men, who desire and love to know God's law, to go together in privacy, and conceiving many times by their own wits, heresies; which heresies in short time should be destroyed, if men might have free communing openly: and unless this may be had, much of the people shall die in heresy. For it lieth never in Antichrist's power to destroy all English books; for as fast as he burneth, other men shall draw. And thus the cause of heresy, and of the people that die in heresy, is the frowardness of bishops, who will not suffer men to have open and free communing in the law of God: and there-

The king is the vicar of Christ.

(1) Augustino, 'de questionibus veteris et novæ legis.' Cap. 91.

fore they be accountable for as many souls as die in this default; and they are traitors to God in stopping of his law, which was made for the salvation of the people. And now they turn his law, by their cruel constitutions, into damnation of the people, as it shall be proved upon them at the day of doom. For God's law sayeth, 'Stabunt justi in magna constantia adversus eos qui se angustiaverunt, et qui abstulerunt labores eorum,' &c. For that in which other men labour, they burn; and if our clergy would study well this lesson of Sapience to the end, they should now read therein their own damnation, unless they amend this default, with other defaults.

Saith not the holy man Armachanus, in the book of Questions, that the worshipful sacrament of the altar may be made in each common language? For he saith, 'so did the apostles.' But we covet only this, that Antichrist give us leave to have the law of our belief in English; also they that have communed much with the Jews, say that they have, in every land that they be born in, the Bible in their mother tongue, that is, Hebrew; and they be more practised therein than any men, yea, as well the lay-men, as the priests. But it is read in their synagogues amongst the people of their priests, to fulfil their priests' office, and to the edification of poverty, that for worldly business and sloth may not study it.

Also the four evangelists wrote the gospel in divers languages, as Matthew in Judea, Mark in Italy, Luke in Achaia, and John in Asia. And all these wrote in the languages of the same countries. Also Tobit saith, that God dispersed, spread, or scattered abroad the Jews among the heathen people, that they, telling unto them the marvels of God, should know that there is no other God but the God of Israel.[1] And God ordained his people to believe his law, written among them in their mother tongue; as it appears in Genesis xvii., and Exodus xiii.: insomuch that the book of Judith is written in the Chaldee speech, as appears by Jerome in the prologue of the same. Also the books of Daniel and of Esdras be written in Chaldee, as Jerome concludeth in their prologues. Also the book of Joel is in Arabic and Syrian speech, as Jerome concludeth in the prologue of the same. Also Ezekiel the prophet prophesied in Babylon, and left his prophecy under the mother-tongue of Babylon, as Jerome concludeth in the prologue of the same. Also the prophecy of Isaiah is translated into the tongue of Ethiopia, as Jerome concludeth in the first prologue to Genesis.

Then since the dark prophecies were translated amongst the heathen people, that they might have knowledge of God, and of the incarnation of Christ, much more they ought to be translated for English people that have received the faith, and bound themselves to keep it upon pain of damnation; since Christ commanded his apostles to preach his gospel unto all the world, and excepted no people or language. Also Origen translated the Bible out of Hebrew into Greek, with help of others, A. D. 234. Also Aquila translated it in the time of Adrian the emperor, A. D. 124. Also Theodosius translated it in the time of the emperor Commodus, fifty-four years after Aquila. Also Simacus translated it in the time of the emperor Syrenius, thirty years after Theodosius. Eight years after Simacus, it was translated, the author being unknown, in the time of Alexander the emperor.

Argumentum elvetum et irrefragabile.

Also Jerome translated it into Latin; as appears in Chronicis Cestercien. lib. ii. cap. 32; and after Jerome had translated it into Latin, he translated, for two women, much of the Bible. And for the maidens Eustachia and Paula, he translated the books of Joshua, of Judges, and of Ruth, and Esther, and Ecclesiastes, Jeremiah, Isaiah, and Daniel, and the twelve prophets, and the seven canonical Epistles, as appears in their prologues. And so all men may see here by Jerome, that it was never his intent to bind the law of God under his translation of Latin; but, by his own deed, he giveth leave to translate it into every speech. For Jerome writeth, in his 78th Epistle, to this man Atleta; that he should inform his daughter in the books of the Old Law and the New. Also in his 75th Epistle he writeth to the virgin Demetriadis, that she should, to increase herself in virtue, read now upon one book, and now upon another; and he specifieth unto her, that she also read the Gospel, and the Epistles of the Apostles.

And thus Englishmen desire to have the law of God in English, since it is called 'the law undefiled, converting souls into cleanness;'[2] but Antichrist saith,

(1) Tobit xiii.

(2) 'Lex Domini immaculata convertans animas.'

Henry VIII. A. D. 1531.

that it is corrupt with the literal letter that slayeth souls; taking his authority from Paul, who saith, 'litera accidit, spiritus autem vivificat.' The letter of the ceremonies of the old law slayeth the Jews, and those that now use them; but the spirit of the new law quickeneth true christian men, since Christ saith, 'My words be spirit and life.' Also we take ensample of holy virgins to love to read the gospel as they did; as Catherine, Cecilia, Lucy, Agnes, Margaret, who alleged the holy gospel to the infidels, who slew them for the keeping thereof.

By these aforesaid authorities it is proved, that both men and women lawfully may read and write God's law in their mother-tongue, and that those who forbid this, show themselves heirs and sons of the first tormentors, and worse; for they show themselves to be the very disciples of Antichrist, which hath (and shall exceed) all the malice of tyrants that have been before, in stopping and perverting of God's law; which deed engendereth great vengeance to fall in this realm, unless it be amended. For Paul saith,[1] 'The wrath of God is showed from heaven upon the cruelness and unrighteousness of those men that hold the truth of God in unrighteousness.'[2]

Now God of his mercy give unto our king, and to our lords, grace, with true understanding to amend this default principally, and all others; then shall we more easily be amended. For until it be amended, there shall never be rest and peace in this realm.

Who that findeth or readeth this letter, put it forth in examination and suffer it not to be hid or destroyed, but multiplied; for no man knoweth what profit may come thereof. For he that compiled it, purposeth, with God's help, to maintain it unto the death, if need be. And therefore, all christian men and women! pray that the word of God may be unbound, and delivered from the power of Antichrist, and that it may run among his people. Amen.*

Mention has been made, how the bishops had procured of the king a proclamation to be set forth A. D. 1529, for the abolishing of divers books aforenamed, and also for the withstanding of all such as taught or preached any thing against the dignity and ordinances of the church of Rome. Upon this proclamation ensued great persecution and trouble against the poor innocent flock of Christ, as here following you may see, with the said proclamation also prefixed before the same, the tenor whereof is this.

A Proclamation for the resisting and withstanding of most damnable Heresies, sown within this Realm by the Disciples of Luther, and other Heretics, perverters of Christ's Religion.[3]

The king our sovereign lord, of his most virtuous and gracious disposition, considering that this noble realm of England hath of long time continued in the true catholic faith of Christ's religion, and that his noble progenitors, kings of this his said realm, have before this time made and enacted many devout laws, statutes, and ordinances, for the maintenance and defence of the said faith against the malicious and wicked sects of heretics and Lollards, who, by perversion of holy Scripture, do induce erroneous opinions, sow sedition amongst christian people, and finally disturb the peace and tranquillity of christian realms, as lately happened in some parts of Germany, where, by the procurement and sedition of Martin Luther, and other heretics, were slain an infinite number of Christian people: considering also, that as well by the corruption and malice of indiscreet preachers, fautors of the said erroneous sects, as by certain heretical and blasphemous books lately made, and privily sent into this realm, by the disciples, fautors and adherents of the said Martin Luther, and other heretics, the king's subjects are like to be corrupted, unless his highness (as the Defender of the Faith) do put to his most gracious help and authority royal, to the due and speedy reformation thereof: his highness therefore, like a most gracious prince, of his blessed and virtuous disposition, for the incomparable zeal which he hath to Christ's religion and faith, and for the singular

(1) Rom. i.

(2) 'Revelatur enim ira Dei super omnem impietatem et injustitiam hominum eorum qui veritatem Dei in injustitia detinent.'

(3) This proclamation was made throughout all England, A. D. 1530, and the twenty-first year of king Henry VIII.

love and affection that he beareth to all his good subjects of this his realm, and especially to the salvation of their souls, according to his office and duty in that behalf, willeth and intendeth to provide with all convenient expedition, that this his noble realm may be preserved from the said pestiferous, cursed, and seditious errors. And forasmuch as his highness is credibly informed, that some of the said errors be already sown and spread within this his realm, partly by the corruption of indiscreet preachers, partly by erroneous books, compiled, printed and written, as well in the English tongue, as in Latin and other languages, replete with most venomous heresies, blasphemies, and slanders, intolerable to the clean ears of any good christian man: his highness therefore, like a most gracious and christian prince, only intending the safeguard of this his realm, the preservation of his subjects, and the salvation of their souls, willeth now to put in execution, with all diligence possible, all good laws, statutes and ordinances, concerning the premises before this time provided, made, and ordained by his most noble progenitors, kings of England for that purpose and intent: which laws and statutes by our sovereign lord and his most honourable council, by long and deliberate advice for the extirpation, suppressing and withstanding of the said heresies, have been seen, examined, and by them in every part thought good and necessary to be put in execution. *Henry VIII.* A. D. 1531.

Wherefore his highness chargeth and straitly commandeth all and every his lords spiritual and temporal, judges, justices of peace, sheriffs, mayors, bailiffs, constables, and all other his officers, ministers, and all his true and loving subjects, that all favour, affection, and partiality laid apart, they, effectually, with all diligence and study, endeavour themselves substantially for the executing of all and every of the articles hereafter ensuing, without dissimulation, intermission, or excuse, as they will avoid his high indignation and displeasure.

First, that no man within the king's realm, or other his dominions subject to his highness, hereafter presume to preach, teach, or inform any thing openly or privily, or compile and write any book, or hold, exercise, or keep any assemblies or schools, in any manner of wise, contrary to the catholic faith, or determination of holy church; and that no person, within this his said realm and dominions, do presume to preach openly or secretly, without they have first obtained license of the bishop of the diocese where they intend to preach: curates in their parishes, persons privileged, and others, by the law of the church only excepted.

Also that no man wittingly hereafter favour, support, or maintain any person, who preacheth in form aforesaid, or maketh any such or like conventicles and assemblies; holdeth or exerciseth any schools; maketh, writeth, or publisheth any such book; teacheth, informeth, or stirreth the people, or any of them, in any manner of form to the said errors. Moreover, that all and every person and persons, having any books or writings of any such errors, erroneous doctrine and opinion, do deliver or cause to be delivered, effectually and actually, all and every such books and writings, to the bishop of the diocese, or to the ordinary of the place, within fifteen days after this proclamation pronounced. And in case any person or persons, of what estate, condition, or degree soever they be, do or attempt any thing contrary to this act and proclamation, or do not deliver or cause to be delivered such books, within the time aforesaid, that every bishop in his diocese, or ordinary, shall cause that person or persons, and every of them in that behalf defamed or evidently suspected, to be arrested, and shall detain and keep them under safe custody in their prisons, until such time that the said persons, and every of them, either have purged themselves of the said errors, or else do abjure the said erroneous sects, preachings, doctrines, or opinions; as the law of holy church doth require. Penalty.

Furthermore, if any person by the law of holy church be convicted before the bishop of the diocese, or his commissary, in any case above expressed, that the said bishop may keep in prison the said person or persons so convicted, as it shall seem best to his discretion, after the grievousness or quality of the crime: and further, may set a fine to be paid to the behoof of the king, by the person or persons convicted, as it shall be thought convenient to the said bishop, having respect to the grievousness of the offence of the said person or persons: the said fine to be certified by the bishop into the king's exchequer, there to be levied to the king's use, except in such cases in which, by the laws of holy church, the said persons convicted of heresies ought totally to be left to the secular jurisdiction.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1531.

Also if any person within this his realm of England, or other his dominions, be, by sentence judicial, convicted of the said preaching and doctrines prohibited, erroneous opinions, schools, and informations, or any of them, and before the bishop or his commissary do abjure, according to the form of the laws of holy church, the aforesaid erroneous sects, doctrines, schools, or informations; or else be pronounced, by the bishops or their commissaries after their abjuration by them before made, to be relapsed, so that, after the laws of holy church, they ought to be relinquished to the jurisdiction secular (wherein faith is to be given to the bishop or his commissaries in that behalf:) then the sheriff of the county, mayor, sheriffs, or mayor and bailiffs of the same city, town, or borough, next unto the said bishop or commissaries, shall be personally present at the sentence-giving, by the said bishop or commissaries thereunto required, and after the said sentence given, shall receive the said persons, and every of them, and put them to further execution, according to the laws of this realm.

Sheriffs to be present at the sentence.

Also the chancellor, treasurer of England; the justice of the one bench and the other; justices of peace, sheriffs, mayors, and bailiffs of cities and towns, and other officers, having governance of the people which now be, or for the time hereafter shall be, shall make oath in taking their charge and ministration, to give their whole power and diligence, to put away, and to make utterly to cease and destroy, all manner of heresies and errors, commonly called Lollardies, within the precincts of their offices and administrations, from time to time, with all their power.

Also they shall assist the bishops and their commissaries, and shall favour and maintain them as oftentimes as so to do, they or any of them shall be required by the said bishops or their commissaries; so that the bishops or their commissaries shall bear and pay the reasonable costs of the said officers and ministers, when, and as often as, they shall travel or ride to arrest heretics and Lollards, or to assist the said bishops or commissaries, by virtue of the king's laws and statutes.

Inquisition at sessions.

Moreover, the justices of the king's bench, justices of peace, and justices of assize, shall inquire, at their sessions and sittings, of all those that hold any errors or heresies; and who be their maintainers, recepters, favourers, and supporters, common writers of books; as also of their sermons, schools, conventicles, congregations, and confederacies.

Furthermore, if any person be indicted of any of the points above said, the justices of the peace have power to award against them a 'capias,' and the sheriffs be bound to arrest such persons so indicted, so soon as they may be found by themselves, or by their officers. And forasmuch as cognisance of heresies, errors, and Lollardies, appertaineth to the judge of holy church, and not to the judge secular, the persons so indicted are to be delivered to the bishops of the places, or their commissaries, by indenture between them to be made within ten days after their arrest, or sooner, if it can be done; thereof to be acquitted or convicted by the laws of holy church, in case that those persons be not indicted of other things, whereof the knowledge appeareth to the judges and officers secular: in which case, after they be acquitted and delivered before the justice secular, of those things pertaining to the judge secular, that they be conveyed in safeguard to ordinaries or their commissaries, and to them to be delivered by indentures (as is above said), there to be acquitted or convicted of the said heresies, errors, and Lollardies, as is above said), after the laws of holy church; provided that the indictments be not taken in evidence, but for an information afore the judges spiritual, against such indict; but that the ordinaries commence their process against those indicts, in the same manner as if no indictment had been, having no regard to such indictments.

Moreover, that no manner of person or persons, of what estate, degree, or condition he or they be, do from henceforth presume to bring into this realm, or do sell, receive, take, or detain, any book or work, printed or written, which is made, or hereafter shall be made against the faith catholic, or against the holy decrees, laws, and ordinances of holy church, or in reproach, rebuke, or slander of the king, his honourable council, or his lords spiritual or temporal. And in case they have any such book or work, they shall, incontinent upon the having of them, bring the said book or work to the bishop of the diocese, without concealment or fraud: or if they know any person having any of the said books, they shall detect them to the said bishop, all favour or affection laid

apart, and that they fail not thus to do, as they will avoid the king's high indignation and displeasure. *Henry VIII.*

A. D. 1531.

The books which in this proclamation generally are restrained and forbidden, be afterwards in the register, more especially named by the bishops; whereof the most part were in Latin, as are above recited, and some were in English, as these and others, partly also above expressed.

A Disputation between the Father and the Son; a Book of the old God and new; Godly Prayers; the Christian state of Matrimony; the burying of the Mass; the Sum of the Scripture; Mattens and Even-song, Seven Psalms, and other heavenly Psalms, with the Commendations, in English; an Exposition upon the seventh Chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians; the chapters of Moses called Genesis; the chapters of Moses, called Deuteronomy; the Matrimony of Tyndale; David's Psalter in English; the Practice of Prelates; Hortulus animæ, in English; A. B. C. against the Clergy; the Examination of William Thorpe, &c.

Master More, the bishop's agent, in confuting the Lutherans.

Although these books, with all other of the like sort, by virtue of this proclamation were inhibited to all Englishmen to use or to read; yet license was granted before to sir Thomas More, by Tonstal, bishop of London, A. D. 1527, that he, notwithstanding, might have and peruse them; with a letter[1] also sent to him from the said bishop, or rather by the advice of other bishops, desiring him, that he would show his cunning, and play the pretty man, like a Demosthenes, in expugning the doctrine of these books and opinions: who, albeit he was no great divine, yet because he saw some towardness in him by his book of Utopia, and other fine poetry of his, therefore he thought him a meet man for their purpose, to withstand the proceedings of the gospel, either in making some appearance of reason against it, or at least to outface it, and dash it out of countenance. Wherein there lacked on his part neither good will nor labour to serve the bishop's turn, so far forth as all his rhetoric could reach; filling up with fineness of wit, and scoffing terms, where true knowledge and judgment of Scripture did fail; as by his works and writings against Bilney, Tyndale, Frith, Fish, Barnes, Luther, &c., may soon be discerned, if the reasons, and manner of his handling be well weighed, and rightly examined with the touchstone of the Scriptures. But now to fall into our story again.

Upon this fierce and terrible proclamation aforesaid, thus devised and set out in the king's name, A.D. 1529, the bishops, who were the procurers hereof, had that now which they would have; neither did there lack on their part any study unapplied, any stone unremoved, any corner unsearched, for the diligent execution of the same: whereupon ensued a grievous persecution, and slaughter of the faithful; of whom the first that went to rack was Thomas Bilney, of whom sufficiently afore hath been said; and the next was Richard Bayfield, as in the story shall shortly follow.

* The[2] Copy of a Letter sent by Bishop Nixe, of Norwich, which was taken out of the Letter subscribed with his own Hand.

Master doctor, as I have written to you before in Master Pellis's absence, I give you full power to exercise, in the consistory and elsewhere, all such juris-

(1) For this Letter see page 697.—Ed. (2) See Edition 1563, page [printed] 467.—Ed.

Henry VIII. A. D. 1531.

diction as I should do if I were myself there. And as touching Master Nicholas Shaxton, there was with me yesternight the prior of Peuteney and the prior of Westacre, and they both showed unto me, that he made a very good sermon at Westacre upon St. Thomas's day, and that there was no heresy in it. And so I think he did. They two priors have promised me to be at Norwich upon Monday, next coming. The prior of Westacre went home to examine his brother better; and that done, to certify you thereof upon Monday. When they come, you may use them as you think best, and let the prior of Westacre swear upon a book before you, whether he knoweth the man that spake and said, in St. Thomas's chapel at Westacre, that images were but stocks and not to be worshipped, and whether he hath made any inquisition for him: and also whether Master Shaxton hath taught to any of his brethren any erroneous opinion or not. Ralph Cantrel was lately at Cambridge, whom I commanded not only to inquire of Master Vice-chancellor, but of others, of the demeanour of Master Shaxton; and he is very sore suspected of many men. And upon Ash Wednesday last past he made a sermon, 'ad clerum,' wherein Master Vice-chancellor took him in two points. The first was, 'Quod malum et periculosum est publice, asserere aut prædicare purgatorium non esse credere, tamen purgatorium non esse nullo pacto esse damnabile.' The second was, 'Impossibile est hominem continere aut castum esse. Et si se ipsum jejunio maceret, orationibus incumbat, ac a consortio visu et cogitatione se abstineat et cohibeat nisi Deus det.' And another saying he had which was not in his sermon, which was this, 'Quod in quotidiana missæ celebratione, preces assiduas Deo obtulit, ut celebatus a clero penitus tolleretur, et matrimonium sive conjugium eidem concedatur et permittatur.' The which points he stood in stedfastly, insomuch that Master Vice-chancellor, with the assistance of Master Doctors Wilson and Edmunds, had much ado to bring him to forsake them, the which at their persuasions he did, but with great difficulty, and to avoid open abjuration; and, upon consideration hereof, Master Vice-chancellor devised and drew an oath for him specially, the which not only he, but all others that this year do proceed in holy divinity, did openly and solemnly swear; the which oath ensueth as followeth in this letter. 'You shall swear by the holy contents of this book, that thou shalt not keep, hold, maintain, and defend at any time during your life, any opinion erroneous, or error of Wickliff, Huss, Luther, or any other condemned of heresy; and that ye shall keep, hold, maintain, and defend, generally and specially, all such articles and points as the catholic church of Rome believeth, holdeth, or maintaineth at this time; and that ye shall allow and accept, maintain and defend, for your power, all traditions, institutions, rites, ceremonies, and laudable customs of the church, as the said church of Rome taketh them, alloweth them, and approveth them; and that you shall namely and especially hold, as the said catholic church holdeth, in all these articles, wherein lately hath been controversy, dissension, and error; as, 'De fide et operibus, de gratia et libero arbitrio, de peccato in bono opere, de sacrificio Novi Testamenti, de sacerdotio novæ legis, de communione sub utraque specie, de baptismo et libertate Christiana, de votis monasticis, de jejunio et delectu ciborom, de celibatu sacerdotum, de ecclesia, de libris canonicis, de non expressis in scripturis firmiter tenendis, de conciliorum generalium indeviabilitate in fide et moribus, de potestate ecclesiæ ad condendas leges, de sacramentis ecclesiasticis et eorum efficatia de potestate excommunicandi collata ecclesiæ, de heriticis puniendis, de sacrificio missæ, de purgatorio, de veneratione sanctorum quis orandis, de imaginibus sanctorum venerandis, de peregrinationibus, de præceptis et conciliis evangelicis.' And likewise of all other articles wherein controversy or dissension hath been in the church before this day. If he will not abjure for buying of the books, keeping and conveying of them into my diocese, I shall keep him till I have asked further counsel. And therefore speak to Richard Hill, that he keep him surely, and as a prisoner, for surely he shall abjure, ere he depart from me. And thus fare ye well.

At Horne, the 16th day of June, 1531.*

Richard Bayfield, Martyr.

Following the order of years and of times, as the course of our history requireth, next after the consummation of Thomas Bilney, we have

to treat of the martyrdom of Richard Bayfield, who, in the month of November, the same year, which was A. D. 1531, was burned in Smithfield. *Henry VIII.* A.D. 1531.

This Richard Bayfield, sometime a monk of Bury, was converted by Dr. Barnes, and two godly men of London, brickmakers, Master Maxwell and Master Stacy, wardens of their company, who were grafted in the doctrine of Jesus Christ, and through their godly conversation of life, converted many men and women, both in London and in the country; and once a year, of their own cost, went about to visit the brethren and sisters scattered abroad. Dr. Barnes, at that time, much resorted to the abbey of Bury, where Bayfield was, to one Dr. Ruffam; who had been at Louvaine together students. At that time it happened that this Bayfield the monk was chamberlain of the house, to provide lodging for the strangers, and to see them well entertained; who delighted much in Dr. Barnes' talk, and in the other lay-men's talk, afore rehearsed; and at last, Dr. Barnes gave him a New Testament in Latin, and the other two gave him Tyndale's Testament in English, with a book called 'The Wicked Mammon,' and 'The Obedience of a Christian Man:' wherein he prospered so mightily in two years' space, that he was cast into the prison of his house, there sore whipped, with a gag in his mouth, and then stocked; and so continued in the same torment three quarters of a year before Dr. Barnes could get him out; which he brought to pass by means of Dr. Ruffam aforesaid, and so he was committed to Dr. Barnes, to go to Cambridge with him. By the time he had been there a good while, he tasted so well of good letters, that he never returned home again to his abbey, but went to London, to Maxwell and Stacy, and they kept him secretly a while, and so conveyed him beyond the sea; Dr. Barnes being then in the fleet for God's word. This Bayfield mightily prospered in the knowledge of God, and was beneficial to Master Tyndale, and Master Frith; for he brought substance with him, and was their own hand, and sold all their works, and the works of the Germans, both in France and in England; and at last, coming to London, to Master Smith's house, in Bucklersbury, there he was betrayed, and dogged from that house to his bookbinder's in Mark-lane, and there taken, and carried to Lollards' tower, and from thence to the coal-house; by reason that one parson Patmore, parson of Much Haddam in Essex, then lying in Lollards' tower, was, in the doctrine and in the kingdom of Christ, there confirmed by him. This parson Patmore, after long trouble, was abjured and condemned by the bishops to perpetual prison, and delivered afterwards by the king's pardon, as more appeareth in the sequel of his story among abjurers, &c. He was taken, because he married his priest in those days. He had always corn in plenty, and when the markets were very dear, he would send plenty of his corn thither, to pluck down the prices thereof.

Maxwell and Stacy, Londoners.

Bayfield, monk, and chamberlain of the abbey of Bury.

Whipped and imprisoned amongst the friars.

A maintainer of Tyndale and Frith.

Parson Patmore died in Lollards' tower.

This Richard Bayfield, being in the coal-house, was worse handled than he was before in the Lollards' tower; for there he was tied both by the neck, middle, and legs, standing upright by the walls, divers times manacled, to accuse others who had bought his books. He accused none, however, but stood to his religion and confession of his faith, unto the very end, and was, in the consistory of Paul's,

Cruel handling of Bayfield in the coal-house.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1531.

thrice put to his trial, whether he would abjure or no? He said he would dispute for his faith, and so did to their great shame; Stokesley then being his judge, with the assistance of Winchester, and other bishops, whereof here followeth now the circumstance in order to be seen.

The articles laid to Richard Bayfield, by the aforesaid bishops, A.D. 1531, Nov. 10, were these.

Articles laid to Richard Bayfield.

I. That he had been many years a monk professed, of the order of St. Benet, of St. Edmund's, Bury, in the diocese of Norwich.

II. That he was a priest, and had ministered, and continued in the same order the space of nine or ten years.

III. That since the feast of Easter last, he, being beyond the sea, brought and procured to have divers and many books and treatises of sundry sorts, as well of Martin Luther's own works, as of divers other of his damnable sect, and of Œcolampadius the great heretic, and divers other heretics, both in Latin and English; the names of which books were contained in a little bill written with his own hand.

A rank heresy in the pope's church, to give all laud and praise to God alone.

IV. That in the year of our Lord 1528, he was detected and accused to Cuthbert, then bishop of London, for affirming and holding certain articles contrary to the holy church, and especially that all laud and praise should be given to God alone, and not to saints or creatures.

V. That every priest might preach the word of God by the authority of the gospel, and not to run to the pope or cardinals for license; as it appeared (said they) by his confession before the said bishop.

VI. That he judicially abjured the said articles before the said bishop, and did renounce and forswear them, and all other articles contrary to the determination of holy church, promising that from thenceforth he would not fall into any of them, nor any other errors.

VII. That he made a solemn oath upon a book, and the holy evangelists, to fulfil such penance as should be enjoined him by the said bishop.

VIII. After his abjuration it was enjoined to him for penance, that he should go before the cross in procession, in the parish church of St. Botolph's at Billingsgate,[1] and to bear a faggot of wood upon his shoulder.

IX. It was enjoined him in penance, that he should provide a habit, requisite and meet for his order and profession, as shortly as he might; and that he should come or go no where without such a habit: which he had not fulfilled.

X. That it was likewise enjoined him in penance, that, sometime before the feast of the Ascension then next ensuing his abjuration, he should go home unto the monastery of Bury, and there remain, according to the vow of his profession: which he had not fulfilled.

XI. That he was appointed by the said bishop of London to appear before the said bishop, the 25th of April next after his abjuration, to receive the residue of his penance; and after his abjuration, he fled beyond the sea, and appeared not.

XII. That the 20th day of June next following his abjuration, he did appear before the said bishop Tonstal, in the chapel of the bishop of Norwich's place, and there it was newly enjoined him in part of penance, that he should provide him a habit convenient for his order and profession, within eight days then next following; which he had not done.

XIII. That it was there again enjoined him, that he should depart from the city, diocese, and jurisdiction of London; and no more come within it, without the special license of the bishop of London, or his successor for the time being: which he had not fulfilled.

The Answer of Richard Bayfield to the Articles prefixed.

To the first article he confessed, that he was professed a monk in the monas-

(1) So in the orginal editions.—Ed.

tery aforesaid, A. D. 1514. To the second article he answered, that he was a priest, and took orders, A. D. 1518. To the third article he confessed the bill and schedule to be written with his hand, which is annexed thereunto, and that he brought over the said books and works a year and a half past, and a great number of every sort. *Henry VIII.* A.D. 1531.

Being further demanded for what intent he brought them into the realm; he answered, 'To the intent that the gospel of Christ might be set forward, and God the more glorified in this realm amongst christian people;' and that he had sold and dispersed many of those books before named, to sundry persons within this realm, and to divers of the diocese of London. Being further demanded, whether Martin Luther was condemned as a heretic by the pope? he answered, that he heard say, that Martin Luther with all his sect and adherents, were, and are, condemned as heretics by the pope. And being demanded, whether Zuinglius was of Luther's sect; he answered, that he never spake with him. Being asked whether Zuinglius was a Catholic? he answered, that he could not tell. Being inquired whether the books contained in the schedules did contain any errors in them? he said, he could not tell, neither could he judge. Also he confessed, that the common fame hath been within these two or three years, that Œcolampadius and Zuinglius be heretics; also that such as lean to Martin Luther be heretics. Also he confessed, that being beyond the sea, he heard say, before he brought into this realm the books contained in the said bills, that the king had by proclamation prohibited, that no man should bring into this realm any of Martin Luther's books or of his sect: which confession thus ended, the bishop appointed him to appear the next day.

Saturday being the 11th of November, Richard Bayfield appeared, and acknowledged the answers that he had made in the session the day before. This thing done, the official objected the fourth article unto him: whereunto he answered, that he could not tell whether there be any heresies in them; for he had read no heresies in them. And being demanded whether he had read any of those books? he answered, that he had read the greater part of them here and there; but not throughout. He was demanded, whether he believed the aforenamed books to be good, and of the true faith? He answered, that he judged they were good, and of the true faith. Being inquired, what books he read in the realm? he said, that he had read the New Testament in Latin, and other books mentioned in the bills; but he said, that he read none translated: notwithstanding he did confess that he had read a book called Thorp's, in the presence and audience of others, and also a book of John Frith's purgatory, which he had read to himself alone, as he said; and also had read to himself a book called, 'The practice of Prelates;' and also said, that he had read a book called, 'The Parable of the wicked Mammon,' but in the presence and hearing of others whom he knew not. Also he confessed that he had read 'The Obedience of a Christian Man,' and the 'Sum of Scripture' among company, and also, 'The Dialogue betwixt the Ploughman and the Gentleman,' among company, as he thought; also he had read a piece of the answer of Tyndale made to sir Thomas More; likewise he had read the Dialogue of Frith, to himself: he had read also the prologues of the five books of Moses, contained in the long schedule, and in company, as he thought. Certain old books.

All these books he had read in manner aforesaid within these two years last past, and as for the New Testament in English, he read it before he had read these books specified in the schedule before rehearsed.

To the third article, as touching Zuinglius and others, he supposed that they held the same doctrine that Luther did; but that he thought them to vary in some points.

The 16th day of November, Richard Bayfield appeared again before the bishop; who inquired of him, of what sect Zuinglius was. He said, he thought that he held with Luther in some points, &c.

Also he confessed, that first he brought books of the sorts abovenamed into this realm, about Midsummer was a twelvemonth, and landed them at Colchester; and afterwards brought part of them to this city; and some he dispersed and sold in this city. The second time that he brought books was about All-Hallowtide was a twelvemonth, and that he landed them at St. Catharine's;

Henry VIII. A. D. 1531.

which books the lord chancellor took from him. Also that at Easter last was the third time that he brought over the books now showed unto him, and contained in these two bills, and landed with them in Norfolk, and from thence brought them to the city of London in a mail.

To the fifth, sixth, and seventh articles, he answered and confessed them to be true.

To the eighth he answered, that it was enjoined him as is contained in the article; which injunction he fulfilled.

To the ninth he answered, that he did not remember it.

To the tenth he answered, that it was enjoined him that he should go to the abbey of Bury, and there continue; which, he said, he did three times; but he did not wear his monk's cowl, as he was enjoined.

The eleventh article he confessed.

For the twelfth article, That he did not wear his monk's habit according to the abjuration, he referred himself to the acts, whether he were so enjoined or no.

To the thirteenth article he said, that he did not remember the contents thereof, but referred himself to the acts. Notwithstanding he confessed that he had no license of the bishop of London to come to the city or diocese of London, nor to make any abode there.

Ex Registro Lond.

The Sentence given against Richard Bayfield in a case of Relapse.

In the name of God, Amen. We John, by the sufferance of God, bishop of London, in a case of inquisition of heresy, and relapse of the same, first begun before Master Richard Foxfard, doctor of both laws, our official, now depending before us undecided, against thee Richard Bayfield, priest and monk, professed to the order and rule of St. Benedict, in the monastery of St. Edmund's Bury, in the diocese of Norwich, and by means of the causes within written under our jurisdiction, and with all favour rightly and lawfully proceeding, with all favour possible, the merits and circumstances of the cause of this inquisition heard, weighed, understood, and fully discussed by us the said bishop, reserving unto ourselves that which by law ought to be reserved; have thought good to proceed in this manner, to the pronouncing of our definitive sentence.

Forasmuch as by the acts enacted, inquired, propounded, and alleged, and by thee judicially confessed, we do find that thou hast abjured certain errors and heresies, and damnable opinions by thee confessed, as well particularly as generally, before our reverend fellow and brother, then thy ordinary, according to the form and order of the church: and that one Martin Luther, together with his adherents and complices, receivers and favourers, whatsoever they be, was condemned as a heretic by the authority of pope Leo X., of most happy memory, and by the authority of the apostolic see, and the books and all writings, schedules, and sermons of the said Master Luther, his adherents and complices, whether they be found in Latin, or in any other languages imprinted or translated, for the manifold heresies and errors, and damnable opinions that are in them, are condemned, reproved, and utterly rejected; and inhibition made, by the authority of the said see, to all faithful Christians, under the pain of excommunication, and other punishments in that behalf to be incurred by the law, that no man by any means presume to read, teach, hear, imprint, or publish, or by any means do defend, directly or indirectly, secretly or openly, in their houses, or in any other public or private places, any such manner of writings, books, errors, or articles, as are contained more at large in the apostolic letters, drawn out in form of a public instrument; whereunto and to the contents thereof we refer ourselves as far as is expedient, and no otherwise. And forasmuch as we do perceive that thou didst understand the premises, and yet these things notwithstanding, after thy abjuration made (as is aforesaid), thou hast brought in, divers and sundry times, many books of the said Martin Luther, and his adherents and complices, and of other heretics, the names, titles and authors of which books here follow, and are these, Martin Luther, Of the Abrogating of the private Mass; the Declarations of Martin Luther upon the Epistles of St. Peter; Luther upon the Epistles of St. Paul and St. Jude; Luther upon Monastical Vowers; Luther's Commentary upon the Epistle of St. Paul to the Galatians; Johannes Œcolampadius, upon the

A catalogue of the books brought in by Richard Bayfield.

exposition of these words, 'Hoc est corpus meum;' the Annotations of Œcolampadius upon the Epistles of St. Paul unto the Romans; Œcolampadius's Commentary upon the three last Prophets, Haggai, Zachariah, and Malachi; the Sermons of Œcolampadius upon the Catholic Epistles of John; a Book of Annotations upon Genesis, gathered by Huldricus Zuinglius; the Commentaries of Pomeran, upon four Chapters of the first Epistle to the Corinthians; Annotations of Pomeran upon Deuteronomy and Samuel; Pomeran upon the Psalms; the Commentaries of Francis Lambert of Avignon, upon the Gospel of St. Luke; a Congest of all matters of Divinity, by Francis Lambert; the Commentaries of Francis Lambert upon the Prophet Joel; also the Commentaries of Francis Lambert upon the Prophets Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zachariah, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, and Hosea; a new Gloss of Philip Melancthon upon the Proverbs of Solomon; the Commentaries of Philip Melancthon upon the Epistle of St. Paul to the Colossians; the Annotations of Philip Melancthon upon the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans, and upon the Epistle to the Colossians; Solomon's Sentences, translated according to the Hebrew, by Philip Melancthon; Most wholesome Annotations upon the Gospel of St. Mark, by Christopher Hegendorphinus; the Commentaries of John Brentius upon Job; the Commentary of John Brentius upon the Ecclesiastes of Solomon; Homilies of Brentius upon the Gospel of St. John; the Annotations of Andrew Althomarus and Brentius upon the Epistle of St. James; the Commentaries of Bucer upon Zephaniah; Bucer upon the four Evangelists; the Process Consistorial of the Martyrdom of John Huss; a Brief Commendatory of Martin Luther, unto Otho Brunfelsius, as touching the Life, Doctrine, and Martyrdom of John Huss; Felinus upon the Psalter; his Exposition upon Isaiah; his Expositions upon Jeremiah; Capito upon Hosea; Capito upon Habakkuk; Unio dissidentium; the Pandect of Otho; the Catalogue of famous Men; an Answer of Tyndale unto Sir Thomas More; a Disputation of Purgatory, made by John Frith in English; a Prologue to the fifth Book of Moses, called Deuteronomy; the first Book of Moses, called Genesis; a Prologue to the third Book of Moses, called Leviticus; a Prologue to the fourth Book of Moses, called Numbers; a Prologue to the second Book of Moses, called Exodus; the Practice of Prelates; the New Testament in English, with an Introduction to the Romans; the Parable of the Wicked Mammon; the Obedience of a Christian Man; A. B. C. of Thorpe's; the Sum of Scripture; the Primer in English; the Psalter in English; a Dialogue betwixt the Gentleman and the Ploughman.

Henry VIII. A. D. 1531.

Of all which kind of books, both in Latin and English, translated, set forth, and imprinted, containing not only Lutheran heresies, but also the damnable heresies of other heretics condemned, forasmuch as thou hast brought over from the parties beyond the sea, a great number into this realm of England, and especially to our city and diocese of London, and hast procured them to be brought and conveyed over; also hast kept by thee, and studied those books, and hast published and read them unto divers men, and many of those books also hast dispersed and given unto divers persons dwelling within our city and diocese of London, and hast confessed and affirmed before our official, that those books of Martin Luther and other heretics his complices and adherents, and all the contents in them are good and agreeable to the true faith; saying thus, 'That they are good, and of the true faith;' and by this means and pretence hast commended and praised Martin Luther, his adherents and complices, and hast favoured and believed their errors, heresies, and opinions: Therefore we John, the bishop aforesaid, first calling upon the name of Christ, and setting God only before our eyes;[1] by the counsel and consent of the divines and lawyers with whom in this behalf we have conferred, do declare and decree thee, the aforesaid Richard Bayfield, otherwise called Somersam, for the contempt of thy abjuration, as a favourer of the aforesaid Martin Luther, his adherents, complices, favourers, and other condemned heretics, and for commending and studying, reading, having, retaining, publishing, selling, giving and dispersing the books and writings, as well of the said Martin Luther, his adherents and disciples, as of other heretics before named: and also for crediting and maintaining the errors, heresies, and damnable opinions contained in the said books and writings, worthily to be and have been a heretic; and that thou, by the pretence of the premises, art fallen again most

The Primer and Psalter in English forbidden.

(1) If Christ were before your eyes, ye would not condemn this good man for these good books.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1531. damnably into heresy; and we pronounce that thou art and hast been a relapsed heretic, and hast incurred, and oughtest to incur, the pain and punishment of a relapse: and we so decree and declare, and also condemn thee thereunto; and that by the pretence of the premises, thou hast even by the law incurred the sentence of the greater excommunication: and thereby we pronounce and declare thee to have been and to be excommunicate, and clearly discharge, exonerate, and degrade thee from all privilege and prerogative of the ecclesiastical orders, and also deprive thee of all ecclesiastial office and benefice: also we pronounce and declare thee, by this our sentence or decree, which we here promulgate and declare in these writings, that thou art actually to be degraded, deposed, and deprived, as followeth:

The Sentence of Degradation against blessed Bayfield, with the proceedings thereon.

'In the name of God, Amen. We John, by the permission of God, bishop of London, rightfully and lawfully proceeding in this behalf, do dismiss thee Richard Bayfield, alias Somersam, being pronounced by us a relapsed heretic, and degraded by us from all ecclesiastical privilege, out of the ecclesiastical court, pronouncing that the secular power here present should receive thee under their jurisdiction; earnestly requiring and desiring, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, that the execution of this worthy punishment, to be done upon thee and against thee, in this behalf, may be so moderated, that there be neither overmuch cruelty, neither too much favourable gentleness; but that it may be to the health and salvation of thy soul, and to the extirpation, fear, terror, and conversion of all other heretics, unto the unity of the catholic faith. This our final decree, by this our sentence definitive, we have caused to be published in form aforesaid.'

'And they shall cast you out of their synagogue for my name's sake.'

A.D. 1531. On Monday the 20th of November, 1531, in the choir of the cathedral church of St. Paul, before the said John, bishop of London, judicially sitting, being assisted by John, abbot of Westminster; Robert, abbot of Waltham; and Nicholas, prior of Christ's Church, in London; these honourable lords being also present: Henry, earl of Essex; Richard Gray, brother to the marquis of Somerset; John Lambert, mayor of London; Richard Gresham, and Edward Altam, sheriffs (which mayor and sheriffs were required to be there present by the bishop of London's letters hereafter written, and by virtue of a statute of king Henry IV.,[1] king of England); also in the presence of divers canons, the chancellor, official, and the archdeacon of London, with the bishops' chaplains, and a great number both of the clergy and laity; Matthew Grefton, the registrar, being also there present: Master Richard Bayfield, alias Somersam, was brought forth by Thomas Turner the apparitor, his keeper, in whose presence the transumpt of the apostolic bull of pope Leo X., upon the condemnation of Martin Luther and his adherents, was brought forth and showed, sealed with the seal of Thomas Wolsey, late legate de Latere, and subscribed with the sign and name of Master Robert Tunnes, public notary; and also the decree upon the condemnation of certain books brought in by him, sealed with the seals of the archbishop of Canterbury, and subscribed by three notaries.

Bayfield again brought before the bishop.

Then the bishop of London repeated in effect before him his abjuration which he had before made, and other his demerits committed and done, beside his abjuration: and the said Bayfield said, that he was not culpable in the articles that were objected against him; and desired that the heresies contained in the books which he brought over, might be declared in open audience. Then the bishop, after certain talk had with the said Bayfield, as touching the desert of his cause, asked him whether he could show any cause why he should not be delivered over unto the secular power, and be pronounced as a relapse, and suffer punishment as a relapse. The said Bayfield declared or propounded no cause, but said that he brought over those books for lack of money, and not to sow any heresies. And incontinent the said Bayfield, with a vehement spirit (as it appeared) said unto the bishop of London, 'The life of you of the spiritualty is so evil, that ye be heretics; and ye do not only live evil, but do maintain evil living, and also do let, that what true living is, may not be known;' and said, that their living is against Christ's gospel, and that their belief was never taken from Christ's church. Then the said bishop, after long

The saying of Bayfield to the bishop of London.

(1) Of this statute read before.

deliberation had, forasmuch as the said Richard Bayfield, he said, could show no cause why he should not be declared a relapse, read the decree and sentence against him; by which, amongst other things, he condemned him as a heretic, and pronounced him to be punished with the punishment due unto such as fall again into heresy; and by his words did degrade him, and also declared that he should be actually degraded, as is more at large contained in the long sentence. *Henry VIII.* A. D. 1531.

The aforesaid sentence being so read by the bishop of London, he proceeded immediately to the actual and solemn degrading of the said Richard Bayfield, alias Somersam, and there solemnly and actually degraded him before the people; which thing being done, he dismissed him by the sentence aforesaid from the ecclesiastical court: whereupon the secular power, being there present, received him into their jurisdiction, without any writ in that behalf obtained, but only by virtue of the bishop's letters, by the statute of king Henry IV., in that behalf provided and directed unto them under the bishop's seal. The tenor of which letters hereafter follow.

The Letters of Requiry, directed to the Mayor and Sheriffs of the City of London, that they should be present that day, when the sentence should be given, to receive the Heretic (as they called him) that was condemned.

John, by the permission of God, bishop of London, unto our dearly beloved in Christ, the right honourable lord mayor of the city of London, and the sheriffs of the same, health, grace, and benediction. Whereas we have already, by our vicar general, proceeded in a certain cause of heresy, and relapse into the same, against one Richard Bayfield, alias Somersam, and intend upon Monday next, being the 20th day of this present month of November, to give a sentence definitive against the said Richard Bayfield, alias Somersam, and to leave and deliver him over unto the secular power: we require you, the lord mayor and sheriffs aforesaid, the king's majesty's vicegerents, even in the bowels of Jesu Christ, that according to the form and effect of the statute of our most noble and famous prince in Christ our Lord the lord Henry IV., by the grace of God, late king of England, you will be personally present in the choir of the cathedral church of St. Paul, with your favourable aid and assistance in this behalf, the day that the sentence shall be given, and to receive the said Richard Bayfield, alias Somersam, after his sentence so given, to discharge us and our officers; and to do further, according to the tenor and effect of the said statute, as far as shall be required of you, according to the canonical sanctions, and the laudable custom of the famous kingdom of England, in this behalf accustomed. In witness whereof we have set our seal unto this present.

Dated the 19th day of November, anno 1531, and in the first year of our consecration.

On Monday the 20th day of November in the year aforesaid, in the choir of the cathedral church of St. Paul, the bishop of London calling unto him John, abbot of Westminster; Robert, abbot of Waltham; Nicholas, prior of Christ's Church of the city of London; Master John Cox, auditor and vicar general to the archbishop of Canterbury; Peter Ligham, official of the court of Canterbury; Thomas Baghe, chancellor of the church of St. Paul's; William Cliefe, archdeacon of London; John Incent, canon residentiary of the same; William Briton, Robert Birch, and Hugh Aprice, doctors of both laws, in the presence of us Matthew Grefton, registrar; Anthony Hussie, Richard Martine, and Thomas Shadwell, public notaries and scribes appointed in this behalf; briefly rehearsed the answers of the same Bayfield in effect, and his abjuration, and other his demerits by him done besides his abjuration: which religious persons, and other ecclesiastical men abovesaid, thought it good, and agreed, that the said bishop should proceed against him in this case of relapse, and should pronounce, and give forth the sentence against him in case aforesaid.

Henry VIII. A. D. 1531.

And so he was delivered to the sheriffs to carry to Newgate, being commanded to bring him again upon Monday following into Paul's upper choir, there to give attendance upon the bishop of London with the residue, till they had done with him; and by and by the sheriffs were commanded to have him into the vestry, and then to bring him forth again in Antichrist's apparel, to be degraded before them. When the bishop had degraded him, kneeling upon the highest step of the altar, he took his crosier-staff, and smote him on the breast, that he threw him down backwards, and brake his head, that he swooned; and when he came to himself again, he thanked God that he was delivered from the malignant church of Antichrist, and that he was come into the true sincere church of Jesus Christ, militant here in earth. "And I trust anon," said he, "to be in heaven with Jesus Christ, and the church triumphant for ever." And so was he led forth through the choir to Newgate, and there rested about an hour in prayer, and so went to the fire in his apparel manfully and joyfully, and there, for lack of a speedy fire, was two quarters of an hour alive. And when the left arm was on fire and burned, he rubbed it with his right hand, and it fell from his body, and he continued in prayer to the end without moving.

Bayfield given to the secular power.

Degraded and thrown down with the bishop's staff.

Sir Thomas More, after he had brought this good man to his end, ceased not to rave after his death in his ashes, to pry and spy out what sparks he could find of reproach and contumely, whereby to rase out all good memory of his name and fame. In searching whereof he hath found out two things to lay against him: the one is, that this Bayfield went about to assure himself of two wives at once, one in Brabant, another in England: the second, that after his taking, all the while that he was not in utter despair of his pardon, he was content to forswear his doctrine, and letted not to disclose his brethren. For the answer whereof, although there were no more to be said, yet this were enough to say, that Master More thus said of him; a man so blinded in the zeal of popery, so deadly set against the one side, and so partially affectionate unto the other, that in them whom he favoureth he can see nothing but all fair roses and sweet virtue; in the other which he hateth, there is never a thing can please his fantasy, but all is as black as pitch, vice, abomination, heresy, and folly, whatsoever they do, or intend to do. But as touching the defence of this Bayfield, as also of others, I will defer the defence of them to a several apology by itself, hereafter God willing, to be adjoined.

Master More a partial judge in matters of heresy.

John Tewkesbury, Leatherseller, of London, Martyr.[1]

John Tewkesbury was converted by the reading of Tyndale's Testament, and the 'Wicked Mammon.' He had the Bible written. In all points of religion he openly did dispute in the bishop's chapel in his palace. In the doctrine of justification and all other articles

(1) In Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials, vol. i. pt. i. p. 116, Oxford, 1822, mention is made of 'John Tewkesbury, haberdasher, dwelling nigh to St. Martin's gate.' The name occurs in an account of a 'Persecution in the diocese of London for religion.' It is remarkable as proving this; that however these melancholy histories have accumulated under the hands of Foxe the martyrologis, more lengthened details might have been given out of his own MSS.: as appears by the following observation of Strype:—"Some of which visitation I shall now give, having the original papers thereof [MSS. Foxian] before me; and the rather, because John Foxe, in his Martyrology, hath omitted it, and hath recorded little more than the names of them that were persecuted; and these extant in the first edition only." The table of the names of these persons will be found in page 585.—Ed.

of his faith he was very expert and prompt in his answers, in such sort that Tonstal, and all his learned men, were ashamed that a leather-seller should so dispute with them, with such power of the Scriptures and heavenly wisdom, that they were not able to resist him. *This disputation continued a se'nnight; and then he was sent from the Lollards' tower to my lord chancellor's, called sir Thomas More, to Chelsea, with all his articles; to see whether he could turn him, and that he might accuse others. There he lay in the porter's lodge, hand, foot, and head in the stocks, six days without release: then was he carried to Jesu's tree, in his privy garden, where he was whipped, and also twisted in his brows with small ropes, so that the blood started out of his eyes; and yet he would accuse no man. Then was he let loose in the house for a day, and his friends thought to have him at liberty on the morrow. After this, he was sent to be racked in the Tower, till he was almost lame, and there he promised to recant at Paul's Cross. Thither he was brought with a faggot on his shoulder, and after that let go home to his house, and was bound in recognizances, with his securities, for his forthcoming; and he had scarcely been a month at home but he bewailed his fact and his abjuration, and was never quiet in mind and conscience, as is hereafter expressed.*

Henry VIII. A.D. 1529 to 1531.

The process of his examinations, articles, and answers, here follow, as they are out of the bishop's register extracted.

The Examination of John Tewkesbury, before Tonstal, bishop of London.

On Wednesday, the 21st day of April, A. D. 1529, John Tewkesbury was brought into the consistory at London, before Cuthbert, bishop of London, and his assistants, Henry, bishop of St. Asaph, and John, abbot of Westminster; unto whom the bishop of London declared, that he had at divers times exhorted him to recant the errors and heresies which he held and defended, even as he did then again exhort him not to trust too much to his own wit and learning, but unto the doctrine of the holy mother the church: who made answer that in his judgment he did not err from the doctrine of the holy mother the church. And at last, being examined upon errors, which, they said, were in the said book called the 'Wicked Mammon,' he answered thus: 'Take ye the book and read it over, and I think in my conscience, ye shall find no fault in it.' And being asked by the said bishop, whether he did rather give credit to his book, or to the gospel, he answered that the gospel is, and ever hath been, true. And moreover, being particularly examined what he thought of this article, 'That the Jews of good intent and zeal slew Christ,' he answered, 'Look ye the book through, before and after, as it lieth, and ye shall find a better tale in it, than ye make of it;' and further thought, that whosoever translated the New Testament, and made the book, meaning The Wicked Mammon, he did it of good zeal, and by the Spirit of God.

Also being further asked by the said bishop of London, whether he would stand to the contents of his book, he answered, 'Look ye the book before and after, and I will be content to stand unto it.' Then being examined, whether that all good works must be done without respect of any thing, he answered, that a man should do good works for the love of God only, and for no hope of any reward higher or lower in heaven; for if he should, it were presumption. Also being demanded, whether Christ, with all his works did not deserve heaven, he answered and said, that it was plain enough. These things being done, the bishop said further to John Tewkesbury thus: 'I tell thee, before God and those who are here present, in examination of my conscience, that the articles

Merits by working.

(1) See edition 1563, page 486.—Ed.

Henry VIII. A. D. 1529 to 1531.

above named, and many others contained in the same book, are false, heretical, and condemned by the holy church: how thinkest thou?' And further, the said bishop of London said unto him again, 'I tell thee, before God and those who are here present,' &c.; and so asked him again, what he thought of those articles. And after many exhortations, he commanded him to answer determinately under pain of the law, saying further unto him, that if he refused to answer, he must declare him an open and obstinate heretic, according to the order of the law. These things so done, the bishop asked John Tewkesbury again, whether the said book, called The Wicked Mammon, were good?

The bishop's judgment and the judgment of Tewkesbury of the book of The Wicked Mammon.

To this interrogatory he answereth, that he thinketh in his conscience there is nothing in the book but that which is true. And to this article objected, that is, that faith only justifieth without works, he answereth, that it is well said. Whereunto the bishop inferred again, that the articles before objected, with divers others contained in the book called The Wicked Mammon, were false, erroneous, damnable, and heretical, and reproved and condemned by the church: and, before God, and all those that were present, for the discharge of his conscience, he had often, and very gently, exhorted the said John Tewkesbury, that he would revoke and renounce his errors: otherwise if he did intend to persevere in them, he must declare him a heretic; which he would be very sorry to do. These things thus done, the bishop oftentimes offered him, that he should choose what spiritual or temporal man he would, to be his counsellor; and gave him time, as before, to deliberate with himself until the next sitting.

Another examination of Tewkesbury.

Also in the same month of April, in the year of our Lord aforesaid, the bishop of London, Cuthbert Tonstal, sitting in the consistory, with Nicholas of Ely, John of Lincoln, and John of Bath and Wells, &c., this John Tewkesbury was brought before them. After certain articles being repeated unto him, the bishop of London brought before him a certain book, called The Wicked Mammon, asking him whether the book was of the same impression and making as were his books that he had sold to others? who answered and said, it was the same. Whereupon the bishop of London asking him again, whether the book contained the same error or no? who answered again saying, I pray God, that the condemnation of the gospel and translation of the Testament, be not to your shame, and that you be not in peril for it: for the condemnation of it and of the others is all one. Further he said, that he had studied the holy Scripture by the space of these seventeen years, and as he may see the spots of his face through the glass, so in reading the New Testament, he knoweth the faults of his soul. Furthermore, he was examined upon certain points and articles, extracted out of the said book of The Wicked Mammon, as followeth:

Articles extracted out of the Book of 'The Wicked Mammon.'

Antichrist no outward thing, but a spiritual thing.

First, That Antichrist is not an outward thing, that is to say, a man that should suddenly appear with wonders, as your forefathers talked of him; but Antichrist is a spiritual thing.—Whereunto he answered and said, that he findeth no fault in it.

Again, it was demanded of him touching the article, whether faith only justifieth a man?—To this he said, that if he should look to deserve heaven by works, he should do wickedly; for works follow faith, and Christ redeemed us all, with the merits of his passion.

That the devil holdeth our hearts so hard, that it is impossible for us to consent unto God's law.—To that he answered, that he findeth no fault in it.

No man justified bymerits.

That the law of God suffereth no merits, neither any man to be justified in the sight of God.—To that he answered, that it is plain enough, considering what the law is; and he saith, that he findeth no ill in it.

The law requireth things impossible.

That the law of God requireth of us things impossible.—To that he answered, that the law of God doth command, that thou shalt love God above all things, and thy neighbour as thyself, which never man could do; and in that he doth find no fault in his conscience.

No law to the just man.

That as the good tree bringeth forth fruit, so there is no law put to him, that believeth and is justified through faith.—To that he answered and said, he findeth no ill in it.

'All good works must be done without respect of any thing, or any profit to be had thereof.'—To that he answered, 'It is truth.' *Henry VIII.*

'Christ with all his works did not deserve heaven.'—To that he answered, that the text is true as it lieth, and he findeth no fault in it. A. D. 1529 to 1531.

'Peter and Paul, and saints that be dead are not our friends, but their friends whom they did help when they were alive.'—To that he said, he findeth no ill in it.

'Alms deserve no reward of God.'—To that he answered, that the text of the book is true.

'The devil is not cast out by merits of fasting or prayer.'—To that he answered, thinking it good enough.

'We cannot love except we see some benefit and kindness. As long as we live under the law of God only, where we see but sin and damnation, and the wrath of God upon us, yea where we were damned before we were born, we cannot love God, and cannot but hate him as a tyrant, unrighteous and unjust; and flee from him, as did Cain.'—To that he answered, and thinketh it good and plain enough. The law worketh not in us the love of God.

'We are damned by nature, as a toad is a toad by nature, and a serpent is a serpent by nature.'—To that he answered, that it is true, as it is in the book. Man by nature is condemned.

Item, As concerning the article of fasting.—To that he answered and said, 'The book declareth itself.'

'Every one man is a lord of whatsoever another man hath.'[1]—To that he answered; 'What law can be better than that? for it is plainly meant there.'

'Love in Christ putteth no difference betwixt one and another.'—To that he answered and said, 'It is plain enough of itself.'

'As concerning the preaching of the word of God, and washing of dishes, there is no difference as concerning salvation, and as touching the pleasing of God.'—To that he answered, saying, 'It is a plain text, and as for pleasing God, it is all one.'

That the Jews of good intent and zeal put Christ to death.[2] To that he answered, that it is true, and the text is plain enough.

'The sects of St. Francis, and St. Dominic, and others, be damnable.'—To that he answered and said, 'St. Paul repugneth against them.'

These articles being so objected, and answer made unto them by John Tewkesbury, the said bishop of London asked him whether he would continue in his heresies and errors above rehearsed, or renounce and forsake them?[3] who answered thus: 'I pray you reform yourself, and if there be any error in the book, let it be reformed; I think the book is good enough.'

Further, the bishop exhorted him to recant his errors. To this the said John Tewkesbury answered as is above written; to wit, 'I pray you reform yourself, and if there be any error in the book, let it be reformed; I think it is good enough.' This thing being done, the bishop appointed him to determine better with himself against the morrow, in the presence of Master John Cox, vicar-general to the archbishop of Canterbury, Master Galfride Warton, Rowland Philips, William Philow, and Robert Ridley, professors of divinity.

On the 13th day of April, in the year of our Lord abovesaid, in the chapel within the palace of London, before Cuthbert, bishop of London, with his assistants, Nicholas, bishop of Ely, &c., Tewkesbury again appeared, and was examined upon the articles drawn out of the book called 'The Wicked Mammon,' as followeth: Another appearance of Tewkesbury.

Another Examination of John Tewkesbury, on Articles drawn out of 'The Wicked Mammon.'

First, 'Christ is thine, and all his deeds be thy deeds; Christ is in thee, and thou so knit to him inseparably, that neither canst thou be damned, except Christ be damned with thee; neither canst thou be saved, except Christ be saved with thee.'—To this he answered, that he found no fault in it.

Item, 'We desire one another to pray for us. That done, we must put our

(1) He meaneth, by communication, not by vindication: and yet this point seemeth to be falsely gathered.
(2) For if they had known the Lord of glory, they would not have crucified him.
(3) Lo, here is no Scripture brought to repel these opinions, but only authority to repress them.

Henry VIII. A. D. 1529 to 1531.

neighbour in remembrance of his duty, and that he trust not in his holiness.'—To this he answered, 'Take ye it as ye will; I will take it well enough.'

Item, 'Now seest thou what alms meaneth, and wherefore it serveth. He that seeketh with his alms more than to be merciful, to be a neighbour to succour his brother's need, to do his duty to his brother, to give his brother what he owed him; the same is blind, and seeth not Christ's blood.' Here he answereth, that he findeth no fault throughout all the book, but that all the book is good, and it hath given him great comfort and light to his conscience.

Item, 'That ye do nothing to please God, but what he commanded.'—To that he answereth, and thinketh it good, by his troth.

Item, 'So God is honoured on all sides, in that we count him righteous in all his laws and ordinances: and to worship him otherwise than so, it is idolatry.'—To that he answered, that it pleaseth him well.

The examination of these articles being done, the bishop of London did exhort the said John Tewkesbury to recant his errors abovesaid; and after some other communication had by the bishop with him, the said bishop did exhort him again to recant his errors, and appointed him to determine with himself against the next session what he would do.

Tewkesbury submitteth himself.

In the next session he submitted himself, and abjured his opinions, and was enjoined penance, as followeth: which was the eighth of May.

Imprimis, That he should keep well his abjuration, under pain of relapse.

Secondly, That the next Sunday following, in Paul's church, in the open procession, he should carry a faggot, and stand at Paul's cross with the same.

That the Wednesday following, he should carry the same faggot about Newgate Market and Cheapside.

That on Friday after, he should take the same faggot again at St. Peter's church in Cornhill, and carry it about the market of Leadenhall.

That he should have two signs of faggots embroidered, one on his left sleeve, and the other on his right sleeve; which he should wear all his lifetime, unless he were otherwise dispensed withal.

That on Whitsunday-eve he should enter into the monastery of St. Bartholomew, in Smithfield, and there abide; and not come out unless he were released by the bishop of London.

That he should not depart out of the city or diocese of London, without the special license of the bishop or his successors.

This penance he entered into the eighth day of May, A. D. 1529. And thus much concerning his first examination, which was in the year 1529, at what time he was enforced through infirmity, as is before expressed, to retract and abjure his doctrine. Notwithstanding, the

Tewkesbury returned again to the truth.

same John Tewkesbury, afterward confirmed by the grace of God, and moved by the example of Bayfield aforesaid, who was burned in Smithfield, did return, and constantly abide in the testimony of the truth, and suffered for the same; who, recovering more grace and better strength at the hand of the Lord, two years after being apprehended again, was brought before sir Thomas More, and the bishop of London; where certain articles were objected against him, the chief whereof we intend briefly to recite; for the matter is prolix.

Additional Articles objected against John Tewkesbury.

Imprimis, That he confessed that he was baptized, and intended to keep the catholic faith.

Secondly, That he affirmeth, that the abjuration oath and subscription that he made before Cuthbert, late bishop of London, was done by compulsion. *Henry VIII.* A. D. 1529 to 1531.

Thirdly, That he had the books of the Obedience of a Christian Man, and of The Wicked Mammon, in his custody, and hath read them since his abjuration.

Fourthly, That he affirmeth that he suffered the two faggots that were embroidered on his sleeve, to be taken from him, for that he deserved not to wear them.

Fifthly, He saith, *that* faith only justifieth, which lacketh not charity.

Sixthly, He saith, that Christ is a sufficient mediator for us, and therefore no prayer is to be made unto saints. Whereupon they laid unto him this verse of the anthem: 'Salve regina advocata nostra,' &c.; to which he answered, that he knew none other advocate but Christ alone.

Seventhly, He affirmeth that there is no purgatory after this life, but that Christ our Saviour is a sufficient purgation for us. Christ is our purgatory.

Eighthly, He affirmeth, that the souls of the faithful, departing this life, rest with Christ.

Ninthly, He affirmeth, that a priest, by receiving of orders, receiveth more grace, if his faith be increased; or else not.

Tenthly, and last of all, he believeth that the sacrament of the flesh and blood of Christ is not the very body of Christ, in flesh and blood, as it was born of the Virgin Mary.

Hereupon the bishop's chancellor asked the said Tewkesbury, if he could show any cause why he should not be taken for a heretic, falling into his heresy again, and receive the punishment of a heretic. Whereunto he answered that he had wrong before, and if he be condemned now, he reckoneth that he hath wrong again.

Then the chancellor caused the articles to be read openly, with the answers unto the same; which the said Tewkesbury confessed; and thereupon the bishop pronounced sentence against him, and delivered him unto the sheriffs of London for the time being, who were Richard Gresham and Edward Altam, who burned him in Smithfield upon St. Thomas's-eve, being the 20th of December, in the year aforesaid; the tenor of whose sentence, pronounced against him by the bishop, doth here ensue, word for word.

The Sentence against John Tewkesbury.

In the name of God, Amen. The deservings and circumstances of a certain cause of heretical pravity, and falling again thereunto by thee John Tewkesbury, of the parish of St. Michael's in the Quern, of the city of London, and of our jurisdiction, appearing before us sitting in judgment, being heard, seen, and understood, and fully discussed by us John, by the sufferance of God, bishop of London; because we do find by inquisitions, manifestly enough, that thou didst abjure freely and voluntarily before Cuthbert, late bishop of London, thy ordinary, divers and sundry heresies, errors, and damnable opinions, contrary to the determination of our mother holy church, as well special as general, and that since and beside the aforesaid abjuration thou art again fallen into the same damnable heresies, opinions, and errors (which is greatly to be lamented), and the same dost hold, affirm, and believe: we therefore, John the bishop aforesaid, the name of God first being called upon, and the same only God set before our eyes; and with the counsel of learned men assisting us in this behalf (with whom in this cause we have communicated of our definitive sentence and final decree, in this behalf to be done), do intend to proceed and do proceed in this manner. Because, as it is aforesaid, we do find thee, the aforesaid John Tewkesbury of our jurisdiction, to be a contemner of the first abjuration; and moreover, before and after the aforesaid first errors and other damnable opinions, to have fallen, and to be a heretic fallen, and to have incurred the pain of such fallen heretics: we do pronounce, determine, declare, and condemn thee of the premises, to have incurred the danger of the great excommunication; and do pronounce thee to be excommunicated; and also do declare thee, the said

Henry VIII. A. D. 1529 to 1531.

Tewkesbury, so damnably fallen again into heresy, to be in the secular power and in their judgment (as the holy canons have decreed): and here we do leave thee to the aforesaid secular power, and to their judgment; beseeching them earnestly, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, that such severe punishment and execution as in this behalf is to be done against thee, may be so moderated, that no rigorous rigour[1] be used, but to the health and salvation of thy soul, and to the terror, fear, and rooting out of heretics, and their conversion to the catholic faith and unity, by this our final decree which we declare by these our writings.

Death and martyrdom of J. Tewkesbury.

This aforesaid sentence definitive against John Tewkesbury was read and pronounced by the bishop of London, the 16th day of the month of December, in the year aforesaid, in the house of sir Thomas More, high chancellor of England, in the parish of Chelsea. After this sentence, the sheriffs received the aforesaid Tewkesbury into their custody, and carried him away with them, and afterwards burned him in Smithfield, as is aforesaid; having no writ of the king for their warrant.

John Randall.

Now[2] also it cometh into my remembrance to speak of another, one John Randall my kinsman, who, through the privy malice of divers, had not a far unlike tragical end and death as Richard Hun, before mentioned.

This John Randall being a young scholar in Christ's college, in Cambridge, about the year of our Lord 1531, had one Wyer for his tutor, unto whom, for the love of the Scriptures and sincere religion, he began not only to be suspected but also to be hated. And as this was unknown unto any man, so is it uncertain, whether he were afterwards hanged up by him or no; because as yet it is not come to light. But the matter happened in this sort: the young man being studious and scarcely twenty-one years old, was long lacking among his companions; at last, after four days, through the stench of the corpse, his study door being broken open, he was found hanged with his own girdle within the study, in such sort and manner that he had his face looking upon his Bible, and his finger pointing to a place of Scripture, where predestination was treated of. Surely this matter lacked no singular and exquisite policy and craft of some old naughty and wicked man, whosoever he was that did the deed, that it should seem that the poor young man through fear of predestination was driven to despair; that other young men being feared through that example should be kept back from the study of the Scriptures as a thing most perilous. And albeit this brief history do not pertain to these times, yet I thought it by no means to be omitted, both for the profitable memory of the thing, as also for the similitude of the story that it seemeth not to be so fit in another place.*

The Story of the Apprehension of one Edward Freese, a Painter.

Edward Freese was born in York, and was apprentice to a painter in the same city; and by the reason of working for his master in Bearsy abbey, or by some such occasion, was known unto the abbot of the

(1) In words they pretend moderation, but their doings be clean contrary.
(2) See Edition 1563, page 490.—Ed.

same house; for he was a boy of a pregnant wit, and the abbot favoured him so much, that he bought his years of his master, and would have made him a monk. And the lad not liking that kind of living, and not knowing how to get out, because he was a novice, ran away after a long space, and came to Colchester, in Essex, and remaining there according to his former vocation, was married, and lived like an honest man. After he had been there a good time, he was hired to paint certain cloths for the new inn, in Colchester, which is in the middle of the market-place; and in the upper border of the cloths, he wrote certain sentences of the Scripture; and by that he was plainly known to be one of them that they call heretics. *Henry VIII.* A. D. 1529 to 1531.

The cause of the taking Freese.

And on a time, he being at his work in the same inn, they of the town, when they had seen his work, went about to take him; and he, having some inkling thereof, thought to shift for himself, but yet was taken forcibly in the yard of the same inn; and after this he was brought to London, and so to Fulham, to the bishop's house, where he was cruelly imprisoned, with certain others of Essex, that is to wit, one Johnson and his wife; Wylie, and his wife and son; and father Bate, of Rowshedge. They were fed with fine manchet made of sawdust, or at least a great part thereof; and were so straitly kept, that their wives and their friends could not come to them. After the painter had been there a long space, by much suit he was removed to Lollard's Tower. His wife, in the time of the suit, while he was yet at Fulham, being desirous to see her husband, and pressing to come in at the gate, being then great with child, the porter lifted up his foot and struck her on the body, that at length she died of the same; but the child was destroyed immediately.

A cruel fact of bishop's porter.

After that, they were all stocked for a long time, and then they were let loose into their prisons again. Some had horselocks on their legs, and some had other irons. This painter would ever be writing on the walls with chalk or a coal, and in one place he wrote, "Doctor Dodipall would make me believe the moon were made of green-cheese." And because he would be writing many things, he was manacled by the wrists so long that the flesh of his arms was grown higher than his irons. By means of his manacles he could not comb his head, and he remained so long manacled, that his hair was folded together.

Cruelty showed to the painter.

After the death of his wife, his brother sued to the king for him, and after a long suit he was brought out into the consistory at Paul's, and (as his brother did report) they kept him three days without meat before he came to his answer. Then, what by the long imprisonment and much evil handling, and for lack of sustenance, the man was in that case, that he could say nothing, but look and gaze upon the people like a wild man; and if they asked him a question, he could say nothing but "My Lord is a good man." And thus, when they had spoiled his body, and destroyed his wits, they sent him back again to Bearsy abbey; but he came away from thence, and would not tarry amongst them: albeit he never came to his perfect mind, to his dying day.

His brother, of whom I before spake, whose name was Valentine Freese, and his wife, gave their lives at one stake in York, for the testimony of Jesus Christ.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1529 to 1531.

Also the wife of the said father Bate, while he was at Fulham, made many supplications to the king without redress, and at the last she delivered one into his own hands, and he read it himself, whereupon she was appointed to go to Chancery-lane, to one whose name (as is thought) was Master Selyard: and at last she got a letter of the said Selyard to the bishop; and when she had it, she thought all her suit well bestowed, hoping that some good should come to her husband thereby. And because the wicked officers in those days were crafty, and desirous of his blood, as some others had proved their practice, some of her friends would needs see the contents of her letter, and not suffer her to deliver it to the bishop: and as they thought, so they found indeed; for it was after this manner:—After commendations had, &c., "Look, what you can gather against father Bate, send me word by your trusty friend, sir William Saxie, that I may certify the king's majesty," &c. Thus the poor woman, when she thought her suit had been done, was in less hope of her husband's life than before. But within short space it pleased God to deliver him; for he got out in a dark night, and so he was caught no more, but died within a short time after.

God's good providence.

A crafty letter of a wicked officer.

Roy burned in Portugal.

In this year also, as we do understand by divers notes of old registers and otherwise, friar Roy was burned in Portugal, but what his examination, or articles, or order of his death was, we can have no understanding: but what his doctrine was, it may be easily judged by the testimonies which he left here in England.

The bishops commanded by the king to set forth a new translation of the New Testament.

In the beginning of this year which we are now about, through the complaint of the clergy made to the king, the translation of the New Testament, with a great number of other books, were forbidden. For the bishops coming into the Star Chamber the 25th day of May, and coming with the king's counsel, after many pretences and long debating, alleged that the translations of Tyndale and Joye were not truly translated; and moreover, that in them were prologues and prefaces that smelled of heresy, and railed against the bishops: wherefore all such books were prohibited, and commandment given by the king to the bishops, that they, calling to them the best learned men of the universities, should cause a new translation to be made, so that the people might not be ignorant in the law of God. Notwithstanding this commandment, the bishops did nothing at all to the setting forth of any new translation, which caused the people much to study Tyndale's translation, by reason whereof many things came to light, as ye shall hereafter hear.

The 'translation inhibited by the bishops.

This year also, in the month of May, the bishop of London caused all the New Testaments of Tyndale's translation, and many other books which he had bought, to be brought unto Paul's Church-yard, and there openly to be burned.

* Upon this or some such like occasion, as it appeareth, Cuthbert Tonstal, bishop of London, granted license unto sir Thomas More, knight, chancellor of England, to read and retain by him all such books as contained Luther's heresy, as they call it, the tenor of which license here ensueth.[1]

(1) This observation, with the letter of bishop Tonstal, alluded to at page 679, is from the Edition of 1563, pp. 491, 492.—Ed.

* A Letter of Bishop Tonstal, sent to Sir Thomas More.

Henry VIII.

A.D. 1531.

Cuthbert, by the permission of God, bishop of London, unto the noble and singular man sir Thomas More, his dearly beloved brother and friend, health in the Lord, and benediction.

Forasmuch as now of late, since the church of God, through Germany, hath been infected with heretics, there have been found many children of iniquity who have gone about to bring in the old and damnable heresy of Wickliff and Luther, translating them into our English tongue, and causing the books to be imprinted, and brought in great number into this realm, which they have, with all their endeavour, gone about to infect with their pestilent doctrine, contrary to the catholic faith; wherefore it is greatly to be feared, lest the catholic truth be wholly brought into danger, except that good and learned men do stoutly withstand the malice of these wicked persons, which can by no other means be more aptly or better brought about than if the truth, being set out in the universal tongue, impugning these wicked doctrines, be also imprinted and put forth; whereby it shall come to pass, that such as are ignorant of the Scripture, and have read these new heretical books, and also shall read these catholic books confuting the same, shall either by themselves be able to discern the truth by themselves, or else the better to be admonished or taught by others who have quicker judgments.

And forasmuch as you, dearly beloved brother! can play the Demosthenes both in this our English tongue, and also in the Latin, and have always accustomed to be an earnest defender of the truth in all assaults, you can never bestow your spare hours better (if ye can steal any from your weighty affairs), than to set forth something in our tongue, to declare unto the rude and simple people the crafty malice of the heretics, and to make us the more prompt against these wicked supplanters of the church. You have herein before you a worthy example to follow in our most noble king Henry VIII.; who, with all his power, hath defended the sacraments of the church against Luther, who went about to subvert the same, and therefore hath eternally preserved the immortal name of Defender of the Church.

And lest you should strive and contend after the manner of the Antabates,[1] you cannot tell against what; I send you here their own fond tryals[2] in their own tongue, and therewithal also certain books of Luther out of which these monstrous opinions have come forth; which things diligently read over by you, ye shall the easier understand in what starting holes these winding serpents do hide themselves, and through what straits they will seek to slip away, when they are taken. For it is greatly available unto victory to know the counsels of the enemies, and to understand certainly what they mean, or whereunto they tend; for if you shall go about to root out that which these men shall say they never thought, it were but labour lost. Therefore boldly go through, and set upon this holy work, whereby ye shall profit the church of God, and get yourself an immortal name and eternal glory in heaven. Which thing that you will do, and help the church with your defence, we earnestly desire you in the Lord; and to this end we grant you license to have and use the said books.*

James Bainham, Lawyer, and Martyr.

James Bainham, gentleman, son to one Master Bainham, a knight of Gloucestershire, being virtuously brought up by his parents in the studies of good letters, had knowledge both of the Latin and the Greek tongue. After that he gave himself to the study of the law, being a man of virtuous disposition, and godly conversation, mightily addicted to prayer, an earnest reader of Scriptures, a great maintainer of the godly, a visitor of the prisoners, liberal to scholars, very merciful to his clients, using equity and justice to the poor, very diligent in giving counsel to all the needy, widows, fatherless and afflicted, without money or reward; briefly, a singular example to all lawyers.

(1) These 'Antabates' are certain men that fought blindfold.
(2) Tryal; i. e. 'triatio,' old Latin, 'an endeavour.'—Ed.

Henry VIII. A. D. 1531.

This Master Bainham, as is above noted, married the wife of Simon Fish aforesaid, for which he was the more suspected, and at last was accused to sir Thomas More, chancellor of England, and arrested with a sergeant-at-arms, and carried out of the Middle Temple to the chancellor's house at Chelsea, where he continued in free prison awhile, till the time that sir Thomas More saw he could not prevail in perverting him to his sect. Then he cast him into prison in his own house, and whipping him at the tree in his garden, called the tree of Troth, and after sent him to the Tower to be racked; and so he was, sir Thomas More being present himself, till in a manner he had lamed him, because he would not accuse the gentlemen of the Temple of his acquaintance, nor would show where his books lay: and because his wife denied them to be at his house, she was sent to the Fleet, and their goods confiscated.

After they had thus practised against him what they could by tortures and torments, then was he brought before John Stokesley, bishop of London, the 15th day of December, A. D. 1531, in the said town of Chelsea, and there examined upon these articles and interrogatories ensuing.

Interrogatories ministered to James Bainham.

I. Whether he believed there were any purgatory of souls hence departed?—Whereunto he made answer as followeth: 'If we walk in light, even as he is in light, we have society together with him, and the blood of Jesus Christ his Son hath cleansed us from all sin. If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us. If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just, and will forgive us our sins, and will purge us from all our iniquities.'

II. Whether that the saints hence departed are to be honoured and prayed unto, to pray for us?—To this he answered on this wise: 'My little children, I write this unto you, that you sin not. If any man do sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the just, and he is the propitiation for our sins, and not only for our sins, but also for the sins of the whole world.' And further, upon occasion of these words, 'Let all the saints of God pray for us;'[1] being demanded what he meant by these words, 'All the saints,' he answered, that he meant by them, those that were alive, as St. Paul did by the Corinthians, and not those that be dead: for he prayed not to them, he said, because he thought that they which be dead cannot pray for him. Item, when the whole church is gathered together, they used to pray one for another, or desire one to pray for another, with one heart; and that the will of the Lord may be fulfilled, and not ours: 'and I pray,' said he, 'as our Saviour Christ prayed at his last hour: Father, take this cup from me if it be possible; yet thy will be fulfilled.'

Souls departed.

III. He was demanded whether he thought that any souls departed were yet in heaven or no?—To this he answered and said, that he believed that they be there as it pleased God to have them, that is to say, in the faith of Abraham; and that herein he would commit himself to the church.

Confession and remission of sin.

IV. It was demanded of him, whether he thought it necessary to salvation, for a man to confess his sins to a priest?—Hereunto his answer was this: that it was lawful for one to confess and acknowledge his sins to another: as for any other confession he knew none. And further he said, that if he came to a sermon, or anywhere else, where the word of God is preached, and there took repentance for his sin, he believed his sins forthwith to be forgiven of God, and that he needed not to go to any confession.

V. That he should say and affirm, that the truth of holy Scripture hath been hid, and appeared not these eight hundred years, neither was known before now.—To this he said, that he meant no otherwise, but that the truth of holy Scripture was never, these eight hundred years past, so plainly and expressly declared unto the people, as it hath been within these six years.

(1) Omnes sancti Dei orate pro nobis.

VI. He was demanded further, for what cause holy Scripture hath been better declared within these six years, than it hath been these eight hundred years before?—Hereunto he answered, To say plainly, he knew no man to have preached the word of God sincerely and purely, and after the vein of Scripture, except Master Crome and Master Latimer. And he said, moreover, that the New Testament now translated into English, doth preach and teach the word of God, and that before that time men did preach but only that folks should believe as the church did believe; and then if the church erred, men should err too. Howbeit the church of Christ, said he, cannot err: and that there were two churches, that is, the church of Christ militant, and the church of Antichrist; and that this church of Antichrist may and doth err; but the church of Christ doth not. The truth of the Scripture long hid.

VII. Whether he knew any person that lived in the true faith of Christ, since the apostles' time?—He said he knew Bayfield, and thought that he died in the true faith of Christ.

VIII. He was asked what he thought of purgatory and of vows?—He answered, if any such thing had been moved to St. Paul of purgatory after this life, he thought St. Paul would have condemned it for a heresy. And when he heard Master Crome preach and say, that he thought there was a purgatory after this life, he thought in his mind that the said Master Crome lied, and spake against his conscience; and that there were a hundred more who thought the same as he did: saying moreover, that he had seen the confession of Master Crome in print, God wot, a very foolish thing, as he judged. Purgatory. Crome belike was now slipt from that he had before taught.

And as concerning vows, he granted that there were lawful vows, as Ananias vowed,[1] for it was in his own power, whether he would have sold his possession or not, and therefore he did offend. But vows of chastity, and all godliness, is given of God by his abundant grace, which no man of himself can keep, but it must be given him of God. And therefore, a monk, friar, or nun, that hath vowed the vows of religion, if they think after their vows made, that they cannot keep their promises that they made at baptism, they may go forth and marry, so that they keep, after their marriage, the promise that they made at baptism. And finally he concluded, that he thought there were no other vows, but only the vow of baptism. Vows.

IX. He was demanded, whether Luther, being a friar, and taking a nun out of religion, and afterwards marrying her, did well or no, and what he thought therein?—He answered, That he thought nothing. And when they asked him, whether it was lechery or no? he made answer he could not say so.

As concerning the sacrament of anoiling, being willed to say his mind, he answered and said, 'It was but a ceremony, neither did he wot what a man should be the better, for such anoiling and anointing. The best was, that some good prayers, he saw, were said thereat.' Extreme unction.

Likewise touching the sacrament of baptism, his words were these: 'That as many as repent, and do on them Christ, shall be saved; that is, as many as die concerning sin, shall live by faith with Christ. Therefore it is not we that live after that, but Christ in us. And so, whether we live or die, we are God's by adoption, and not by the water only, but by water and faith: that is, by keeping the promise made. For ye are kept by grace and faith, saith St. Paul, and that not of yourselves, for it is the gift of God. The Sacrament of baptism.

He was asked moreover of matrimony, whether it was a sacrament or not, and whether it conferreth grace; being commanded in the old law, and not yet taken away?—His answer was, that matrimony is an order or law, that the church of Christ hath made and ordained, by which men may take to them women, and not sin. Matrimony.

Lastly, for his books of Scripture, and for his judgment of Tyndale, because he was urged to confess the truth, he said, that he had the New Testament translated into the English tongue by Tyndale within this month, and thought he offended not God in using and keeping the same, notwithstanding that he knew the king's proclamation to the contrary, and that it was prohibited in the name of the church, at Paul's Cross; but, for all that, he thought the word of God had not forbid it. Confessing moreover, that he had in his keeping within this month these books; the Wicked Mammon, the Obedience of a Christian Man, the Practice of Prelates, the Answer of Tyndale to Thomas More's Dialogue, Books forbidden.

(1) Acts v.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1532.

the Book of Frith against Purgatory; the Epistle of George Gee, alias George Clerk: adding furthermore, that in all these books he never saw any errors; and if there were any such in them, then, if they were corrected, it were good that the people had the said books. And as concerning the New Testament in English, he thought it utterly good, and that the people should have it as it is. Neither did he ever know (said he) that Tyndale was a naughty fellow.

Also to these answers he subscribed his name. This examination, as is said, was the 15th of December. The next day following, namely the 16th of December, the said James Bainham appeared again before the bishop of London, in the aforesaid place of sir Thomas More at Chelsea; where, after the guise and form of their proceedings, first his former articles with his answers were again repeated, and his hand brought forth. This done, they asked him whether he would persist in that which he had said, or else would return to the catholic church, from whence he was fallen, and to which he might be yet received, as they said: adding, moreover, many fair, enticing, and alluring words, that he would reconcile himself, saying, the time was yet that he might be received; the bosom of his mother was open for him: otherwise, if he would continue stubborn, there was no remedy. Now was the time either to save, or else utterly to cast himself away. Which of these ways he would take, the case present now required a present answer, for else the sentence definitive was there ready to be read, &c.

Bainham submitteth himself.

To conclude long matter in few words, Bainham wavering in a doubtful perplexity, between life on the one hand, and death on the other, at length giving over to the adversaries, gave answer unto them, that he was contented to submit himself in those things wherein he had offended, excusing that he was deceived by ignorance.

Then the bishop, requiring him to say his mind plainly of his answers above declared, demanded what he thought thereof, whether they were true or no.[1] To this Bainham said, that it was too high for him to judge. And then being asked of the bishop, whether there was any purgatory, he answered and said, he could not believe that there was any purgatory after this life. Upon other articles being examined and demanded, he granted as followeth:

That he could not judge whether Bayfield died in the true faith of Christ or no: that a man making a vow, cannot break it without deadly sin: that a priest, promising to live chaste, may not marry a wife: that he thinketh the apostles to be in heaven: that Luther did naught, in marrying a nun: that a child is the better for confirmation: that it is an offence to God, if any man keep books prohibited by the church, the pope, the bishop, or the king: and he said, that he pondered those points more now than he did before, &c.

Upon these answers, the bishop, thinking to keep him in safe custody to further trial, committed him to one of the compters.

Bainham again brought before the bishop's chancellor.

Time thus passing on, which bringeth all things to their end, in the month of February next following, A. D. 1532, the aforesaid James Bainham was called for again to the bishop's consistory, before his vicar-general and other his assistants; to whom Foxford, the bishop's chancellor, recited again his articles and answers above mentioned; protesting, that he intended not to receive him to the

(1) Ex Regist. Lond.

unity of the holy mother church, unless he knew the said Bainham to be returned again purely and unfeignedly to the catholic faith, and to submit himself penitently to the judgment of the church. To whom Bainham spake to this effect, saying, that he hath and doth believe the holy church, and holdeth the faith of the holy mother, the catholic church. *Henry VIII.* A.D. 1532.

Hereunto the chancellor, offering to him a bill of his abjuration, conceived after the form of the pope's church, required him to read it; who was contented, and read to the clause of the abjuration, containing these words: "I voluntarily, as a true penitent person returned from my heresies, utterly abjure," &c. And there he stayed and would read no further, saying, that he knew not the articles contained in his abjuration to be heresy, therefore he could not see why he should refuse them. This done, the chancellor proceeded to the reading of the sentence definitive, coming to this place of the sentence, "the doctrine and determination of the church," &c. and there paused, saying, he would reserve the rest till he saw his time: whom then Bainham desired to be good unto him, affirming that he did acknowledge that there was a purgatory; that the souls of the apostles were in heaven, &c. Then began he again to read the sentence, but Bainham again desired him to be good unto him; whereupon he ceased the sentence, and said that he would accept this his confession for that time, as sufficient.

So Bainham, for that present, was returned to his prison again; who then, the fifth day after, which was the 8th of February, appeared, as before, in the consistory; whom the aforesaid chancellor, repeating again his articles and answers, asked if he would abjure and submit himself. He answered, that he would submit himself, and as a good christian man should. Again, the chancellor the second time asked if he would abjure. "I will," said he, "forsake all my articles, and will meddle no more with them;" and so being commanded to lay his hands upon the book, he read his abjuration openly. After the reading whereof, he burst out into these words, saying, that because there were many words in the said abjuration, which he thought obscure and difficile, he protested that by his oath he intended not to go from such defence, which he might have had before his oath. This done, the chancellor asked him why he made that protestation. Bainham said, for fear, lest any man of ill will do accuse me hereafter. Then the chancellor, taking the definitive sentence in his hand, disposing himself (as appeared) to read the same, "Well, Master Bainham," said he, "take your oath, and kiss the book; or else I will do mine office against you:" and so immediately he took the book in his hand and kissed it, and subscribed the same with his hand.

Bainham again brought to the consistory, is loth to abjure.

This done, the chancellor, receiving the abjuration at his hand, put him to his fine, first to pay twenty pounds to the king. After that, he enjoined him penance, to go before the cross in procession at Paul's, and to stand before the preacher during the sermon at Paul's Cross, with a faggot upon his shoulder, the next Sunday; and so to return with the sumner to the prison again, there to abide the bishop's determination: and so, the seventeenth day of February, he was released and dismissed home; where he had scarce continued a

Bainham enjoined penance, and dismissed from prison.

Henry VIII. A. D. 1532.

month, but he bewailed his fact and abjuration; and was never quiet in mind and conscience until the time he had uttered his fall to all his acquaintance, and asked God and all the world forgiveness, before the congregation in those days, in a warehouse in Bow-lane. And immediately, the next Sunday after, he came to St. Austin's, with the New Testament in his hand in English, and the Obedience of a Christian Man in his bosom, and stood up there before the people in his pew, there declaring openly, with weeping tears, that he had denied God; and prayed all the people to forgive him, and to beware of his weakness, and not to do as he did: "for," said he, "if I should not return again unto the truth (having the New Testament in his hand), this word of God would damn me both body and soul at the day of judgment." And there he prayed every body rather to die by and by, than to do as he did: for he would not feel such a hell again as he did feel, for all the world's good. Besides this, he wrote also certain letters to the bishop, to his brother, and to others; so that shortly after, he was apprehended, and so committed to the Tower of London.

Repentance of Bainham after his fall.

Again apprehended.

THE PROCESS AGAINST JAMES BAINHAM IN CASE OF RELAPSE.[1]

The 19th day of April, 1532, Master Richard Foxford, vicar-general to the bishop of London, accompanied by certain divines, and Matthew Grefton the registrar, sitting judicially, James Bainham was brought before him by the lieutenant of the Tower; before whom the vicar-general rehearsed the articles contained in his abjuration before made, and showed him a bound book, which the said Bainham acknowledged to be his own writing, saying, that it was good. Then he showed him more of a certain letter sent unto the bishop of London, which also he acknowledged to be his; objecting also to the said Bainham, that he had made and read the abjuration which he had before recited: showing him moreover certain letters which he had written unto his brother, which he confessed to be his own writing; saying moreover, that though he wrote it, yet there is one thing in the same that is naught, if it be as my lord chancellor saith. Then the vicar-general asked of Bainham, how he understood this which followeth, which was in his letters: "Yet could they not see nor know him for God, when indeed he was both God and man; yea, he was three persons in one, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost." And Bainham said it was naught. These things thus done, there was further objected unto him these words: that he had as leave pray to Joan his wife, as to our lady. This article Bainham denied. The said Bainham, amongst other talk, as touching the sacrament of the altar, said, "Christ's body is not chewed with teeth, but received by faith." Further it was objected against him, that notwithstanding his abjuration, he had said, that the sacrament of the altar was but a mystical or memorial body. This article Bainham denied. It was further laid unto him, that he should say that St. Thomas of Canterbury was a thief, and a murderer, and a devil in hell: whereunto thus he answered; that St. Thomas of Canterbury was a murderer; and if he did not repent him of his murder, he was rather a devil in hell, than a saint in heaven.

Articles falsely depraved by the adversaries.

(1) Ex Regist. Lond.

The 20th day of April, in the year aforesaid, the said James Bainham was brought before the vicar-general, in the church of All Saints, of Barking, where he ministered these interrogatories unto him. *Henry VIII.* A.D. 1532.

First, That since the feast of Easter last past, he had said, affirmed, and believed, that the sacrament of the altar was but a mystical body of Christ; and afterwards he said, it was but a memorial. This article Bainham denied. Then the vicar-general declared unto him, that our holy mother the catholic church determineth and teacheth in this manner: that in the sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration, there remaineth no bread. The official asked Bainham, whether he did so believe or not? To this Bainham answered, saying, that St. Paul calleth it bread, rehearsing these words, 'As oft as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do show forth the Lord's death:'[1] and in that point he saith as St. Paul saith, and believeth as the church believeth. And being demanded twice afterwards, what he thought therein, he would give no other answer. Another appearance. St. Paul calleth the sacrament bread.

Item, That since the feast of Easter aforesaid, he had affirmed and believed, that every man that would take upon him to preach the gospel of Christ clearly, had as much power as the pope. To this article he answered thus: 'He that preacheth the word of God purely, whatsoever he be, and liveth thereafter, he hath the key that bindeth and looseth both in heaven and earth; which key is the same Scripture that is preached: and the pope hath no other power to bind and to loose, but by the key of the Scripture. True preachers have as much power of the keys as the pope.

Item, That he affirmed that St. Thomas of Canterbury was a thief and a murderer, and in hell.—To this he answered as before. Articles fully depraved.

Item, That he said, that he had as leave pray to Joan his wife, as to our lady.—This he denied as before.

Item, That he affirmed and believed, that Christ himself was but a man.—This article he also denied.

The premises thus passed, the vicar-general received Francis Realms, John Edwards, Ralph Hilton, John Ridley, Francis Driland, and Ralph Noble, as witnesses to be sworn upon the articles aforesaid, and to speak the truth before the face of the said James Bainham, in the presence of Master John Nayler, vicar of Barking; Master John Rode, bachelor of divinity; William Smith, Richard Grivel, Thomas Wimple, and Richard Gill. Witness against Master Bainham.

The 26th day of April, in the year aforesaid, before Master John Foxford, vicar-general of the bishop of London, in the presence of Matthew Grefton, registrar; and Nicholas Wilson and William Philley, professors of divinity; John Oliver, William Middleton, and Hugh Aprice, doctors of the law; Master Richard Gresham, sheriff of London, and a great company of others: James Bainham was brought forth by the lieutenant of the Tower, in whose presence the vicar-general rehearsed the merits of the cause of inquisition of heresy against him, and proceeded to the reading of the abjuration. And when the judge read this article following, contained in the abjuration: 'Item, That I have said, that I will not determine whether any souls departed be yet in heaven or no, but I believe that they be there as it pleaseth God to have them; that is to say, in the faith of Abraham; and I wot not whether the souls of the apostles or any others be in heaven or no:' to this James answered, 'That I did abjure, and if that had not been, I would not have abjured at all.' His last appearance. Souls departed.

After all the articles were read contained in the abjuration, and certain talk had as touching the sacrament of baptism, the said James Bainham spake these words: 'If a Turk, a Jew, or a Saracen, do trust in God, and keep his law, he is a good christian man.' Then the official showed unto him the letters which he sent unto his brother, written with his own hand, and asked him what he thought as touching this clause following: 'Yet could they not see and know him for God, when indeed he was both God and man, yea, he was three persons in one, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.' To this Bainham said that it was naught, and that he did it by ignorance, and did not oversee his letters. Then Master Nicholas Wilson among other talk, as touching the sacrament of the altar, declared unto him that the church did believe the very body of Christ The sacrament of baptism.

(1) 'Quotiescunque comederitis panem hunc, et de poculo biberitis, mortem Domini annunciabitis.'

Henry VIII. A.D. 1532.

to be in the sacrament of the altar. Bainham answered, 'The bread is not Jesus Christ, for Christ's body is not chewed with teeth, therefore it is but bread.' Being further demanded whether in the sacrament of the altar is the very body of Christ, God and man in flesh and blood; after divers doubtful answers, Bainham answered thus: 'He is there very God and man, in form of bread.'

The sacrament of altar.

This done, the official declared unto him the depositions of the witnesses which were come in against him; and objected unto him, that a little before Easter, he had abjured all heresies, as well particularly as generally. Then the said vicar-general, after he had taken deliberation and advice with the learned his assistants, did proceed to the reading of the definitive sentence against him, and also published the same in writing; whereby, amongst other things, besides his abjuration, he pronounced and condemned him as a relapsed heretic, damnably fallen into sundry heresies, and so to be left unto the secular power; that is to say, to one of the sheriffs being there present. After the pronouncing of this sentence, Master Nicholas Wilson counselled and admonished the said James, that he would conform himself unto the church; to whom he answered that he trusted that he is the very child of God: 'which ye blind asses,' said he, 'do not perceive.' And last of all, departing from his judgment, he spake these words: 'Master Wilson, nor you, my lord chancellor, shall not prove by Scripture, that there is any purgatory.'

Sentence read against Bainham.

His words to Master Wilson.

Then the sentence of condemnation was given against him, which here to repeat word for word is not necessary, forasmuch as the tenor thereof is all one with that which passed before in the story of Bayfield, alias Somersam. Here also should ensue the letter of the bishop of London, directed unto the mayor and sheriffs of the same city, for the receiving of him into their power, and the putting of him to death, the tenor whereof is also of like effect to that before written in the story of Bayfield. After this sentence given, James Bainham was delivered into the hands of sir Richard Gresham, sheriff, then being present, who caused him by his officers to be carried unto Newgate, and the said James Bainham was burned in Smithfield the last day of April, in the year aforesaid, at three of the clock at afternoon.

The cruel handling of Bainham.

This Master Bainham, during his imprisonment, was very cruelly handled; for almost the space of a fortnight, he lay in the bishop's coal-house in the stocks, with irons upon his legs. Then he was carried to the lord chancellor's, and there chained to a post two nights: then he was carried to Fulham, where he was cruelly handled by the space of a week; then to the Tower, where he lay a fortnight, scourged with whips, to make him revoke his opinions. From thence he was carried to Barking; then to Chelsea, and there condemned; and so to Newgate to be burned.

* When[1] the bishop did send the writ, and when Bainham came out of the dungeon, the bishop of London had sent one Dr. Simons to pervert him, and to wait upon him to the stake. And after much communication in the upper house of the prison, had between Simons and him, he prayed the sheriffs to deliver him from Satan, for he was content to confirm his faith with the shedding of his blood; and asked Master Sheriff if he were ready, and bade him to set forward. And then the sheriffs commanded that Dr. Simons should go to the stake before, and tarry his coming. He said he would: but fearing the people, he went his way. Then Master Bainham prayed Rainold West to go with him to the stake, and to be at hand with him till

(1) This passage in asterisks is from the first edition, p. 492.—Ed.

he was dead. And so forward he went to the stake, on May-day at afternoon, and there were many horsemen about the stake. When the said Master Bainham had prayed, lying flat upon the ground, then rising up, and embracing the stake, he stood upright on the pitch-barrel, and closed the chain about his middle, the sergeants making it fast behind him. These words he spake: *Henry VIII.* A. D. 1532.

'I come hither, good people! accused and condemned for a heretic, sir Thomas More being my accuser and my judge: and these be the articles that I die for, which be a very truth, and grounded on God's word, and no heresy. They be these: First, I say it is lawful for every man and woman, to have God's book in their mother tongue. The second article is, that the bishop of Rome is Antichrist, and that I know no other keys of heaven-gates, but only the preaching of the law and the gospel; and that there is no other purgatory, but the purgatory of Christ's blood, and the purgatory of the cross of Christ, which is all persecutions and afflictions, and no such purgatory as they feign of their own imagination: for our souls immediately go to heaven and rest with Jesus Christ for ever. They lay to my charge, that I should say, that Thomas Becket is no saint, but damned in hell; for this I judge of him, that he was a wicked man, a traitor to the crown and realm of England, and an enemy to all Christ's religion, and a shedder of innocent blood; for even for murdering, and shedding of blood, was he made a saint.

Then answered Master Pave, "Thou liest, thou heretic! thou deniest the blessed sacrament of the altar." "I do not deny," said Bainham, "the sacrament of Christ's body and blood, as it was instituted by Christ, and used by the holy apostles; but I deny your transubstantiation, and your idolatry to the bread, and that Christ God and man, should dwell in a piece of bread; but that he is in heaven, sitting on the right hand of God the Father. But it is an idol, as you use it in your abominable mass, making it a sacrifice propitiatory for the quick and the dead, and robbing the church of one kind." "Thou heretic!" said Pave; "Set fire to him, and burn him."

And as the train of gunpowder came toward him, he lifted up his eyes and hands unto heaven, and said to Pave: "God forgive thee, and show thee more mercy than thou showest to me; the Lord forgive sir Thomas More! and pray for me, all good people;" and so prayed he, till the fire took his bowels and his head, &c.*

A miracle and a wondrous work of God to behold.

At his burning, here is notoriously to be observed, that as he was at the stake, in the midst of the flaming fire, which fire had half consumed his arms and legs, he spake these words: "O ye papists! behold, ye look for miracles, and here now ye may see a miracle; for in this fire I feel no more pain, than if I were in a bed of down: but it is to me as a bed of roses." These words spake he in the midst of the flaming fire, when his legs and arms, as I said, were half consumed.

* The[1] next week after, Master Pave, the town-clerk of this city, went and bought ropes, and used to pray in his house, in a high garret, where he had a rood, before which he bitterly wept; and as his own maid, coming up, found him so doing, he had her take the rusty sword, and go make it clean, and trouble him no more. And immediately he tied up the rope, and hung himself. The maid's heart throbbed when she came up, and then he was but newly hanged;

(1) This passage in asterisks is from the first edition 1563, page 493.—Ed.

Henry VIII. A. D. 1532. and she, having no power to help him, ran crying to church to her mistress, to fetch her home. As for his servants and clerks, he had sent them out to Finsbury, and to Master Edney, sergeant to my lord-mayor, dwelling over Bishop's-gate, to tarry at Finsbury-court till he came. And thus much for the life and conversation of James Bainham.*

John Bent, Martyr.

At the writing hereof, came to our hands a certain notice of one John Bent, who about this present time, or not long before, being a tailor, and dwelling in a village called Urchevant, was burned in the town of Devises, in the county of Wiltshire, for denying the sacrament of the altar, as they term it.

One Trapnel, Martyr.

Also much about the same time, was one Trapnel burned in a town called Bradford, within the same county.

Robert King, Robert Debnam, and Nicholas Marsh, Martyrs.

THE HISTORY OF THREE MEN HANGED FOR THE BURNING OF THE ROOD OF DOVER-COURT; COLLECTED OUT OF A LETTER OF ROBERT GARDNER, WHO WAS ONE OF THE DOERS OF THE SAME.[1]

The Rood of Dover-Court. In the same year of our Lord 1532, there was an idol named the Rood of Dover-court, whereunto was much and great resort of people: for at that time there was great rumour blown abroad amongst the ignorant sort, that the power of the idol of Dover-court was so great, that no man had power to shut the church-door where he stood; and therefore they let the church-door, both night and day, continually stand open, for the more credit unto their blind rumour. This once being conceived in the heads of the vulgar sort, seemed a great marvel unto many men; but to many again, whom God had blessed with his Spirit, it was greatly suspected, especially unto these, whose names here follow: as Robert King of Dedham, Robert Debnam of Eastbergholt, Nicholas Marsh of Dedham, and Robert Gardner of Dedham, whose consciences were sore burdened to see the honour and power of the Almighty living God so to be blasphemed by such an idol. Wherefore they were moved by the Spirit of God, to travel out of Dedham in a wondrous goodly night, both hard frost and fair moonshine, although the night before, and the night after, were exceeding foul and rainy. It was from the town of Dedham, to the place where the filthy Rood stood, ten miles. Notwithstanding, they were so willing in that their enterprise, that they went these ten miles without pain, and found the church-door open, according to the blind talk of the ignorant people: for there durst no unfaithful body shut it. This happened well for their purpose, for they found the idol, which had as much power to keep the door shut, as to keep it open; and for proof thereof, they took the idol from his shrine, and carried him a quarter of a mile from the place where he stood, without any resistance of the said idol. Whereupon they struck fire with a flint-stone,

Blind opinions of the people.

Experience of false idolatry.

The idol set on light fire.

(1) This Letter of Robert Gardner was written to Chapman, a Londoner, who is yet alive.

and suddenly set him on fire, who burned out so brim, that he lighted them homeward one good mile of the ten. *Henry VIII.*

This done, there went a great talk abroad that they should have great riches in that place: but it was very untrue; for it was not their thought or enterprise, as they themselves afterwards confessed, for there was nothing taken away but his coat, his shoes, and the tapers. The tapers did help to burn him, the shoes they had again, and the coat one sir Thomas Rose did burn; but they had neither penny, halfpenny, gold, groat, nor jewel. A. D. 1532. False surmise always ready.

Notwithstanding, three of them were afterwards indicted of felony, and hanged in chains within half a year after, or thereabout. Robert King was hanged in Dedham at Burchet; Robert Debnam was hanged at Cataway-Cawsey; Nicholas Marsh was hanged at Dover-Court: which three persons, through the Spirit of God at their death, did more edify the people in godly learning, than all the sermons that had been preached there a long time before.

The fourth man of this company, named Robert Gardner, escaped their hands and fled; albeit he was cruelly sought for to have had the like death. But the living Lord preserved him; to whom be all honour and glory, world without end!

The same year, and the year before, there were many images cast down and destroyed in many places: as the image of the crucifix in the highway by Coggeshall, the image of St. Petronal in the church of Great Horksleigh, the image of St. Christopher by Sudbury, and another image of St. Petronal in a chapel of Ipswich.[1] Images destroyed.

Also John Seward of Dedham overthrew a cross in Stoke park, and took two images out of a chapel in the same park, and cast them into the water.

(1) Ex testimonio ipsius Garderin.

END OF VOL. IV.

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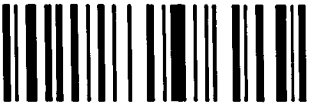
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